

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

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REPORT  
ON  
MANUSCRIPTS  
IN VARIOUS COLLECTIONS  
VOL. VI.

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THE MANUSCRIPTS  
OF  
MISS M. EYRE MATCHAM;  
CAPTAIN H. V. KNOX;  
CORNWALLIS WYKEHAM-MARTIN, ESQ.;  
&c.

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*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.*

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## INTRODUCTION.

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### I.--THE MSS. OF MISS M. EYRE-MATCHAM.

THE collection in the possession of Miss Eyre-Matcham consists of a part of the correspondence and other papers of George Bubb Dodington, and includes interesting letters from Henry Fox, Lord Bute, Horace Mann, Lord Talbot, the Irish Chief Baron Wainwright and Lord Chancellor Bowes, James Thomson, the poet, and others. On the whole, the letters present Dodington in a more pleasing aspect than that in which he is generally viewed. He probably sums up pretty correctly the opinion of his contemporaries when he says: "It has always been my lot to be represented as an arrogant, self-sufficient, empty coxcomb, and in the same quarter of an hour . . . a deep, designing, dangerous spirit." Posterity has endorsed the former rather than the latter view. But that he could be a warm and steadfast friend is shown by his defence of Byng (in a speech called by Horace Walpole, who did not love Dodington, "humane, pathetic and bold") and of Lord George Sackville after Minden. And many of the letters in this collection prove the real affection felt for him by men such as Lord Halifax, and his kindness of heart and willingness to help others (see letters from the Duke of Argyll, John Scrope and the Earl of Strafford, pp. 4-7). He was a kind patron to James Thomson, the poet, who thanks him for advice and encouragement, as well as for many other obligations, in a letter written just before his journey to Italy with Lord Talbot's son, in 1730. Thomson was then ardently looking forward to "seeing the fields where Virgil gathered his immortal honey" and to gaining inspiration from treading the ground where "men had thought and acted so greatly." His next letter, written a year later, is in strange contrast to the earlier one. He had been through most parts of France and Italy, and had found his enthusiasm for travelling go off very fast. As to fine statues and pictures, "how little of these suffices; they are highly ornamental in life, if one can have them at home and (prudent addition!) without paying an extravagant price," but to run abroad to stare at them is mere folly. All that is needful is to send men of genius to study the fine arts and import them into England, where, "though we cannot reach the gracefully superfluous," he hoped we might never lose "the substantial, necessary and vital arts of life, such as depend on liberty, labour and all-commanding trade." After this beginning we are not surprised to hear that the poet's muse did not cross the channel with him, and was perhaps still lingering in the Dorset woods. And, truly, no doubt she was. Nothing could more plainly show than does this letter where Thomson's source of inspiration lay.

The first letter in the collection was written by Lord Stanhope

before George Bubb had taken the name of Dodington, and while he was minister at Madrid. This is followed by two from Admiral Byng to George Dodington the elder on the question of Gibraltar, the difficulties of his own task, and his desire to return home and see quiet days. Letters from (Russell) Lord Orford, the Duke of Argyll, John Scrope of the Treasury, the Earl of Strafford and the Earl of Tankerville bring us to Thomson's letters, already mentioned, and to one from Leonard Welsted, written from the Tower (where he had a clerkship in the Ordnance Office), defending himself from the imputation of having ridiculed his patron, and broadly hinting that although Dodington might think his poetry inferior to that of Thomson, other men did not.

In 1732 and 1733 there are several letters to and from Frederick, Prince of Wales, in the first of which Dodington begins by posing as a candid friend who scorns to flatter, and ends with as fulsome a piece of flattery as one can well imagine.

The Prince's earlier letters are short, friendly notes; but in the autumn of 1733 he wrote a long letter on the subject of divers stories then current to Dodington's detriment, in which, although he takes his friend's part, there are signs of a rift in the lute. Dodington, then on the eve of going over to Ireland, defended himself at great length, but the rupture with the Prince followed not long afterwards.

On p. 16 is a supposed petition, dated in February, 1739-40, from a Miss Hamilton to George Denoyer, the popular dancing master, praying him to procure her a post as rocker in the Prince of Wales' nursery, on the ground that, as she heard, no person was admitted into that part of Norfolk House who was not a Hamilton—an evident skit upon the number of Hamiltons whom Lady Archibald, the Prince's mistress, had placed about his court.

In this same year, 1740, Dodington again joined the Prince of Wales' party.

Three letters from Thomas Prowse, M.P. for Somersetshire and a member of the secret committee for investigating the charges of bribery and corruption against Walpole in 1742, illustrate the strong animus of the majority of those composing it—an animus so bitter that some of his more moderate antagonists ceased to attend the meetings. When their report was presented on June 30, the charges were so insignificant as almost in themselves to form a defence of the fallen minister (see Mahon's History, iii, 121, 123); but this was not the view taken by Dodington and his party. They were eager to take further steps, "for the world having seen such a scene of iniquity incontestably proved, and the author of it still unpunished," together with the many other strange events of the last session, "are at a loss to guess on what ground they stand, and are doubtful (perhaps with reason) whether they have been gainers by the change hitherto effected."

Letters written in the autumn of 1744 show the deep depression of the party to which Dodington at this time belonged. "If we can do nothing," he wrote in a letter to Sir Watkyn Williams Wynn, "let us at least agree in that nothing, and show that it proceeds not from meanness, but from a noble despair." And again to Hills-

borough: "If I foresaw any moral possibility of repelling the broad ruin that now stares us in the face, I should call upon your Lordship." But almost immediately afterwards Granville's ministry fell, and in the "broad bottom" administration which followed, Dodington was made Treasurer of the Navy.

At this point there is a hiatus of some years in the collection, and the next papers relate to Dodington's return to the Prince of Wales in the spring of 1748-9. At this time also Dodington's *Diary* (printed in 1784) begins, and helps to elucidate the letters. At the beginning of March the Earl of Middlesex was sent by the Prince to Dodington to offer him "the full return of his favour." His answer, accepting the Prince's offer, was given on March 11, and on the same day he resigned his office of Treasurer of the Navy. His professed reasons, as given to Luke Gardiner, were—the hopeless state of the country and his own powerlessness to remedy the evils he foresaw, so that he thought it better to retire than to "stand loaded with emoluments, without the power of doing any real service" either to his country or his friends (p. 20). His statement to Mr. Pelham, as related in the *Diary*, is almost identical with this. He agreed, however, to act until the appointment of a successor, and did not actually quit office until the 3rd of May. After this he was made much of at Leicester House; invited to sup or to dine, and appointed Treasurer of the Chamber, with a salary of 1,200*l.* a year, though it would appear from a passage in the *Diary* that this was made up to 2,000*l.* by the Prince, privately. This for the present. In the future, when the Prince should come to the Crown, he was to have a peerage, the management of the House of Lords and the Seals for the Southern Province, and was allowed to kiss hands, by way of acceptance, upon the spot (see *Diary*, p. 4).

A short note from the Prince of Wales (written in Dec., 1750) brings this chapter of Dodington's history to a close, so far as these papers are concerned. Frederick died in the following March, and the next document calendared is the "memorial of several noblemen and gentlemen" concerning the education of the new Prince of Wales (p. 22). The matters of which the memorial treated are mentioned on pp. 122, 123 of the *Diary*, and the paper itself is alluded to on p. 132.

On p. 20 is a curious letter from a Miss Fanny Bowyer to the Prince. This is perhaps the lady whom Horace Walpole mentions in 1766, when he says that Madame de Corstin is very like "old Miss Bowyer" (*Letters*, ed. Toynbee, vi, 412). Following this is the memorial concerning the Prince of Wales, mentioned above, and a paper on the state of affairs at Court in 1753.

In 1754 Horace Mann gives an amusing account of Elizabeth Pitt's conversion (or re-conversion, as he considered it) to the Roman Church. The lady's object seemed to be to attract as much notice as possible, and she even went so far as to demand the Emperor's protection, on the plea that the English nation would be so displeased with her as to become her enemy. Mann hastened to assure the Imperial ambassador that he was very sure "her nation would be as indifferent about the religion she professed—as she was herself."

\* Sister of William Pitt. See H. Walpole's *Letters*, iii, 206, 260; iv, 30.

A series of letters to a young friend named East and his mother show Dodington as a kind, but by no means always a judicious, mentor of youth. In one of the letters he incidentally mentions that he has not played at cards for ten hours in ten years.

Writing to Lord Halifax in August, 1755, Dodington mentions Lord Holderness's mission to Wolfenbüttel to endeavour to arrange a double marriage for the Prince of Wales and the Princess Augusta. "For the contingent that we are to furnish," he says, "I have known them ever since they were born, and better goods for domestic as well as public happiness never were put out of hand."

On September 2, and again on September 3 of this year Pitt visited Dodington, as we learn from the *Diary*, and on the 6th Dodington exactly echoes his sentiments as regards the foreign subsidies, in writing to Halifax (p. 30); yet when Fox, proving more pliant than his rival, was about to be made Secretary of State, Dodington, who ever loved the rising sun, and who also had certainly a warm attachment to Fox, wrote to congratulate him :—

"That of all those who are in the King's service or likely to be so, you are one whom I most cordially wish to see in the first rank, is a truth that I hoped to convince you of by contributing both to the placing and supporting you in it, and not by words. . . . I always wished you should be an actor—a principal actor—but where honour and reputation, as well as power, and profit distinguish the part you appear in; for, dear Mr. Fox, believe an old man that loves and esteems you, there is nothing else worthy of an honest, noble, well-regulated ambition."

Both Newcastle and Fox were anxious to engage Dodington, but doubted whether he would accept the "subsidiary treaties." They therefore wrote to Halifax (who was known to have great influence with him) praying for his assistance, stating that the King had "given his word that he will no longer put his negative on Mr. Dodington," and mentioning in confidence that permission had been given to offer him the comptroller's staff. On Oct. 10, Newcastle and Dodington had a long conference, but separated without coming to terms. On the 19th, however, they "settled preliminaries," and on the 22nd Dodington kissed hands as Treasurer of the Navy.

In the autumn of 1756, the burning question was the establishment of the Prince of Wales. The King wished to get him away from his mother's control; the Prince did not wish to leave her. Newcastle dared not meet Parliament until he had come to terms with Leicester House, and at length persuaded the King to allow the young Prince to remain with his mother, and to consent to their wish that Lord Bute should be Groom of the Stole.

On October 17, as Horace Walpole states, Fox had begged leave to resign, being discontented that all the power was "engrossed by the old monopolist." At this juncture, on October 19, he wrote to Dodington that he had had a good deal of serious talk with the King the day before, that the Duke of Newcastle "did not know his own mind till then if he does now"; that the King keeps his temper, but that what will be the issue of it all he cannot tell; it is in other hands, and he is not sorry for it. In November, Newcastle and Fox resigned, and Dodington lost his place as Treasurer of the Navy.

In Fox's next letter, written on March 12, 1757, he sketched a



ministry which he believed would be acceptable to the country, but declared that if the King kept Pitt and Temple two months longer he should look upon them as complete conquerors and "Leicester House the Court." He wished Dodington to approach Halifax on his behalf, but the latter declared that as Mr. Fox had no positive proposition to make, he could have no positive answer to return. On March 15, Fox informed Dodington that Temple had had "an unkindly audience," but he believed they did not mean to resign on it;—

"So," he continued, "now things tend to delay again; and you and I think alike of the consequence of that. . . . Pitt, &c., have by their faults and want of judgment, put themselves into our power; it is now our turn, by the same means to make them again masters."

Dodington seems to have suggested that Halifax would prefer to be Secretary of State. To this Fox replied:—

"Capacity is so little necessary for most employments that you seem to forget that there is one where it is absolutely so—viz., the Admiralty. It is there we want Lord Halifax's active ability. . . . Now, when the King with difficulty can be brought to open his closet door to Lord Halifax as head of the Admiralty, do you believe his declining that office will leave a possibility of his being Secretary of State?"

The great object was to extricate the King and country from their difficulties, and this could only be done by placing men "not where they chose, but where they may best answer the great purpose they are called upon for." A few days later he mentions his intention of calling upon Ministers "for a contradiction of the prevailing lie . . . of an intended message for English troops to be sent to Westphalia. They say Pitt would not carry such message, and is therefore to be turned out." On April 2nd the downfall of the ministry was known to be imminent, and Fox was busy arranging the administration which he believed it would fall to his lot to form. He offered Dodington (through Hillsborough) the Treasurership of the Navy, and had already got Winchelsea's promise to go to the Admiralty. Matters were not, however, so easily settled, and at the beginning of June Dodington wrote:—

"I hear you are come to town, but not much more informed of the settlement of the administration than the King himself. How long is this gentleman to trifle with his sovereign and benefactor and to keep our destiny in suspense; you of too much consequence, I of too little, to be trusted with or admitted to the honour of supporting him?"

To this Fox the next day replied that it was impossible to recollect half the absurdities he had that day heard.

"The Duke of Newcastle went to the King not to accept, but to desire till Tuesday to determine. . . . If he accepts, it is against the advice of all his friends; yet he will accept, and let those friends make his situation ten times worse than it would be if they did not meddle. But he is to act against their advice, and yet they are to advise him. I, in the meantime, will not be of the system (as you will persist to call what those do who never had a system). I will take what I take from the King. He is certainly engaged in honour to you as well as to me. . . . I am sick of what passes, and will neither see him or them more till I kiss his hand, and that I ever shall kiss it is doubtful."

Fox's last letter to Dodington at this crisis was written on June

6, when Newcastle had been to the King to know what terms he might offer Mr. Pitt:—

“The King gave the Duke little encouragement to think he would condescend to such terms as they would accept, and the Duke gave the King as little to imagine that he would come in without them. His grace is to be at Court to-morrow, when, according to present appearances, they will part for good and all. . . . But the very reverse of this conjecture may prove to be the event. *Incertus non perturbatus*. I’ll go to dinner. Adieu.”

This is the last letter from Fox in the collection.

Following the Fox letters are several from Lord Talbot and Horace Mann. Talbot praises Lord Bute, discusses the war, and complains of the treatment of the militia. In 1760 he writes warmly of the young King, and congratulates Dodington on being raised to the peerage.

Horace Mann, writing from Florence in March, 1758, evidently replies to a letter from Dodington describing the “union of counsels” in the ministry and the popularity of the King of Prussia. Not long after this Horace Walpole wrote to Mann:—“Our unanimity is prodigious. You would as soon hear ‘No’ from an old maid as from the House of Commons.” Another letter from Mann about this time tells of his efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the dowager Lady Orford and her husband, Mr. Shirley, and a third discusses the probable consequences of the death of the King of Spain and the English success at Guadaloupe (pp. 42, 43).

On George III.’s accession to the throne, Dodington lost no time in applying to Bute for some mark of favour from the young King and the Princess, who had ever been his most gracious mistress. He exerted himself to please Bute by getting “as many members” as he possibly could (and his parliamentary patronage was very large), and by sending him verses of a flattering nature.

“Quoth Newcastle to Pitt, ’tis in vain to dispute:  
If we’d quarrel in private, we must make room for Bute.  
Quoth Pitt to his Grace, to bring that about,  
I fear, my dear Lord, you or I must turn out.  
Not at all, quoth the Duke, I meant no such thing,  
To make room for us all, we must turn out the King.  
If that’s all your scheme, quoth the Earl, by my troth,  
I shall stick to my master, and turn ye out both.”

There are many letters from Bute to Dodington and Dodington to Bute in the collection. In June, 1761, the Earl appears to have saved Dodington, or rather Lord Melcombe, as he had now become, from a dangerous accident, apparently when riding. Some months later (Feb., 1762), defending himself from a hint of Lord Melcombe’s that he had broken his promise by not preferring a friend of the latter, at a time when it “rained bishoprics, deaneries and canonries,” he says:—

“I own, and that without blushing, I have been unfortunate in the means I have for years taken of cementing friendships and procuring attachments; others, with much less trouble, perhaps without my honesty, succeed better; . . . but I repine not . . . and shall go on, though single and alone, to serve my King and country in the best manner my poor talents will allow me, happy, too happy, when the heavy burden that I bear shall be removed and placed on other shoulders.”

In the following April he complained of not being well, and began

to think that a little more of what he had gone through would prepare him for a longer journey than he wished to take. A few days later Melcombe wrote an indignant tirade against the treatment of Bute by the people, and especially by Pitt's party, who were attacking him publicly "in all conversations, and now in writing, personally, in the strongest and most audacious manner." He ended by lamenting the decline, not of Bute's kindness but of his confidence towards himself, and assuring him of his unswerving attachment.

The answer to this letter is not amongst the papers, but there are two short notes from Bute, written in the summer of the same year, in a very affectionate strain, and urgently desiring to see his "noble friend" to talk over with him important business and interesting news.

In October, 1761, two short notes from Young, the poet, offer emendations to Dodington's metrical *Epistle to the Earl of Bute* (p. 50). It has sometimes been stated that this was merely his *Epistle to Walpole* (the parody on which is noticed on p. 5 of this collection) altered to suit the circumstances; but this is an error, as they are entirely different.

The second section consists of letters on Irish affairs (1725-1762). The earlier letters are chiefly from Lord Chancellor West, Baron Wainwright, W. Cary and Dr. Hart, Bishop of Killmore. They tell of the amusing plan of the Irish House of Commons in 1725, who, in order to make an estimate of what the revenue might produce in two years, "thought it necessary to take a *medium*" of what it had hitherto produced, and gravely did so by taking one year, and that the highest ever known; of the friction between Lords and Commons on the question of the "communication of bills" in 1733-4; of the difficulty in carrying a bill for the relief of the creditors of Burton's Bank, "the struggles to defeat and the arts to embarrass it" being, as Wainwright said, incredible; of the plot to oust Wainwright from the Exchequer by "kicking him upstairs"; of the great run on the banks in 1744; of the mischief brewing by the papists, and of the solemn vote of thanks given to a valiant cornet "for his great zeal and intrepidity in rummaging the monasteries, friaries and seminaries of Galway," and carrying off their papers (pp. 55-61).

In 1735, John Bowes, the Irish Solicitor-General, appealed to Dodington for help against a bill in the English Parliament which he feared would tend to promote the growth of popery; and also repeated a speech made against him by "that eternal snarl Swift." Alluding to Dodington's place as Clerk of the Pells, and speaking of the good nature of his countrymen, Swift had said:—

"One Carey, last session, introduced a gentleman from England, dressed him in a suit of Irish manufacture, which cost thirty shillings, and then showed him for a patriot, upon which the good people of Ireland gave him seven hundred pounds per annum."

Sir Arthur Acheson thought that too much had been made of a small matter. Luke Gardiner had been "talking like a great patriot," and said no gentleman of the country should be forgiven that wore anything but the manufactures of it. The Dean retorted

that Gardiner had got into employments worth two thousand pounds, while he possibly might lay out ten in a suit of clothes, and then made the speech about Dodington, but only in the "way of rattling the Dean has always indulged himself in," and which, it is to be feared, "he will never be broke of."

There was a good deal of opposition to the vote for Dodington's salary, and Wainwright advised him—if this sort of thing went on, and he was supposed to owe an obligation to every man who did not vote against him; if he must "work for them in Parliament and treat them in Piccadilly"—to arrange for some equivalent, give up the 500*l.* a year, and "deprive them of the topic." In the end, however, the matter was settled in his favour, and the vote was passed without a division and with only a few words of objection which never "rose to the shadow of a debate."

In 1736, Wainwright reported that affairs went on very quietly from respect to the Duke (of Dorset), though he did not believe this would last:—

"When we are at peace, and marching on cheerfully and quietly, a mine is sprung, and the engineer protests he had no thoughts of disturbing the General or the army, but there were two or three fellows that he had a mind to toss into the air, or to beat their brains out. . . . An Englishman turning Irish is like a dog running wild and herding with wolves; he has his own domestic tricks to add to their savage dispositions."

A letter from Dr. Lewis Bruce gives an account of the discussion in the House of Lords in February, 1756, in relation to the creeds of the church; and one from Bowes (now Lord Chancellor) describes the tumult in Dublin in December, 1759, on the alarm of an intended union with Britain, when the mob broke every door in the Parliament House, and, surrounding the coach in which the Chief Justice and the Chancellor were sitting, insisted on the latter being sworn that he was against the Union. To this letter Dodington replied very gravely. However diverting the sight might be "of a Chief Justice swearing a Chancellor in the hands of an enraged multitude" it was a thing which he saw with great concern, and the more so because he did not see a remedy. His love of Ireland, he continued, made it very distressing to him to see "a Protestant multitude attack a Protestant government, in a country where all together do not make a sixth of the whole," and though all is said to be quiet again, "methinks we are dancing upon a mine that may spring at once, in the very moment that we imagine we are most entertained and entertaining." He congratulates his friends, however, upon their escape, and also sincerely rejoices at their safety from foes without, "for had not Hawke been more and Conflans less than a man, Ireland must have been as much lost as Minorca." The allusion is, of course, to the sea fight of Quiberon Bay.

There are other interesting letters from Chancellor Bowes, in more than one of which he refers to Lord George Sackville's court martial. "The military trial of one not under that command," he says, new to him, and he is wishful to see on what reasons the Attorney and Solicitor-General founded their opinions; it seems strange to him "that the judges saw no ground to doubt of the legality of the jurisdiction of a court martial in the case," and he



believes it may be a precedent which may have very ill consequences (p. 74). Several other letters from the Chancellor follow, discussing the political situation in 1760 and 1761, and especially the question of sending bills (particularly money bills) over to the English Parliament. The latest Irish letters in the collection tell of the arrival and favourable reception of the Earl of Halifax in 1761, and the last of all is from Halifax himself. After a toilsome six months, he was preparing to leave Ireland, where, "what with claret and with business," he declared, he was almost dead, although he had been "as sober and busy a lieutenant as any of his late predecessors."

In the text of the Dodington and Knox Reports, proper names are given as spelt by the writers.

S. C. LOMAS.

## II.—THE MSS. OF CAPTAIN HOWARD VICENTE KNOX.

THE manuscripts which form the subject of the following report consist for the most part of the official papers and correspondence of William Knox, best known as Under Secretary for the Colonial Department from 1770 until 1782, when the office was abolished. Knox was born in Ireland, in 1732, and in a memorandum preserved amongst the papers he gives the following account of his ancestry\* :—

“My grandfather was of the same family with John Knox, the Scotch reformer, but I know not how nearly related. He married the daughter of Porter, laird of Barnwell, and passed into Ireland as a settler, and took up lands in the lower part of the County Antrim in the latter end of James’ or beginning of Charles I.’s reign. He accepted the commission of cornet in a troop raised for the King and commanded by Captain Hamilton, and appears to have been a royalist from principle, for when that troop was taken prisoner in Carrickfergus Castle by Oliver Cromwell, he, with the other officers, refused to be incorporated in Cromwell’s guard, with the same rank as they held in their troop. Their lands were accordingly confiscated, but, in hopes that things would come round, they sat themselves down upon portions of their former property, under the new proprietors. At the Restoration they were disappointed, as all Cromwell’s grants were confirmed, and no compensation made them. My grandfather had no resource but in the change of his principles from a Royalist to an anti-Stuart, and he brought up his sons in the strongest principles of Whiggism. He lived to see James II. of that race detested, a fugitive in Ireland, and had the satisfaction of numbering his two eldest sons amongst the defenders of Derry and [blank].

“My father was the youngest of his children, and was then too young to carry arms. When the war was over, he was thought to have a turn for the church, and he was sent to Glasgow to be brought up a Presbyterian teacher. The detection of an amour with a bedmaker, it is said, was the cause of his quitting that University, and with it all thoughts of the pastoral cloake, and pursuing the study of physick at Edinburgh, where he received his diploma about the time Bishop Burnett was scheming a union between the churches, he was chosen by the University to convey up to London their demands on the part of Scotland; which introduced him to Bishop Burnett and Archbishop Tillotson. He found the former very ready to admit the claims of the Scotch Church, but the other not so willing to make concessions on the part of the Church of England. The difficulties that opposed themselves to an accommodation he perceived arose more from the claims of the clergy than the difference in their persuasions. Great numbers must necessarily be deprived of their benefices, and neither would give way to the other; nor had the patrons of the Comprehension (*sic*) scheme interest enough with the Administration to obtain pensions for those who should resign.

“My father returned to Ireland, and began to practice physick in Dublin, but finding a city life disagree with his constitution he removed into the country. He married shortly after the youngest daughter, Nicola, of John King, Esq., of Gola, in the county Fermanagh, and fixed at Clonish [Clones], in the county Monaghan, where I was born in the year 1732, the youngest of all his children.”

The papers in this collection contain nothing which throws light on William Knox’s early life, but he must, as a young man, have shown considerable capacity and intelligence, for, when only four and twenty years of age, he was appointed Provost Marshal of Georgia by Lord Halifax, going out with the new Governor, Henry Ellis, in December, 1756. Knox’s narrative of his journey to and proceedings in Georgia will be found on p. 245. Many of the names

\* This Memorandum is not calendared in the Report, as it seemed to find its more fitting place in the Introduction. It is written in a copy-book, uniform with that which contains the “Political Anecdotes.” It was partly printed in “Notes and Queries,” 8th series, Vol. xii.

are indicated only by initials, but these are easily identified by the registers of the proceedings of the Council, the official entries showing that Knox's account of what happened is extremely accurate. At Charlestown, in South Carolina, Knox for the first time met William Henry Lyttelton (then Governor there), afterwards one of his most intimate friends. At first there was a good deal of friction between Ellis and Knox, but gradually the Governor appears to have found out the value of his subordinate, and they became firm friends, as is shown by the many letters from Ellis in the present volume.

In 1760, Knox made up his mind to return to England. Neither the climate nor the country of Georgia was agreeable to him, and he complained that the whole burden of affairs lay on his shoulders. His residence in the colony had not, however, been without satisfactory results, as he had set up a plantation there, with every prospect of a good return (p. 82).

Not many weeks later his plans received a sudden check upon the receipt of news of the death of his brother and father. As the desire of ministering to an aged parent had been his strongest reason for wishing to return, he determined to postpone his intended voyage, if he could acquire something better than his present office. His salary and fees together at this time only amounted to 150*l.* per annum, on which he was expected to keep up his position as a member of Council in a land where every necessary of life cost nearly twice what it did at home.

Governor Ellis was, just at this time, going to England, and offered to propose Knox as his lieutenant during his absence, but Knox declined this, partly indeed from the difficulty of carrying on the government without support, but partly also from lack of means. He would have liked the post of English agent with the Indians, urging his knowledge of the people in general and of the Indians in particular, and especially emphasising the need of kindness in the treatment of the latter; it "being ridiculous in the highest degree to think of gaining an influence among a people who are as free as the wild beasts and as jealous of their liberty, by assuming a superiority over them." The expected vacancy, however, did not occur.

In February, 1762, the legislature of Georgia appointed him their agent in England, and he received the King's permission to return. He farmed out his office of Provost Marshal, let his plantation and negroes, and before the end of April was in England (pp. 85, 86).

At the end of the year 1762, when the preliminaries of the Peace of Paris were under discussion, Knox was brought to the notice of Lord Shelburne, as able to give him valuable information and assistance in regard to the provinces of Florida and Louisiana, the acquisition of which was treated by the Opposition as a matter of no importance.

Lord Shelburne, soon after, gave him a commission to execute in Paris of "a pretty hazardous nature," it being in fact to procure, out of the French King's bureaux, maps and plans of the French islands and fortifications in the West Indies; but, on reaching

Paris, Knox found that, some short while before, a draft had been purloined for the Duke of Cumberland, in consequence of which the Government had taken precautions, and there was no longer a chance of anything being obtained.

Shortly before going to France, Knox was introduced to Charles Townshend, "and became very intimate with him." While in Paris he sent a long letter to Townshend giving his impressions of the country and the people, and ending with a description of his most Christian Majesty, attended by a procession of all his ministers and great officers of State, setting out to shoot partridges (p. 88).

The English statesman whom Knox most heartily admired, and with whose views he was in fullest sympathy, was George Grenville. His connexion with Grenville had already begun when he returned from France, and from that time he never thought of leaving him "either in or out of office." In November, 1764, he sent Grenville a paper—probably that called "Hints relative to our Commerce" (p. 286)—some of the materials for which had been collected during his visit to France, desiring Grenville, if he found anything "worth adopting," to make it his own with confidence, as it was meant only for his use.

Two intimate conversations at Wotton are recorded on pp. 250, 252. Knox's friends, Lyttelton and Ellis, shared his admiration for Grenville, and were greatly pleased by the intimacy. Lyttelton, in 1767, congratulated him on having paid a visit

"to a man who will know how to do justice to your talents, and who is himself such a fund of useful knowledge that everybody who frequents him must improve from his conversation, especially when matters of government are in question."

In June, 1768, Grenville sent Knox a long letter, chiefly on the subject of preventing the American Colonies from manufacturing their own raw materials, a possibility which filled the minds of English statesmen and English merchants with dismay. Grenville believed that to stop all manufacture was an impossibility, and that "the attempting to do it by force, notwithstanding what Lord Chatham declared in the House of Commons, of 'filling their towns with troops and their ports with ships of war,'\* would be most violent and unjust," but urged that every encouragement should be given them to produce and export raw materials. His letter ends by a strong protest against giving up Great Britain's right of taxation, and, as the inevitable consequence, her right of sovereignty, "which is inseparable from it, in all ages and in all countries" (p. 96).

This was followed by another letter on the same subject. Knox was in favour of the plan proposed by Franklin, that the taxes should be, as it were, compounded for; that each colony should furnish a certain quota, and that all taxes should cease to be imposed, except in case of refusal by any colony to provide its contingent.

"To such a surrender," Grenville wrote, "I can never be a party, as I think it the highest species of treason against the constitution and sovereign authority

\* In his letter of Aug. 15 (printed in Knox's *Extra Official State Papers*) Grenville alludes to this at more length, saying that he would never give up the right of taxation, but could not "go as far as Lord Chatham did, by his solemn declaration in full Parliament in his speech for repealing the Stamp Act, that 'if the Americans should manufacture a lock of wool or a horse-shoe, he would fill their ports with ships and their towns with troops.'"



of this kingdom to deprive it of one-fourth of its subjects ; but tho' I cannot adopt nor approve of such a plan, yet I can submit to it, . . . and so far I am from thinking, if I had the power, that I have a right to carry matters to extremity, as you tell me it is supposed I would . . . that if I were to see the King, the Parliament and the people ready to run into extremes on that side, I would employ all the means in my power to prevent it " (p. 7).

Many other letters follow upon this subject and others allied to it. At this time Knox was diligently writing on political matters. On Sept. 11 Grenville congratulated him on having almost got through the tedious business of correcting for the Press, and hoped soon to have the pleasure of seeing his "performance upon the State of the Nation" complete. A month later he assures Knox that he has read the papers sent him with the greatest pleasure.

"They are written with so much temper and force, with so much knowledge and precision, that I am persuaded they will do you great honour, if ever you shall think fit to avow yourself as the author of them.\* The general principles laid down in them correspond so much with my declared opinions, and are so favourable to the public measures I have pursued, that to express any approbation of them to you, who are so perfectly acquainted with both, must be unnecessary. I will therefore only return you my sincere thanks, both as a public man and as a mere individual, for having put them in so clear and advantageous a light."

After criticizing certain points, Grenville concludes : "I rejoice to hear that a work of this national importance . . . is likely to be as universally circulated as it deserves" (pp. 101, 2). While Grenville thus showered generous praise upon Knox, the latter showed that he still looked up to his leader for advice and counsel, and Grenville's next letter is a careful reply to questions which Knox had propounded to him (p. 103).

In 1765 Knox married Letitia, daughter of James Ford, Esq., of Dublin, and in either 1766 or 1767 a son was born, to whom Lyttelton stood godfather. This child died in infancy, but in 1768 a little daughter arrived, whose "spiritual direction" was undertaken by Lord Clare ; and in 1769 Lyttelton's hope of having another godson to replace the one he had lost was fulfilled.

During the summer of 1770 Knox was appointed joint Under Secretary with John Pownall for the colonies, and served successively under Hillsborough, Dartmouth and Lord G. Germain until the suppression of the department in 1782. Germain and Knox appear to have worked very harmoniously together. Lord George's letters are business-like, but always courteous, and he evidently appreciated his subordinate's superior knowledge and experience in relation to America. Sometimes he made alterations in Knox's drafts (see pp. 126, 135, 149) ; occasionally he demurred, but did not alter, as in a letter written in September, 1777.

"I like the letter to Sir G. Carleton very well in general. I had rather not have said that the information which Haldimand was to receive could not fail of being of the greatest use in the conduct of his administration. As I do not believe a word of that sentence, you must absolve me from the crime of signing what I do not think true" (p. 138).

This, however, was only a question of opinion. If the "useful information" was to come from Carleton, Germain would naturally protest against the compliment, as (in spite of his assurances to the contrary) he disliked Carleton extremely. In matters of policy or

\* This treatise, published anonymously, was very generally supposed to be the work of Grenville himself.

the conduct of the war it is not to be supposed that Knox's voice would have great weight. In fact, Lord George would appear to have been only too ready (with the King's support) to undertake the control of military operations. It may be, however, that he was not personally so responsible as is sometimes supposed. On p. 132 is a letter from him to Carleton, evidently in reply to a protest from that commander against the powers exercised by the Secretary in regard to military affairs. Business of such importance, he assured Sir Guy, received the fullest consideration from his Majesty's principal servants, and was then submitted to the King, who, after mature deliberation, gave such orders as he thought proper. The execution only of these orders belonged to the secretary's department, and for the manner, but not for the matter of the despatches must he be held responsible. In some cases Germain went even further, for in July, 1778, after he had received his instructions for a letter to the Commissioners in America, and had had the draft drawn up and revised it, he desired that Lord North, some other ministers, "and in short the whole cabinet, if possible," should see the despatch before he signed it.

Knox was by no means so opposed to concessions to the colonies as was his chief, although he was quite as strongly convinced that England's sovereignty over them must be maintained at all costs. It has been seen that he advocated the abandonment of all taxation, supporting the idea of some voluntary proposal as an equivalent; nay, he went further, and thought that "there were many unjust as well as unpolitic restraints upon the colonies which ought to be taken off."\*

Not only Grenville and Germain, but North and Thurlow, valued Knox's opinion and sought his help. In August, 1778, Lord North desired to consult him in relation to compensation for the American loyalists.

"Nobody," he wrote, "knows better than you do what difficulties are in the way, or is better able to point out the proper methods of surmounting them" (p. 146); and again, as to the position of General Clinton, "I mention this to you for your consideration, for perhaps you may agree with me that care should be taken, &c." (*ibid.*).

Germain states also that North "had a kindness" for Knox, and used to talk confidentially with him, a view which is certainly borne out by the account of the interview of which Lord George was speaking (p. 274).

Knox's acquaintance with Thurlow began when General Burgoyne called for an enquiry into the cause of his miscarriage at Saratoga. Thurlow, then Attorney-General, came to Knox for information as to "the motives, measures and failure of the expedition," and the Under Secretary at once put into his hands a precis which he had drawn up (according to his annual custom) of the letters of that year. Thurlow examined it and exclaimed:—

"Why, this is the very thing I wanted, and you have done it already; pray, do the ministers know of this?" "Yes, Sir, they have all had copies of it." "Then,

\* His sympathy with Ireland, as regards the irritating restraints imposed upon her trade, helped to widen his view, and he hoped to be able to comprehend his own country in any indulgences given to America (p. 258). See also his pamphlet, published in 1765, *The Claim of the Colonies Examined*.

by God, they have never read it, for there is not one of them knows a tittle of the matter'" (p. 270).

From that time Thurlow was always very civil to Knox, who regularly visited him at his levées after he became Chancellor, and in time was admitted to a closer intercourse, an account of which will be found on p. 298.

In the spring of 1782 the suppression of the American department deprived Knox of his office, while the "fatal revolt of New York and Georgia" had left him without income from his American property. After the recovery of Georgia, he had indeed re-established his plantations there, and towards the end of 1783 his private fortune had so far recovered itself that he was able to buy an estate in Wales, and to ask the King for the baronetcy which his circumstances had not allowed him to demand in compensation for the loss of his office in 1782 (p. 193). He states elsewhere\* that he had a definite promise of this baronetcy from the King, but the promise was never fulfilled. Moreover, when the time came for settling the compensation to be given to the American loyalists, Knox found to his dismay that his name was "placed in the class of neutrals, or such as had rendered no service to the King during the war," and this although the State of Georgia had passed an act for the sole purpose of confiscating his property, on the ground "that he had always shown himself inimical to the liberties of America, and was then, as Under Secretary of State, counselling and advising the King of Great Britain in his arbitrary and tyrannical designs." A full statement of his grievances will be found in his "Case" and memorial to the King on pp. 196, 197. His own belief was that by his efforts to preserve English trade and navigation from being sacrificed to America, he had "excited the enmity of Mr. Pitt and of the omniscient Mr. Rose."†

For the rest, he entirely disclaimed any hostility to ministers, and enumerated the many occasions on which he had given help to Government. Yet the only attention he had received was the offer of a knighthood, when he "came up with the address from Pembrokeshire." This was in 1786, when he was appointed High Sheriff for the county (p. 195). The offer of knighthood was not likely to be very gratifying to a man who believed himself entitled to a baronetcy.

This neglect made Knox very bitter against the Government in general and Pitt in particular; and on May 25, 1788, he wrote to Lord Walsingham announcing his adherence to "a middle party (*i.e.*, Lord Rawdon's) that has sprung up from the inattention and partiality of Mr. Pitt in disposing of offices":—

"Look then into the offices and say how they are filled? is the common exclamation of the gentlemen I allude to. Behold two Secretaries of State [Sydney and Carmarthen] who cannot write a sentence of English, Commissioners of the Treasury who do not understand arithmetic, and Commissioners of the Admiralty who do not know larboard from starboard. . . . His two substitutes for Secretaries of State, Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Dundas, are certainly able, but they are both much disliked, and one of them at least suspected of want of sincerity. . . . Perhaps it was wise in so young a man to decline the assistance of the

\* In a letter in the possession of Capt. Knox, but mislaid, and therefore not calendared.

† See letter to Eden, dated 19th December, 1785; British Museum, *Add. MS.*, 24, 428 f. 280.



experienced ; but he has now established himself with the nation, his ability is beyond all comparison, his integrity is above suspicion . . . and he is highly culpable for pursuing the same plan. . . . I admire his talents and pray for his continuance, but I owe a superior duty to the King and the country, and as he will not avail himself of my experience and judgment, I must carry them where they may be rendered useful" (p. 201).

Knox goes on to state that the party already mentioned had applied to him for information ; that they, like himself, professed only attachment to the King ; that he had promised to direct them, and that thus, although there was no one whom he would so willingly serve as Mr. Pitt, he might become an instrument in his overthrow. He ends by saying that he should have addressed this letter to Mr. Pitt himself, but for the belief that he would throw it into the fire without reading it. The morrow, he believed, would show the effects of his direction ; he should save the African trade, and if he brought censure on the bishops they deserved it. The last sentence refers to the proceedings in Parliament, in relation to the slave trade, in May, 1788. Knox's attitude on the question was that of very many good men of his day, as expressed in the well known letter from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to Mr. Benezet in 1768. They thought it good for the Africans to be brought under the influences of civilization and religion, but strongly urged that their well-being and humane treatment should be insisted on by law, and Knox believed that if their recommendations had been attended to, much of the outcry against the trade would have been prevented (p. 203). Two tracts written on the subject in 1768 and a letter to Wilberforce in 1790 are amongst Knox's printed works.

In Walsingham's reply to Knox's letter of May 25 he assured his friend that he did not doubt the purity of his motives, but questioned the utility of his lending his talents to men " who may not be able to substitute so good an administration as that which it is their object to subvert."

Another warning against his too impetuous attacks reached Knox from Lord Rawdon, to whom he sent an unpublished pamphlet (called, like an earlier one, "The State of the Nation"), and who ventured to protest against the ill-policy of writing so strongly as to make himself personally obnoxious to those whose conduct he was criticizing (p. 205 *et seq.*).

In 1783 there seems to have been some talk of his returning to the Secretary's Office under Lord North, and John Scot, ex-Attorney-General and future Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, wrote to congratulate him on what he jokingly called his "second marriage" (p. 190). Knox helped North to arrange American affairs, and drew up certain Orders in Council which, as he states, he carried through against the opposition both of Fox and Burke, thereby, as he believed, saving the maritime importance of England (p. 199) ; but if there was any proposal for his return to office, it fell through.

After the "erection" of the Province of New Brunswick in 1784 Knox was appointed agent, and diligently attended to the guardianship of its affairs (pp. 215, 216, 219, 224, 227, 230).

In 1801 he was also appointed agent for Prince Edward Island, without salary, but with a promise of at least 60*l.* a year, and the

following year was requested to sit for his portrait ; the said portrait to be placed in the first public building hereafter to be erected in the colony. The picture was duly painted by the Baroness de Tott, but neither money to pay for it nor any remuneration for his three years of work was for some time forthcoming. Eventually however, owing to the energy of the Governor, both were received. Letters in relation to the affairs of the Island will be found on pp. 216-222, 225.

The latest letter from William Knox contained in the collection is dated Oct. 9, 1809, and addressed to Dr. Herschell. In it Knox rather daringly embarks on astronomic enquiries, and gives data whose accuracy he does not even pretend to vouch for, "as small differences are nothing in such extensive calculations." His letter ends with an enquiry "in what part of space" Herschell places the seat of bliss and the assembly of angels round the throne of God. The great astronomer very courteously answered the enquiries ; corrected his correspondent's data (giving the distances of the planets from the sun as computed by the calculations of that day), stated the sources where the answers to his scientific enquiries might be found, but entirely declined to commit himself to any views as to "the seat of bliss or the assembly of angels," such matters not falling to the lot of astronomers, "who keep always within the range of facts that may be ascertained."

Amongst Knox's friends and correspondents a foremost place was held by William Henry Lyttelton, Governor successively of South Carolina and Jamaica ; afterwards created Lord Westcote, and, in 1794, Lord Lyttelton. His earlier letters are chiefly expressive of friendly feeling and interest in Knox's writings. In July, 1764, he wrote from Jamaica on the subject of the proposed stamp duty, praising the part taken by Knox and his fellow agents, apparently in influencing Grenville to defer the measure for a year in order to learn the feeling of the colonies, for—

"Considering how much one American Colony differs from another in the frame of its government, temper of the people and capacity of bearing particular taxes, had a stamp duty been imposed the last session of Parliament, to take place in all alike without previous information of the local circumstances attending each, it might have proved in some inefficacious, and in others have been productive of greater discontents than the object was worth."

In 1765 Lyttelton lost his wife, and throughout this and the following year had much difficulty with the Jamaica Assembly and the "obstinate people" committed to his care. He managed, however, to get the Stamp Act "fully carried into execution" in his government. In more than one of his letters at this time he speaks with affectionate admiration of George Grenville, who, it will be remembered, was his first cousin.

In 1767 he returned to England, and was appointed minister to Lisbon. Twelve years before, the city had been half destroyed by the great earthquake ; and when the new ambassador arrived he found "a most singular prospect of regular new-built streets, intermixed with the ruins of vast edifices, palaces, churches and convents," while in answer to his demand for good pictures, as for all other things that were lacking, the one answer was—they were lost in the earthquake (pp. 90-94). Other letters from Lisbon

follow in 1768-70, and then either the correspondence flagged or the letters have not been preserved. A short note in 1777, when Lyttelton had become Lord Westcote, urges Knox to come down and taste the lampreys and venison of Hagley; then silence again until 1782, when he expresses his satisfaction that the power was in Shelburne's hands (rather than in those of any other opponent of Lord North), as he had always had a very high opinion of his talents, although widely differing from him in political sentiments.

The letters during the next twenty years are few and far between, although always affectionate and intimate in tone; but there are two written within a very short time of each other, in April, 1803. In the earlier of these he says:—"I am in mourning for my very old cousin, Lady Chatham, who survived all her brothers many years. It is no personal loss to me, for she lived at so great a distance from me that I have had no society with her for a long time past." Lady Chatham lived, during the last years of her life, at Burton Pynsent in Somersetshire, the estate which had been bequeathed to her husband by a devoted admirer. The letter written a week or two later than the above ends with a frankly personal outlook upon public affairs, so naïve as to be amusing. "Upon the whole, I will only say 'give peace in the remaining part of my time, O Lord,' for had the war with its income tax continued my affairs would have been much deranged" (p. 217).

In 1805 he mentions that his much lamented friend Champion had left him his library as a legacy. This was Anthony Champion, an old schoolfellow of Lyttelton's, who edited his poems.

His last letter is dated Jan. 4, 1807:—

"I will not omit to tell you, my very worthy old friend, that I am this day completely eighty-two years old, and shall give and partake of a cheerful dinner with some of my neighbours. What a pleasure would it be if I could add you to their number! Yet I will not propose a journey to you in the winter; I believe I shall outlive it and shall be happy in your company if you will favour me with a visit in any one of the next summer months."

The old man's belief was well-founded, for he lived until the autumn of 1808; but there are no more letters from him in the collection, and so the curtain rings down upon a friendship which had lasted for fifty years.

Next in order amongst Knox's correspondents is Henry Ellis, ex-Governor of Georgia,\* under whom Knox had worked when Provost Marshal of that province. After leaving America, Ellis led a wandering life, apparently in search of health, and, from the summer of 1774, seems to have spent most of his time at Spa. His letters give the gossip of that fashionable watering-place, intermixed with comments and reflections upon public affairs. He was a bitter opponent of the Americans, and found it impossible to conceive that they could hold their own against England. "The ignorance of people upon the continent," who thought such a thing possible, struck him as amazing (p. 112). As time went on, however, his optimism forsook him, and he became "very miserable" in

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\* Best known by his "Voyage to Hudson's Bay," written after his return from the expedition in search of the North West passage in 1746. He was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1749.

regard to the political outlook (p. 143). He spent the winter of 1778-9 at Marseilles "very agreeably, particularly as none of my own country-folks were there, who are the most restless and discontented people upon earth." A general order had excluded all British subjects from the ports of France, but Ellis obtained an exception from King Louis in his favour, and associated freely with the French, who treated him with "uncommon attention." In 1780 the King of Sweden was at Spa, and Ellis, whom he distinguished by his notice, pronounced him "one of the most amiable and captivating princes" he had ever seen. Gustavus III. praised the King of England as "a most worthy and well informed prince," and begged the Governor, on his return to England, to assure his Majesty that he should never forget the good he had done him. Ellis could not tell what this good was, but said it seemed to have made a great impression on the King of Sweden's mind.

In the winter of 1780-81 Ellis was again in the south of France, where he found the people so "warmly attached to their prince and to the honour of their country" that faction dared not show its head a moment. Although the effects of the war were pretty severely felt, there was no appearance of discontent, and hardly any murmuring. So little did he suspect the storm that was soon to burst over the land. Some suspicion had, however, as he said, crept in, in relation to Neckar's publication of the state of the Finances (which at first had produced a most favourable sensation), and an officer declared to him that there were above 160 millions of debt concealed from the public (p. 176). A few weeks later he mentions Neckar's fall.

Ellis, like Knox, suffered severely from the loss of his American possessions, and the close of his life was clouded by financial anxieties in consequence of the threatened failure of the bank into which he had put much of his capital. In August, 1805, there was a violent earthquake at Naples, where he then was, and he had a fall, followed by a paralytic attack. From this he partially recovered, but the improvement was only transitory, and he died on Jan. 28, 1806 (pp. 223, 224).

Intimately associated with Governor Ellis was George Cressener, who sent Knox letters of news concerning foreign affairs. He was a shrewder observer than Ellis, and from the first was doubtful as to the issue of the quarrel with America, emphasising especially the smallness of the English force there and the need "to ensure success by numbers." But he was just as bitterly hostile to the insurgents, and spoke of the Bostonians as men in a high fever, whom bleeding only could bring to their senses (p. 117). In this same letter he gives an anecdote showing the violent temper of the Prince Royal of Prussia, who in the following year became King Frederick William II. "Judge," he concludes, "what a king he will make, with such a fiery disposition." In his next letter he alludes to the effect which Montcalm's letters must have produced, writing with evidently no doubts as to their authenticity. In the spring of 1777, Cressener lost his wife, and appears to have left Bonn (whence all his letters are dated) and gone to join Ellis at Spa (pp. 129, 135). Although he does not seem to have kept up his correspondence with Knox, his friend's optimistic despatches always had a hearty welcome from



him, giving him, as Ellis said, new life when he was in a desponding condition.

Amongst Knox's other correspondents may be mentioned Lord Clare, with whom he was evidently on very intimate terms, and who was godfather to his eldest daughter; his fellow Under Secretary, John Pownall, from whom there are many letters in the collection; Lord Hillsborough; Sir Grey Cooper, who quotes Shakespeare and Swift in one of his letters, and in another says that he is so anxious about public affairs that he still "ingeminates the sigh of Falkland;" and Lord Rawdon, from whom there are two long letters on the position taken up by himself and his friends in 1789. In one of these he gives Knox the excellent advice already alluded to, against too bitter an attack upon his adversaries (pp. 203, 205).

The second section of the papers in this collection contains letters and documents relating to Ireland, the earliest letter writers being Sir Lucius O'Brien and Sir John Blacquiere, who in 1776-1778 discussed matters of trade, especially in relation to exports and imports and the fishery (pp. 231-233, 236).

In 1778 are many letters from Sir Richard Heron on the same subjects. He also alludes to the attempts made at this time to relieve the Roman Catholics of Ireland from their disabilities. The most violent opposition was expected "against repealing the gavelling clause, which the Roman Catholics abhor, and their opposers—even moderate men—consider as the palladium of Ireland." Dean Tucker, of Gloucester, wrote, somewhat later, that as regards the repeal of the persecuting laws, he had one short remark to make: "that when the Papists are reforming the very worst and most mischievous parts of their religion by their open disavowal of persecution, some of us, who call ourselves Protestant, adopt those very principles which they are casting off."

Other correspondents in Ireland are Edmund Pery, General Cunningham (on the Mutiny Bill), William Eden, the Marquis of Buckingham (acknowledging a letter from Knox containing praise of his "ever dear and honoured father," George Grenville), and Archdeacon Hastings in relation to the publication of Knox's "Extra Official State Papers."

The last document relating to Ireland is a paper by Knox on the question of Emancipation, in which, referring to the doctrine of the Real Presence, he observes:—"The only difference is that the Catholics believe *more* than the Church of England. The latter inculcates the belief of a spiritual eating the flesh of Christ, the Catholics believe that they eat it carnally, but the Protestant dissenter denies both, and is therefore further removed from the Church of England than is the Catholic."

Following the Irish papers are *Reminiscences*, *Political Anecdotes*, &c. Knox's proceedings in Georgia and his conversations with George Grenville have already been mentioned. These are followed by the circumstances of Lord Hillsborough's resignation in 1772, Anecdotes at Spa, and a memorandum on the proceedings attending Lord G. Germain's appointment as Secretary of State for the Colonies. A difficulty had hitherto been made in considering the American Secretary as a Secretary of State at all. Lord Hills-

borough "was only held to be first Lord of Trade with Seals and Cabinet." Lord Dartmouth's commission was the same, and Lord Weymouth had refused the department on that very account. Lord George being a commoner,

"it became necessary to make some alteration in his commission, for the former commission made it a new office and consequently excluded him from the House of Commons. A commission in the terms of those of the other Secretaries obviated this difficulty, for there were precedents of three persons being at the same time Secretaries of State."

But opposition was expected, especially from Lord Weymouth. "The King, by one of those minute strokes for which he is so eminent, removed all difficulty." When Council met, and the Lord President moved that Lord Weymouth might be sworn, the King replied: "There are two Secretaries of State to be sworn; let them both be sworn together"; which was done accordingly. Lord Weymouth perfectly understood the King, and accepted the situation (p. 256).

Next follow papers in relation to America; a sketch of the King's speech to his Cabinet on June 21, 1779—when "he sat down at the head of his library table, and desired for the first time since he became King all the ministers to sit down" (p. 260)—and a note on the proposed changes in July, 1779.

A quarto copy-book contains a number of personal sketches, entitled "Curious Political Anecdotes." The first gives an account of an audience of Lord Rockingham, as narrated by the King to Lord G. Germain. In the course of it, Rockingham alluded to the fact that he always received his rents:—

"As I found," said the King, "I was in to be treated with a long harangue, I thought this was a good opportunity to make him shorten it by diverting him from his subject, and asked him how he managed so well. This made him talk a little about his own affairs, and took him out of his speech; and when he came to resume it again, he could not take it up in form, but huddled the substance together."

Lord Rockingham urged the importance of liberty to export woollen cloth from Ireland:—

"But," said the King, "I could not help observing how people are affected by their particular interest, for I was talking of what Lord Rockingham proposed to Lord Hertford, and he said the exportation of woollens would do nothing for Ireland; advantages in the linen were the things wanting" (p. 266).

Sir William Howe, Lord Hillsborough, William Eden, Wedderburn, Thomas Hussey are in turn the subjects of sketches; followed by one on Lord Thurlow, part of which, in relation to Knox, has already been quoted. A curious little anecdote is told of Thurlow in relation to the proposal to apprehend Handcock, Adams and other American leaders. The two under secretaries were in the outer room awaiting the end of a sitting of the Cabinet when Thurlow, then Attorney-General, came out:—

"'Well,' cried Pownall, 'is it done?' 'No,' answered Thurlow, 'nothing is done. Don't you see,' added he, 'that they want to throw the whole responsibility of the business upon the Solicitor-General and me, and who would be such damned fools as to risk themselves for such—fellows as these. Now if it was George Grenville, who was so damned obstinate that he would go to hell with you before he would desert you, there would be some sense in it.' He walked off, and the project was dropped."

An account of a Cabinet meeting on "the Dutch business" in 1780 states that Lord North and the President (Bathurst)

"fell asleep as soon as the business was opened; Lord Hillsborough nodded and

dropt his hat; Lord Sandwich was overcome at first, but rubbed his eyes and seemed attentive; Lord Amherst kept awake but said nothing. Lord Stormont, the reader of these important papers, the Chancellor and Lord George Germain only gave them consideration, but when the others awoke, they approved of what was proposed."

There is a long account of the circumstances which preceded Lord G. Germain's removal in 1782. On Jan. 18 Germain had a final meeting with Lord North on the subject of America:—

"The conference lasted an hour, and the report Lord George made to me [Knox] of it was to this effect. Lord North said it was impossible to continue the war; that America was lost, and it was vain to think of recovering it. Lord George offered to treat upon the *uti possidetis*, but that, Lord North said, they would not accept; nothing but independence would do, and that, Lord George said, would never be given by him, and therefore, if such was his purpose, he must look out for another Secretary of State. . . . In the conversation, Lord North said there was no objection to Lord George's person, but to his declared principle of never consenting to independence, which made the difficulty; 'and yet,' says he, 'your being out of the way won't mend matters, for the King is of the same opinion.' Some days later the King told Germain that Lord North had spoken of the necessity for his going out, because of his avowed principle of treating with America upon any footing but preservation of sovereignty. 'If you mean by his going out,' said the King, 'to relinquish that principle, you must make other removes.' 'No,' replies Lord North, 'for no one else has declared that principle.' 'Yes,' says the King, 'you must go further; you must remove me.'" (pp. 275, 276).

After a paper on Lord Thurlow, giving the story of "the Regency business" in the Chancellor's own words, there follows a sketch of Charles Townshend. Knox accompanied him home after the debate in the Lords on the Cyder Bill (in 1763), against which forty Lords voted, and which he thought a death blow to Lord Bute's administration; and as Lady Dalkeith (his wife) and Knox sat at supper, which he never eat, he walked about the room, entertaining them with his observations upon what had passed that day, in his eccentric manner:—

"The Burial is gone by, Knox (says he); Lord Pomfret and Lord Denbigh, the two black staves men. Whose funeral is that? Lord Bute's. Then comes Lord Hillsborough, tolling the big bell—bum, bum!' These three were the only lords that had declared themselves attached to Lord Bute in the debate, and their manner of speaking, which he took off, made the allusion highly ridiculous. 'Do you know (says he again) the meaning of the other speeches you heard?' The Duke of Newcastle said, 'My Lord Bute, you thought it was an easy thing to govern this country through the King's favour. Now I can tell you that, altho' I had as full possession of the late King as you have of the present, I found it necessary to take the great connexions of the country with me, which you are endeavouring to break and oppose; but take my word for it, you will find your seat at the Treasury an uneasy one if you don't change your plan, of which what passes here this night is only a specimen.' Then Lord Mansfield. 'My Lord Bute, you gave me reason to think I should be of your cabinet, but you have neglected me. . . . I will now show you that I can punish you if I choose to do it, but as I don't mean to break with you, but only to teach you to behave better for the future, I will bring you off now.'"

Townshend's manner of reading a book, Knox says, was curious:—

"He turned over the leaves at the beginning extremely quick, first glancing at the middle of each page. 'That's all preface,' says he. He then ran over the facts with more attention, and when he had gone through them, turned over the remainder of the leaves as he had done the beginning, saying, 'that's all conclusion, I can do that myself,' and he received oral communications in the same manner, always confining the narrator to the fact."

The sketch closes with an entertaining account of the advice given by Townshend to Yorke, when the latter was offered the choice of being Attorney-General or Master of the Rolls in 1764. Before deciding he came to consult Townshend.

"That is (said Townshend to Knox) he wishes much to take one of them, and

to throw the blame of his quitting the Opposition upon me. We are very good friends, but I'll be cursed if he makes me his stalking horse to get into office. So go into the next room when he comes, and stay till he is gone, and then I'll tell you what has passed.' When he called me in, he began with laughing most heartily. 'My poor friend (says he) came to me under great embarrassment for my advice, and I think I have sent him away ten times more embarrassed than he came.' "

And, truly, so he did, for Townshend put before him the pros and cons for each of the offices in so bewildering a manner, that Yorke waited and hesitated until he (for the time being) lost both.

The subject of the last sketch is Lord Lansdowne.\* Knox's intercourse with him in 1763 has already been mentioned. After that, they met but little until his Lordship (then Earl of Shelburne) brought the seals of the Southern and American Departments to Whitehall in 1782, when he held out hopes of continuance in office, or at any rate of ample compensation, to the Under Secretary, who had then been in harness for nearly twelve years. Knox was not greatly inclined to work under him, and this feeling was shared by others, "Pollock's terror and Sir Stanier Porten's exclamation of 'God be thanked I am not to be under you again' making him feel happy to be at liberty to withdraw."

"Sir Richard Sutton had long ago told me that of all ministers, Lord Lansdowne was the most difficult to please. He was never satisfied with what anyone did, or even with what he did himself, but altered and changed without end. As an instance, he mentioned his having prepared a draft of a despatch for Tuesday's mail. His Lordship directed him to alter and write it over again for his signing in the evening." More alterations and fresh transcripts followed, and "before the letter was sent off, it had been nine times transcribed, and the Friday night's mails detained for it till two in the morning" (p. 283).

Knox's own experience soon proved to him that it was not without reason those who had served with Shelburne in office "abhorred him as a principal." He attended day after day without being able to obtain instructions, and was finally sent for between ten and eleven o'clock on a Sunday night, when he positively refused to go. The Earl made Knox inform him of the reason and purpose of every order and movement during the progress of the late war with America, but was so ill-informed of its geography that Knox had "to lead him through the map and describe the country" as he went along.

Some miscellaneous papers, chiefly in relation to American affairs, are followed by letters and other documents on the subject of presents to the North American Indians, a business in which Knox was actively concerned. The value of those sent out in the years 1775-1779 amounted to about 87,500*l.*, and in 1781 the demands made by the officers charged with their distribution fell little short of 55,000*l.*, without reckoning charges of freight or delivery (pp. 293, 294).

On this head, there is an interesting letter amongst the Stopford Sackville papers (8to ed. vol. ii, p. 252) written by Lieut.-Col. Benj. Thompson in January, 1782, declaring that unless the expenses of the department could be reduced, he should certainly vote for its abolition, for the expenditure of late had been enormous, and the advantages derived from the Indians "perfectly trifling."

An incident showing the temptations to which an official was

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\* Always spelt "Lansdown" by Knox.



exposed in the management of such matters occurred in 1782, when a merchant to whom Knox had applied refused to do anything because Knox rejected his proposal of laying an extra profit of 6,000*l.* upon the goods, and dividing it between themselves. This, as Knox said, showed the danger of employing traders to do business for government, as their own interest "suppresses all feelings for the public service."

On p. 294 will be found a list of things, useful and decorative, which were chosen for the Indians round Niagara.

After the text of the present volume was completed, Captain Knox found and sent up a packet of letters from Dr. Philip Skelton, which it was thought a pity to exclude. They, therefore, form a short supplementary report at the end of the volume. Dr. Skelton, whose name is said to be even yet remembered in Donegal for his goodness and charity,\* was a learned divine, who wrote much, and delighted in buying books. But his life was devoted to the service of his poor parishioners, and twice, in time of famine, he sold his library in order to feed his people. In 1770 he published his collected works by subscription, designing the profits to be given to the Foundling and Magdalen Hospitals. He had not, he said, helped to fill either of these institutions, but those who *had* done so refused to support them (p. 442).

His letters are written in a tone of deep despondency in regard to England and England's future, but are full of loving kindness to his friends and desire to help his fellow-men. He eagerly accepted and carefully distributed contributions sent to him for his poor weavers; but in spite of his goodness to them, his Ulster parish gradually became a hotbed of discontent, and in 1780 the old man withdrew to Dublin, where he died in 1787.

The editor is indebted to Capt. Howard Vicente Knox (great-great grandson of William Knox, and the present owner of the MSS.) for the information that after Knox's death they went to Lady Dillon (Letitia Knox), his daughter, who arranged and docketed the letters. All endorsements, not in Knox's own handwriting, are hers. From her the collection passed to Miss Carew-Smyth, Knox's grand-daughter, who passed them on, in or about 1889, to Capt. H. V. Knox and his wife. A few of the letters calendared in this report are printed, partially, in Knox's "Extra Official State Papers," but have been included in this volume, in order not to break the continuity of the correspondence, and the rather, as Knox's book has long been out of print.

In a small packet with the letters is a silver tinselled, jewelled leek, and a note by Lady Dillon, saying "This was given to my dear Father by the Prince of Wales on St. David's Day [1810], who took it out of his hat, asking my father to give him his in exchange, saying they would exchange again next year on St. David's Day, but, alas, my dear Father had passed away before that date."

At the British Museum (Add. MSS. 34413; 21703; 18902) there are letters from Knox to William Eden, General Haldimand and George Chalmers. A list of his writings is annexed to his life in the Dictionary of National Biography.

S. C. LOMAS.

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\* See his Life in the Dictionary of National Biography.

### III.—MSS. OF CORNWALLIS WYKEHAM-MARTIN, Esq.

THIS selection of letters addressed to Admiral the Honourable Sir William Cornwallis, G.C.B., although without claim to any very high importance in a historical sense, possesses interest of various kinds naturally arising out of the Admiral's own position and achievements. He belonged by birth to two famous English families which reached a very high point of renown and prosperity during his own lifetime. His long and distinguished services embraced the most glorious period in the naval annals of Great Britain. And while the earlier letters present a most pleasing picture of English family life, of union firmly knit by pure affection, governed by high principle, and directed to worthy aims, many of those of a later date are the unstudied effusions of great seamen, whose deeds lend undying lustre to our national records.

Sir William Cornwallis, born on February 20, 1744, was the fourth son and youngest child of the fifth Viscount and first Earl Cornwallis, by a marriage with the eldest daughter of Viscount Townshend, a leading statesman in the reign of George I. He appears to have entered the navy at the age of eleven. When the correspondence opens in April, 1761, we find him sharing as a Lieutenant of the *Thunderer* under Captain Proby the glory of a successful action with a Spanish frigate near Cadiz. There are only a few letters to him from his father, all written in the course of that year. They are affectionate and full of good counsel, urging him particularly to cultivate the esteem and friendship of his superior officers as the surest means of professional advancement, and pointing to the example of his eldest brother, Lord Brome, who, at the age of twenty-three, already commanded a regiment in Germany with great reputation. A letter from Brome himself, overflowing with fraternal regard and with grief for the recent death of their brother Harry in Germany, belongs to the same period. The Earl died in 1762, leaving his two younger sons, James and William, still minors, and but slenderly provided for, under the guardianship of their mother. James, who had gone to Merton College, Oxford, soon won a fellowship, and entering the Church under the favouring auspices of his uncle, Frederic Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury, obtained rapid preferment. Having thus happily got her elder charge "off her hands," all Lady Cornwallis's cares and aspirations centred in William, her favourite child. All her efforts and resources were employed in pushing him forward in the navy. Having obtained for him from Lord Halifax, now at the head of the Admiralty, the command of a schooner in which he sailed for the West Indies, she set her heart on having him promoted to the rank of post-captain before the close of the Seven Years' war.

The Whig party, to which the Cornwallis and Townshend family

belonged, had been ejected from office. Party spirit ran high, and promotion depended on political patronage. It was only by bringing social influence and personal charm to bear on reluctant Ministers that the Dowager Countess could hope to accomplish her aim. And the exulting sense of desert with which, intent on compelling her son's approval, she unfolds to him the skilful manœuvres by which, with the help not only of confederates of her own sex, but of Admirals Burnaby, Keppel, and Rodney, she obtained promises of the coveted rank from Lord Halifax and his successor Lord Egmont, is delightful. Meantime the schooner *Swift*, which William commanded, was cast on a desert island. By the strenuous exertions of captain and crew the vessel was saved, and made its way in much hardship and peril to Jamaica. Cornwallis at least must have found ample compensation for his misfortune in the generous solicitude which it evoked. His eldest brother, who seems always to have made his interests an object of particular concern, and his unmarried sister Mary eagerly contended for the privilege of making good his losses. But his mother jealously asserted a superior claim. "I told them," she wrote, "I was able to assist you with whatever you wanted, and I would give up that pleasure to nobody." It appears, however, from a letter written to him by Admiral Keppel, that her efforts to have him posted were frustrated by some blunder or change of purpose on the part of Admiral Burnaby, who commanded in the West Indies; and her mortification on this account was not lessened by a display of professional sensitiveness which must have appeared to her ungracious, if not ungrateful. William seems to have thought that her eagerness for his promotion outran discretion, and to have asked her to abstain from any further application to the Admiralty on his behalf. Thenceforward she schooled herself to a severe control of indiscreet feeling. "All her happiness," she told him with touching submission, "consisted in obeying his wishes." In 1765 the Whigs, returning to office for a brief period under Lord Rockingham, conferred on him the rank so much coveted for him by all his family.

Some of the early letters of the Dowager Countess give current news of social or political events. Notwithstanding her staunch loyalty she seems to have sympathised with Wilkes in his struggle with the Crown. In a letter written in 1763 during the political crisis provoked by George Grenville's arrogant lectures to George III., we have a striking picture of the Great Commoner passing in his "gouty chair" through the crowded park from Buckingham House, after a prolonged interview with the King, during which the Prime Minister, calling to administer his daily admonition, found the Royal closet closed against him. In the interval of peace between the Seven Years' war and the war of American Independence the correspondence is broken by long and frequent blanks. Captain Cornwallis seems to have been for the greater part of this time absent from England on foreign service. During the year 1770, his sister Mary, who had married Mr. Whitbread, sent him news of the day, and contributed to his comfort at sea by liberal supplies of porter from her husband's brewery. The evidence afforded by her letters of a most amiable and generous nature leaves a feeling of regret for her prema-

ture death. In 1771 Captain Blankett, having "come to peep in London," sent Cornwallis a report of what he heard of the particular fortunes of their naval friends, and saw of the general society of the capital. Their friend Stott had taken possession of Falkland Island, and returned safe to Plymouth." Mr. Banks "was going on another expedition to the South Sea, taking Cook as one of his captains." "Cotton still continues idle in regard to our service, and is entered into that of a wife (though he denies it), which probably may be attended with as many storms, hurricanes, and tempests as any frigate in the West Indies." His picture of the general aspect of social life in London at this time is not edifying. "Extravagance," he wrote, "luxury, and gaming are the fashionable vices of the town, and it will astonish you on your return to see the vast improvements of the age. The Loterie, Macaroni, White's, Almac's, &c., are in the most flourishing state, and cards in all companies are the only things worth living for. A man of taste must play all the morning, or at least four or five games before dinner, which is shortened to give time for the exquisite pleasures of *Quinze* and *Vingt-Un*. In fact, idleness and debauchery are so far taken possession of all ranks in society that opposition to the King's measures is a piece of barbarity inconsistent with the manners of the present age. All wit is at Court, all knowledge at the gaming table."

During the war with the American States and their European allies, Captain Cornwallis was constantly on active service, every year adding to his reputation as a brave and skilful officer. In November, 1777, when in command of the *Isis* frigate on the American station under Lord Howe, he took a prominent part in the attack on Fort Mifflin. In reference to this action his eldest brother, then at Philadelphia, wrote to their mother—"I have the satisfaction of assuring you that William has gained the greatest credit in the face of the whole army and fleet. Lord Howe extols him to the skies." His ship being much damaged, Captain Cornwallis returned in her to England early in 1778. In September of that year we have two short but remarkable letters written to him by his sister-in-law, Jemima Lady Cornwallis. They paint in the gloomiest colours the state of parties in England; an administration, obstinate and incapable, rushing blindly on national disaster; an opposition, in which the spirit of faction has killed every patriotic feeling, rejoicing in public reverses which must soon overwhelm all in common ruin. This picture in some measure reflected the morbid melancholy to which the writer had fallen a victim. She was dying of a broken heart. In 1776 George III. had appointed Lord Cornwallis to a prominent post in the army assembled under Sir William Howe to repress the American revolt. Lady Cornwallis, unable to endure the prospect of separation for an indefinite time from a husband to whom she was tenderly attached, privately contrived, through the influence of their uncle, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the King, to have the appointment cancelled. But Cornwallis, though devoted to his wife and strongly opposed to the colonial policy of the Government, insisted on joining Howe. He considered military service in time of war as a call of duty which



he could not evade without dishonour. At the end of the campaign of 1777 he came home for a few months, returning to New York in April, 1778. His wife, with their children, accompanied him to Portsmouth, where he embarked, and sorrow for this second parting brought on her an illness which proved fatal. When her husband heard of her danger, he threw up his command and hurried back, only to see her die. By her express request no stone was inscribed to her memory, but a thorn was planted on her grave, as nearly as possible over her heart. The bereaved husband in a letter dated May 5, 1779, announced to William, now commanding the *Lion* man-of-war on the West Indies, that he returned to America not with views of ambition, but because England had become insupportable to him. All the joy had gone out of his life.

In the disorderly battle off Grenada, in July, 1779, between the English and French fleets, commanded by Admirals Byron and D'Estaing, the *Lion*, being exposed without support to the whole fire of the enemy, was shattered and dismasted. Escaping capture by good fortune, the disabled ship drifted on the current to Jamaica. However inglorious for the British arms, this fight reflected lustre on Captain Cornwallis. Admiral Barrington, second in command to Byron, on returning to England in very bad humour with the general conduct and condition of the fleet, spread his praises everywhere. His brother James, already Dean of Canterbury, his uncle the Archbishop, and Captain Leveson Gower wrote to assure him that his valour and seamanship were the theme of every tongue. Lord Cornwallis, still plunged in grief for his irreparable loss, sent him cordial congratulations from New York. "God bless you" the letter ends, "May success, honour and riches attend you. Mind I put honour first, which you will approve of." Later in the same year Lord Cornwallis wrote to his mother: "For myself I have in this world neither hopes nor fears. I will endeavour to do my duty to my country and be honest; and then, with perfect resignation to His will, I will put my trust in God's mercy."

Early in 1780, Captain Cornwallis, being in command of a small squadron in the West Indies, encountered a stronger French force under Admiral La Mothe Piquet, and bore off the honour of the day. At a time when the public mind in England was depressed by repeated defeat, and hostile fleets rode triumphant in the Channel, this partial success, to which the official report of Admiral Sir Peter Parker did full justice, seems to have caused a considerable sensation. Sir George Rodney, much dissatisfied with the conduct of some of his own captains, wrote to Captain Cornwallis from Sandwich in July: "To have you with me will make me very happy, as I should then be certain of being well supported. . . . Once more I can only say, to have you with me will be the greatest favour the Admiralty can show me." At the end of the year Admiral Parker despatched Cornwallis to England in charge of a large convoy.

During these events in the West Indies the mind of the old Dowager Countess, as exhibited in her letters, was a constant tumult of excitement. Her joy and pride in the rising fame of her favourite

son, and the compliments showered on him from all quarters, which she fondly treasured up in her diary, were mingled with anxiety for his safety, and a passionate longing to see him again. When his approaching return was announced her impatience knew no bounds. "The wind is consulted every hour of the day," she wrote on November 11, "and my good or ill-humour depends entirely on the going of the smoke." She reproached him with concealing from her exploits which she had learned from friendly congratulations, or found published in the gazette. "Why did you not mention this event in your letter to me," she wrote on one occasion; "I believe you feared I should grow too vain." Discovering that he had been allowed only three ships-of-war to escort two hundred homeward bound merchantmen, she was oppressed with dread that the enemy would intercept and overpower him, and began filling another letter with bitter reproaches against the Admiralty. While thus engaged Archbishop Cornwallis, calling to see her, combated her fears, and told her how Lord Sandwich, when speaking of this convoy at dinner in the presence of Lord North, declared that Captain Cornwallis was the most promising young man in the service. "Upon hearing this," she wrote, on returning to the interrupted scroll, "I have scratched out all my uncharitableness. I am quite reconciled to him. He has chosen you for this material convoy for the good opinion he has of you." An erasure in the body of the letter bears witness to her repentance.

In 1781, after resting a short time in England, Captain Cornwallis applied to the Admiralty for active employment. A vacancy having just occurred in the command of the *Canada*, Lord Sandwich wrote:—"As I understand that she is the best ship in the navy, of her rate, I cannot do my duty better than by offering her to one of the most distinguished officers in the King's service." Sailing again to the West Indies, Cornwallis won additional renown early in 1782 by a gallant attempt to save St. Kitts from the more powerful French armament of Count D'Estaing. A little later he took a leading part in Rodney's brilliant victory over Count de Grasse, the closing, and for England the most glorious, event of the war. It would appear, however, from some very indifferent verses he thought worth preserving, that he shared the opinion held by many of Rodney's officers, that more energy in improving the victory might have made it much more decisive. His fame was now high, and firmly established. Letters from his mother and brothers in England, informing him of a change of Ministry and other matters of public or personal interest, contained many particulars flattering to himself. James Cornwallis, now bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, wrote in reference to the naval action at St. Kitts, "the King spoke very handsomely of you the other day to Tommy Townshend, the present Secretary of War." And again, after news had arrived of Rodney's victory, he wrote, "the King made your praise the subject of his conversation at the *levée*. Lord Rockingham was as strong in his commendation of you to me." Lord Rodney, too, lauded him to the skies. Lord Cornwallis, now back in England as a prisoner of war on *parole*, sent equally favourable reports. "Lord Keppel (the

new First Lord of the Admiralty) speaks of you," he wrote, "in the handsomest manner. Jervis spoke of you in the highest terms to Lord Shelburne, and said it would be a disgrace to the Administration if you did not receive some distinguished mark of honour." The Dowager Countess, grown feeble, and satisfied with the renown William had acquired, now sighed for peace, and lived only in the hope of having him with her again. Hearing that Rodney had offered him De Grasse's captured flagship, the *Ville de Paris*, to take to England, she wrote on May 27 :—"Why did you not accept the Admiral's offer? By all the accounts, you had a very considerable share in the taking her. The coming home in her would have been an *éclat*, and what is material, I should have the comfort of seeing you soon. Perhaps that would have been an objection to you. If so I withdraw my wishes, for they are always governed by what you like. Myself is always out of the question where you are concerned, and I should be more happy with your being in the West Indies than nearer to me did I know that it was your choice." This is her last letter. It gives the finishing touch to a beautiful picture of maternal devotion.

Captain Cornwallis having returned to England with a convoy, and the war being now virtually over, his brothers were anxious to obtain for him a staff appointment in recognition of his services. In order to promote his interests the Earl brought him into Parliament as one of the members for the family borough of Eye, leaving him full liberty to choose his own political line. Shortly afterwards Lord Cornwallis, being offered the appointment of Governor-General of India, tried to obtain the command of the naval squadron in the Indian seas for William. But Lord Keppel, now at the head of the Admiralty, thought Admiral Parker had superior claims. And in fact, notwithstanding the old relations of the Cornwallis family with the Whig party, and particularly with Charles Fox, and ties of friendship with Lords Shelburne and Keppel, it was only after some delay and angry complaints of being overlooked from William, that Keppel gave him command of the *Foudroyant*. After the fall of the Coalition Ministry Lord Howe, on becoming First Lord of the Admiralty under Pitt, seems to have conferred on Captain Cornwallis the post of Colonel of marines; and in 1788 Lord Chatham, Howe's successor, made him naval Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, with the rank of Commodore. During the war of American Independence Cornwallis had formed intimate friendships not only with Lord Howe and the Hoods, under whom he served, but also with Captains Jervis, Nelson, Collingwood, and other famous seamen of his own rank, whose letters diversify and sometimes enliven the correspondence. With Nelson his relations were particularly affectionate, and continued so to the end. Writing to him in October, 1784, from Antigna, Nelson, then commanding the *Boreas*, expresses with amusing candour his aversion or contempt for the station, the admiral, the captains associated with him in the absence of Collingwood; in fact for everybody and everything except the officers of his own ship, and "his only female friend in these islands," Mrs. Moutray.

In October, 1788, hearing in his retirement at Burnham of Corn

wallis's approaching departure for India, Nelson wrote again expressing an ardent desire, "though happily married," to "step forth" for service under his friend. After his arrival in India two objects, suggested by the Governor-General's advice or example, appear to have specially occupied the Commodore's attention. One was to create a convenient and secure station for the British fleet, adequate facilities for which seemed to be afforded by the Andaman islands. The second was a reform of naval administration, the whole public service of the East India Company being at this time gangrened by fraud and speculation. Lord Howe, whom he appears to have consulted in regard to both objects, while highly commending his motives, gave him but cold encouragement; inclining to the opinion that naval stations were worse than useless unless guarded by a large military force, and deprecating the destruction of a bad system until proper instruments were available for the introduction of a better. The Governor-General also, to whom the dishonesty of subordinate Indian officials was only too familiar, had convinced himself that the miserable pay which the Company then doled out to its servants lay at the root of prevalent abuses. Attempts at reform, he thought, must prove ineffectual unless accompanied by a higher scale of remuneration. Lord Hood, however, now first sea-lord of the Admiralty, wrote to assure the Commodore of the full approbation and support of the Board. And letters from Lord Chatham expressed in very flattering terms the confidence of Government in his advice, and its appreciation of his exertions. Schemes of improvement were interrupted in 1790 by the breaking out of war between the East India Company and the Sultan of Mysore. During this conflict the Commodore co-operated with his brother by keeping vigilant guard over the ports through which the enemy might obtain foreign supplies. Several letters from the Governor-General, and from the Rev. Christopher Wells, give interesting accounts of the difficulties the former had to overcome in the tedious campaigns of 1791 and 1792. On February 10, 1792, Lord Cornwallis announced to his brother the storming of Tippoo's camp near Seringapatam. A fortnight later he sent him a copy of articles of peace just signed, "which I flatter myself," he wrote, "you will think advantageous for us." The success had been so decisive that the conditions of the treaty, though sufficiently onerous for the vanquished, bore testimony to the moderation of the victor. Hardly had the new territorial arrangements arising out of this conflict been settled when news reached the Governor-General, now Marquis Cornwallis, of the renewal of war between France and England. With the help of his brother, now Rear-Admiral, he took possession of the French settlements of Pondicherry and Chandernagore. Having thus restored internal tranquillity in India, and provided against external attack, he returned home towards the end of 1793, and was followed by the admiral a few months later.

The Dowager Countess being dead, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry had taken charge of the affairs of his brothers during their absence on foreign service, and kept them informed of current events in England. He appears to have been an indefatigable man of business. In addition to the cares of a large diocese, of the Deanery of



Durham, and of his own personal and domestic interests, he acted as guardian for the Marquis's children, invested large savings of the Governor-General in advantageous purchases of land in Suffolk, rebuilt the family seat at Culford, watched over the borough of Eye, selected the members, and was a regular attendant at Court and in the House of Lords. His letters depict for us a life of many interests and constant work.

When Admiral Cornwallis arrived in England in 1794, the war of the first coalition against the French Revolution was in full operation. And already it afforded an example of the striking contrast between the extreme caution of British generals and the heroic audacity of British admirals which marked it throughout. A letter, dated May 23, from Nelson, then serving under Lord Hood in the Mediterranean, alludes with veiled sarcasm to General Dundas, commanding five British regiments in Corsica, who pronounced the seige of Bastia utterly impracticable, and held his force aloof, while Hood and Nelson, at the head of 1,000 men from the fleet, carried the town by storm with little loss. Cornwallis, now promoted to be Vice-Admiral, seems to have obtained immediate employment; and hoisting his flag on board the *Royal Sovereign* of 100 guns, soon raised his professional reputation to a very high point. When cruising off Brest in June, 1795, with a squadron of five men-of-war and two frigates, he fell in with a French fleet of twelve men-of-war and twelve frigates, under Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse. The English squadron, being over-matched in sailing power as well as in force, was in imminent danger of being taken or destroyed, when Cornwallis, by a bold and skilful manœuvre which completely deceived his antagonist, checked the enemy's onset, and secured for the English vessels an unmolested retreat to Plymouth. It would appear from a letter of congratulation from Lord Howe, dated June 30, that Admiral Cornwallis, with the modest reticence habitual to him when his own credit was concerned, did less than justice in his official report to his personal share in this action. But when the full particulars became known, public approval of his conduct was loud and universal. Congratulations poured in on him from all quarters. Lord Cornwallis wrote from Warley camp that his conduct in this *rencontre* would do him more honour "than ten ordinary victories with equal or superior force." The Bishop of Lichfield informed him that, "at the birth-day the Queen enquired much after you, and was very civil about you." Sir Charles Middleton wrote that the Admiralty proposed to "bind up his journal separate, to be kept as a model of professional conduct." Wesley Pole, second of the five distinguished sons of the first Earl of Mornington, and who as a naval officer held fame so cheap as to quit Cornwallis's ship in 1780, at the very crisis of the war with France, on succeeding to an Irish estate, not only wrote a most affectionate letter full of gratitude for past kindness, but wept for joy when hearing and repeating everywhere the praises of his old commander. And when Parliament met in November, the speaker, Mr. Addington, conveyed to him "the high and unanimous sense entertained by the House of Commons" of his "judicious and gallant conduct."

Admiral Cornwallis had now proved his capacity for high com-

mand. The greatest employments, the most splendid achievements, seemed to be fairly within his grasp. But during the five years that elapsed between the beginning of 1796 and the beginning of 1801, a most eventful period of that war, and, as regards British exploits, one of the most brilliant in naval annals, he disappears altogether from the scene. Nor does this collection of letters give us the slightest hint as to the cause of his professional eclipse. On turning, however, to James's "*Naval History*," we learn that Admiral Cornwallis was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the West Indies in February, 1796. Going out in charge of a convoy, his flagship, the *Royal Sovereign*, suffered damage by colliding with another vessel; and he returned to England in her for repairs, leaving the convoy to pursue its course. The Admiralty sent him orders to embark at once in the *Astræa* frigate, and rejoin the convoy; but he excused himself from obeying by pleading that the state of his health could not endure the discomfort of a frigate. He was thereupon tried by court martial for disobedience of orders, and, although acquitted on this charge, was censured by the Court for leaving his convoy. Under a sense of harsh treatment by the Admiralty he tendered his resignation, which was immediately accepted; and during the remaining years of Mr. Pitt's first administration he obtained no further employment. This authentic account of an unfortunate conflict with authority leaves much room for conjecture. It was only natural that Admiral Cornwallis should dislike being despatched for the third or fourth time to the West Indies, particularly as service on that station no longer afforded much prospect of additional laurels to compensate for an unhealthy climate and other depressing conditions. There are indications in letters addressed to him of his being of a gouty habit, of somewhat irritable temper, with a disposition to feel aggrieved by even legitimate control which crossed his own plans. And the British navy at that time contained so many famous captains, eagerly competing for employment, that the Admiralty could afford to shelve a contumacious officer, however distinguished, as a lesson of discipline to others. These various circumstances might be suggested in explanation of an offence which was visited by such severe punishment. On the other hand, we find Lord Cornwallis deploring to Colonel Ross, in a letter dated March 18, 1796,\* the conduct on this occasion of his brother William, who showed himself so wrong-headed, so warped by absurd suspicions of the Admiralty, as to have become incapable of listening to rational argument. It appears also from another letter written four days later that the Marquis, although a most important member of the Cabinet as the highest authority among the British generals of the time on military operations, had interposed in vain with his colleague Lord Spencer to prevent a court martial, from which he feared the worst consequences for his brother. We learn from the same source that the real cause of Admiral Cornwallis's refusal to sail in the *Astræa* frigate was a disinclination to be separated from Captain Whitby, his flag-Captain, whom he afterwards made his heir.

Of this long period of forced inaction the collection tells us little.

\* *Cornwallis Correspondence*.

There are a few letters from the Bishop's daughter, Elizabeth Cornwallis, to her uncle, generally bright and cheerful, though clouded by a serious disappointment of her own. A gloomy letter from Lord Nelson at Palermo, dated January 31, 1799, reveals a mind sunk in deep despondency. Fame, rank, and wealth have failed to bring him happiness. A letter of Lord Cornwallis written from Dublin in June, 1800, expressing sanguine hopes as to the effect of the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland, affords another illustration of the vanity of human wishes. When the Addington administration was formed in February, 1801, Lord St. Vincent became First Lord of the Admiralty, and recalled William Cornwallis, now full admiral, to active service as Commander-in-Chief of the Channel fleet. The First Consul's project of an invasion of England, and his efforts to infuse spirit into French admirals, now demoralised by constant defeat, seemed likely to afford Cornwallis an opportunity of winning a great battle. Lord St. Vincent wrote to him at the end of March, 1801 :—" On combining the intelligence from every quarter, I do in my conscience believe you will have the honour and happiness of finishing the war by a glorious achievement." This expectation was not fulfilled.

The service of the Channel fleet during the spring and summer of 1801 was confined to the hard and tedious task of blockading the combined naval squadrons of France and Spain in Brest harbour. Lord Hood, now enjoying well-earned repose as Governor of Greenwich Hospital, wrote towards the end of August severely criticising Lord Nelson's abortive attack on the Boulogne flotilla, and urging Cornwallis to draw off from the French coast in order to lure the enemy out, and thus gain for himself the opportunity of winning a decisive battle. This was the stratagem afterwards practised by Nelson in the neighbourhood of Cadiz, and which resulted in the victory of Trafalgar.

But the French fleet at Brest was neither in a condition nor in a disposition to fight. It lay in inglorious security within the defences of the port until preliminaries of peace, signed in London on October 1, put an end to hostilities with France, Spain and Holland. Lord Cornwallis, having been appointed to represent England in the final negotiations at Amiens, wrote to the admiral from Paris on November 10 that, being convinced of the necessity of making peace, "he did not feel himself at liberty to refuse the mission when it was pressed upon him, although nothing could be more disagreeable to him."

During his short term of service in 1801 Admiral Cornwallis's relations with the Admiralty had been of the most cordial character. Lord St. Vincent's letters to him evince unbounded confidence; and when the peace of Amiens came to an end in 1803, he was called on to resume his command, now become the most important, perhaps, under the British Crown. For no sooner had Mr. Addington's administration rejected Bonaparte's proposal to refer the ultimatum presented by Lord Whitworth at Paris to the arbitration of the Emperor of Russia, than the First Consul set to work with all the powers of his mind and all the resources at his command to bring his conflict with England to a decisive issue by transporting 150,000

French troops across the British channel to the coast of Kent. The astonishing energy he threw into this project, the magnitude of his preparations, the various experiments by which they were tested, the minute care bestowed on every essential detail, appear to have been little known to English ministers of that time. They have indeed only come to light by the publication of his confidential notes to the French Minister of Marine.\* A vast flotilla of gun-boats, gun-brigs, and sloops were built, armed, and equipped under his supervision at convenient points along the whole coastline from the mouth of the Loire to that of the Scheldt. Favoured by night, by fogs, by stormy weather, and low tides, detachment after detachment of these vessels crept along the shore, and rounded headlands until, in spite of the efforts of British cruisers, more than 2,000 of them, carrying upwards of 3,000 pieces of artillery, were assembled in four ports—at Ambleteuse, Vimereux, Boulogne, and Etaples, scooped out with immense labour to receive them, and defended by forts and powerful batteries of cannon. At the same time, in order to reduce the risks of the passage to the lowest possible point, he planned various combinations which, by surprise and a superiority of force, might give a French fleet command of the Channel for thirty-six hours. These plans were deferred or modified repeatedly in the course of the years 1803 and 1804, in consequence of a deficiency in the means of equipping, and more particularly of manning, naval squadrons blockaded in the French ports; and of the prudence or timidity of French admirals, in nearly all of whom long ill-success or inexperience had quenched every spark of enterprise.

During this time Admiral Cornwallis, in command of an inferior force, kept watch over the principal naval division of the enemy at Brest with an unwearied vigilance which seems to have raised him high in public favour. His brother the Marquis wrote on January 9, 1804: "You are the most popular man in England. It is no very unpleasant sensation for a man to know that his conduct is universally approved and admired." Other letters from Nelson and Collingwood testify warmly to the good will and generosity which marked Cornwallis's relations with those famous seamen.

When Mr. Pitt returned to office in 1804, Lord Melville succeeded Lord St. Vincent as First Lord of the Admiralty. This change did not affect Cornwallis's position, or his cordial and confidential relations with his official chief. But no exciting incident occurred during all that year to relieve the monotony of his harrassing employment. On January 3, 1805, his eldest brother wrote that, yielding to appeals from the Ministry and the Court of Directors, and to a desire to benefit his family, he had consented to return to India as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. In the same year came the crisis of the maritime war. Bonaparte, now Emperor of the French, saw another European coalition against France looming on the political horizon, and determined to finish his conflict with England before this new war-cloud had time to gather and burst. In 1804 Spain had joined France, and placed the wrecks of her navy at his disposal. In the principal ports, French and Spanish,

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\* "Consulate and Empire," by M. Thiers.



from Toulon to Brest, more than sixty ships of the line and a large number of frigates lay inactive in various stages of equipment. Of these armaments the most numerous and efficient were assembled at Brest and Toulon. All were closely beleaguered by the English ; but in spring equinoctial gales frequently dispersed blockading fleets, and dense fogs sometimes baffled the closest scrutiny. It was in accordance with these various circumstances that Napoleon shaped his final plan for capturing the Channel. Early in the year secret orders were sent from Paris to the naval commanders at the various French and Spanish ports to leave them as opportunity offered, and sail for Martinique in the West Indies, as a common *rendezvous*. It was expected that these expeditions would not only train and season the raw French and Spanish crews, but draw English fleets away from Europe, for the defence of trade and territories scattered over the world, and left almost without protection. When those various naval detachments, united at Martinique under one command, had cruised for forty days in American waters in order to effect these purposes, then by Napoleon's orders they were to return with all speed to sweep the English channel clear for the passage of the " army of England " encamped on the heights of Boulogne. It was the same army that a little later made Bonaparte master of continental Europe, at Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland. Early in March Admiral Missiessy led the way from Rochefort with a few ships of war, made prizes of British merchantmen, and partly conquered Dominica. At the end of the same month, the *mistral* having blown Nelson from Toulon, Admiral Villeneuve escaped from that port, formed a junction with a Spanish fleet commanded by Admiral Gravina at Cadiz, and, capturing a British convoy on his way, reached Martinique with twenty ships of the line and seven frigates. But neither Ganteaume commanding at Brest nor the Admiral in charge at Ferrol found an opportunity during the spring of evading the observation of his English opponent. Early in May Napoleon sent fresh orders to Villeneuve to return with all the force he could muster, liberate, at all costs, the fleets shut up in Ferrol and Brest, and having overwhelmed Cornwallis, take possession of the Channel. In the meantime Nelson had pursued the Toulon squadron with only nine ships of the line. When Villeneuve heard of the arrival at Barbadoes of the great antagonist, of whom he lived in perpetual terror, he set sail for Europe with a precipitation which flung away every advantage moral or material his fleet had gained by its voyage. Arriving before Ferrol on July 22, he encountered the blockading squadron of Sir Robert Calder, much inferior to his own in strength, and after a confused battle in a fog, he succeeded in entering the port with a loss of two Spanish vessels, which Calder carried off in his retreat. He found at Ferrol a reinforcement of eleven French and Spanish ships of the line, well manned and equipped. But the late action so discouraged him that many days passed before he plucked up resolution to proceed further, under the spur of vigorous remonstrances from Count Lauriston, an Imperial aide-de-camp. On the sea all his misgivings returned ; and being overcome by an apprehension that Nelson, as well as Calder, might have joined

Cornwallis, he turned his back to the foe and steered south for Cadiz. As a matter of fact, Nelson, worn out by fatigue, had returned to England for a short rest. Cornwallis, after waiting some time for the approach of his enemy, had sent back Calder, with half the ships at his disposal, to resume the blockade of Ferrol. And if Villeneuve had carried out Napoleon's orders he might, according to French official reports, have brought thirty-five ships of the line to encounter eighteen retained by Cornwallis, and been joined by twenty-one other ships of the line, which Admiral Ganteaume, forewarned from Paris, ranged for battle in Brest roads. On the other hand, it appears from a letter dated August 8, from Lord Barham, now at the head of the Admiralty, that the British government had become fully aware of Napoleon's design, and made every effort to increase its naval force in the Channel. From which it may be inferred that however much Cornwallis might have been outnumbered in a first attack before Brest, he had powerful reserves to fall back upon. Had the French navy still possessed an Admiral of the type of Duquesne or Tourville, which seemed to have perished with the old monarchy, the Channel, in August, 1805, would probably have been the scene of a conflict in comparison with which the great fight against the Spanish Armada, was mere child's play. When Napoleon at Boulogne became assured towards the end of August of Villeneuve's retreat, he moved off his army to the Rhine with a secrecy and celerity which took the coalition completely by surprise, and gave him a decisive advantage at the very opening of the Continental campaign. But with the march of the "army of England" to Ulm and Austerlitz, the danger of a French invasion of England passed away.

According to all antecedent probability, and so far as the intentions of both belligerents could determine events, the glorious task of bringing the maritime war to an end should have fallen to Admiral Cornwallis. Circumstances, in great measure fortuitous, transferred it to Lord Nelson. Napoleon, in his first bursts of anger at the failure of a project so long announced and so ardently pursued, called Villeneuve coward and traitor. Before departing for Germany in September, he gave orders for superseding the ill-fated Admiral in the command of the Mediterranean fleet. In September Lord Nelson returned to the Straits with the most formidable armament he ever commanded. But Villeneuve, stung to desperation by his impending disgrace, now sought a battle in vindication of his personal courage, as eagerly as he had avoided one when the possibility of a great national enterprise depended on his obeying explicit and repeated orders. He went forth in search of his dreaded enemy, to find his worst presentiments of defeat amply verified at Trafalgar. Of this great victory, of Nelson's death, and of the storm that scattered the victorious fleet, Admiral Collingwood sent an account to Cornwallis, dated October 26. The naval war on any large scale was now over. Napoleon had already ordered his Brest fleet to be broken up into small sections, and used in separate expeditions for the destruction of English trade.

Early in the year 1806 particulars of the last illness and death of his brother, the Governor-General of India, were communicated

to Admiral Cornwallis by Captain John Gore, writing from the *Medusa* at sea, on January 23. "Great Britain," the letter concludes, "will long mourn the loss of her most brilliant ornament, and the world at large one of its best men." This sentence probably embodies the national sentiment of the time. The news of Lord Cornwallis's sudden death carried with it throughout England a sense of public calamity. In a later letter of condolence, dated February 10, Lord Hood calls him "the greatest statesman and the greatest general any country could ever boast." Here we have the exaggeration of personal regard. Lord Cornwallis possessed, in rare combination, qualities and talents which generally command success both in government and in war. When we consider the length, variety, and uniform merit of his services, in positions, civil and military, of the highest responsibility, we must regard him as one of the most distinguished figures of what is, perhaps, the most eventful period of English history. No one, however, would now call him the first, or even second, of English generals, still less of English statesmen. Political measures for which he was more or less responsible, and which in his own day were held to be clear titles to enduring fame, such as the land settlement of Bengal, have since been condemned as enormous blunders. But even the few letters of his which have been preserved in this collection suffice to show that, in addition to mental powers of a high order, he possessed moral attributes, a noble, humane, and generous spirit, unselfish devotion to duty, modesty and fortitude in good and evil fortune, which more than mere intellectual superiority make a man great, an honour to his country and an ornament of its public life. In his virtues and in the range of his abilities he bore no small resemblance to his more famous antagonist, George Washington.

Two very interesting letters from Charlotte Nugent, wife of Admiral Nugent, dated respectively January 23 and May 4, 1806, give details of the last illness and death of Mr. Pitt and of Lord Melville's trial before the House of Lords.

The accession to office of the Coalition Ministry of Fox and Grenville had a decidedly adverse influence on Admiral Cornwallis's fortunes. The first intimation of his supersession in the command of the Channel fleet came to him from his successor, Lord St. Vincent. On February 8, the Earl wrote that, under a sense of ill usage from Mr. Pitt, he had spurned an offer of this command from the late Ministry; but that he felt it an imperious duty to obey a similar call now made on him, "with only one repugnance, which arises out of the high respect I have for you . . . for no one regards you more sincerely than I." In a second letter, dated February 10, St. Vincent assured his friend that "a most favourable and honourable statement of your meritorious service will be made to his Majesty." This statement, if made, proved to be only a barren compliment. No mark of royal favour appears to have graced the Admiral's enforced and final retirement from active service. Charles Grey, now First Lord of the Admiralty, informed him in civil terms of Lord St. Vincent's appointment, and afterwards made a few naval promotions on his recommendation. This was all; and surely but shabby treatment at the close of a long and distinguished

career. Ten years later, on the conclusion of a general peace, Lord Liverpool's ministry, as we learn, did something to repair the neglect of the Whigs by obtaining for Cornwallis the decoration of G.C.B. On the last years of the admiral's life this collection of letters throws little light. There is a complete blank from February, 1807, to June, 1811. Nearly all subsequent letters are from the Bishop of Lichfield. They give us interesting sketches and reminiscences of well-known persons and places, but tell us nothing of the admiral himself, not even of his death in 1819.

The Bishop survived till 1824, having succeeded his nephew as fourth Earl Cornwallis in the preceding year.

As may have been gathered from foregoing remarks, readers expecting to find in this collection of letters anything even approaching to a biographical sketch of Admiral Cornwallis will be disappointed. It does not contain a line written by himself. He is indeed little more than a shadow for us. That he was a man whose qualities won for him the love of kinsfolk and friends, the admiration and respect of many of the ablest naval commanders and most heroic spirits of the age, the confidence of successive naval ministers, is abundantly evident. But we miss altogether the revelations of mind and character, of motives which shape conduct, of personal habits, opinions, and pursuits; we miss the vivid descriptions and frank judgments of contemporary persons and events only to be found in a man's familiar letters, and which make him live for us again in his proper atmosphere and surroundings. Nearly all his life, apart from periods passed on active service, is left in complete obscurity. The professional record itself is broken by long, sometimes perplexing, gaps; and it leaves on the mind of the reader a sense of incompleteness, and even of failure, inasmuch as it necessarily omits those crowning achievements and honours of which early exploits and rapid advancement gave promise, and which fell to competitors more fortunate, but not of higher desert.

Admiral Cornwallis appears to have been a favourite with British sailors. We are told that they called him among themselves "Blue Billy" and "Billy-go-Tight." Naval biographers ascribe those *soubriquets* to the false suggestions of a jovial presence, a complexion inclining to purple. They insist on the Admiral's exemplary sobriety. We find Lord Howe, also, in a letter dated November 17, 1785, complimenting him on being "a pattern of self-denial." But sobriety and self-denial are terms which vary in signification as manners change. That was a time when many worthy people who would regard the name of drunkard as opprobrious seem to have thought intoxication a social duty on festive occasions. It is said to be on record that Pitt and Dundas, halting for dinner at an inn on their way to Walmer, consumed five bottles of port at the sitting. A drinking bout of this kind, however much it might discredit a prime minister of our own time, cast no slur then, violated no social canon. And there is a passage in the *Cornwallis Correspondence* which leads one to suspect that the playful satire of the sea-dogs may not have been altogether unwarranted. It occurs in a letter from Lord Cornwallis to Colonel Ross, dated July 12, 1802, on the



subject of a contest for the borough of Eye, and runs as follows :—  
 “ The Admiral got very drunk at the election, and the next day insisted on my steward taking £500 towards defraying the election. Without having given a vote in the House of Commons for many years past, and, perhaps, never intending to give one again, no youth of one and twenty was ever more pleased at coming into Parliament. What unaccountable creatures we are.”

This anecdote, somehow, does not diminish one's regret that this collection contains no letter written by “ Blue Billy ” himself.

WALTER FITZPATRICK.

THE MANUSCRIPTS  
OF  
MISS M. EYRE MATCHAM,  
OF  
NEWHOUSE, SALISBURY.

I.—GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE.

LORD STANHOPE to GEORGE BUBB, at Madrid.

[1717?], July 25. London.—“We have both had the luck we could have wish'd for, I have had the happyness to receive your letters, and find by them that you have escap'd the trouble of mine. Your last gave me some hopes of seeing you here this winter, but I am since inform'd that I must be some time longer without that satisfaction. How far your publick spirit may prevail I can't tell, and make you prefer your country's service to any other consideration, but setting that motive aside, I believe you would not be unwilling to see London again, nor like it the worse for coming from Madrid; the gravity and reservedness of the one may be very good preparatives towards tasting the other.

“If you have a great turn to politicks, you would find here ample matter for the exercise of that talent. Never were more speculations, and to less purpose than now, for the mistery of State is become like that of godlyness, ineffable and incomprehensible, and has likewise the same good luck of being thought the finer for not being understood.

“As for the gay part of the town, you would find it much more flourishing than you left it. Balls, assemblys, and masquerades have taken place of dull formall visiting days, and the women are become much more the agreeable trifles they were design'd.

“I can't ommitt telling you that punns are extreemly in vogue, and the licence very great. The variation of three or four letters in a word of six breaks no squares, insomuch that an indifferent punster may make a very good figure in the best companys.

“I know I should not have ended this letter without making you some speeches, but Mr. Methuen has promis'd to do that for me, and I willingly accepted of his offer. 'Tis always a difficult task, but to me it would be perticularly so, to express with how much respect and sincerity, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant, Stanhope.” *Holograph.*

*Endorsed* :—“Lord Stanhope to Mr. Bubb, [rec.] the 21st n.s. August, 1716”; but in 1716 Stanhope was not a peer, and had left London on July 9 for Hanover.

ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE BYNG to GEORGE DODDINGTON [senior.]

1720, March 12. N.S. Naples.—“The packets from London of the first of February brought me three sheats more of your kind remembrance of me. I am much obliged by your great goodness and frindship for me, which now I may hope soon in person to acknowledg, for I think wee now seem to be allmost at the end of the war, this way at least.

“The very bad weather wee have at present keeps me from getting off from this place, but the very first slatch carries me over to Sicily, where on my arivall wee shall, I think, come to a cesation of armes. All that relates to Italie and Mediteranean I think is left to me to settle with the powers concern'd this way, and if I have the good chance to do what shall be thought reasonable and right, I shall think myself happielie got out of an affair that has given me some care. To this day I am so fortunate to have his Majesty's approvall of all I have don, and hope I shall not fall under sensure, even of my enimies. But let that be as it will, I can at present acquaint you with nothing new from this place; you will know sooner then I what is transacted at Pariss, &c. I wish you gentlemen of the House of Commons had come to some resolution what shoud have been don with Gibraltar before the Quadruple Alliance was signed. I fear that place will beget uneassieness and cost more then it is worth. I mean in another way, too, by bringing us under difficulties that may embroyl —, for my own part am resolved (as it is not mentioned in the Quadruple Alliance) not to entangle myself with it in any way, more then what relates to a forbareance from hostillities, untill I shall have his Majesty's express command. But I wont trouble you with more on that subject at this time, beeing wholie intent on what I have allredie in command. Preserve me, my dear Mr. Doddington, in your esteem as a man that has all the value and respect for you that a gratefull heart can pay for the thousand frindships bestow'd.”

*Postscript.*—“It rejoyces my heart to hear my good Lord Orford is like to do well againe, and that I may hope to pay my dutty and service to him still.” *Holograph.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1720, April 12. N.S. *Barfleur*, at Traponia.—“I have but just time to tell you that I have received your letter of the latter end of Feabruary, and I belive every packet you have sent to me, which will make a book that I shall leave my son, wherin he will see the greatest marks of frindship and affection that can be found in a man, but hardly to be credited of the vile age wee live in. I must own though your letters ever give me great pleasure, yet thay bring pain to me too, when you tell me of the attacks made by Nature on my worthie Lord Orford and yourself, and when you wrote the last storie of our old frind Cornwall, and the malancholly seane between my Lord Orford and you on that occation, it even meted (*sic*) me into womanish tears, but on recovering myself unto man againe I reflet on the Bedfords motto,\* and must prepair to submit, and

\* “Che sara, sara,”

tho of all things your letters are pleasing to me on every other subject, yet woud not purchace that happyness at the expence of giving you disorder, which I fear so much writeing occations, therefore let me conjure you not to hazzard the least uneassieness through your goodness to me, and yet I woud gladly hear from you too, therefore order Corbet to come to you now and then and make him write what you intend to favour me with. I think him very honest, and very secret and true, though after a storie you told me by your letter I received this day of our acquaintance of Sumerse House one dos not know who to repose trust in.

"I am wonderfully obliged for your advice about the affair of the hospital, which Corbet gave me notice off, and I did resolve, as I do still, not to take any notice of it untill I come home, and then shall not give myself trouble about it more then to let some men know what may be reasonable on that occasion, and if I shall think it proper even the King himself what was promiss'd me in his name, and though I dont speak anything but English, yet shall find a way to do that plainly if I am obliged to it. God send me well through the difficult task I have at present on my hands (hetherto all I have transacted has met with his Majesty's approbation), and as I have only his service at heart at present so wont dout of his goodness in accepting my endeavours. If I end well what I have in charge, which I think must soon be, I shall have hope to have leave to go home, where I will be made easie one way or other, and let the more able persons serve their prince or contrie better and more faithfully then I have don, and with lesser self-interest if thay please.

"I find the little fateage and sleep I meet with wares me apace. If I am to see any quiet days thay must be soon; this maner of liveing cannot hold much longer with the man that vows he has all the gratefull sence (that he is capable of beeing master of) of the many affectionate frindships and goodness you have ever had for me, which revets me eternaly to you, and I hope will keep to the last houer of my life."

*Postscript.*—"Pray make my service acceptable to Mr. Doddington the younger." *Holograph.*

[EDWARD RUSSELL] LORD ORFORD to GEORGE [BUBB] DODINGTON.

1721, June 27. Hill.—"Itt is with the utmost truble, deare Mr. Dodington, that I am forced to send you word, the goute has attacked me in the other foot allsow; on one I can hardly put on a cut shoe, the other I am forced to putt on a great shoe, soe that I am unable to obaye your commands in going to the Prince; very possible I shoud not had an answer to my mind, but it woud a giving me the pleasure of leting you see how redly I am and allwes will bee to obeye your commands."

*Postscript.*—"I returne you abundance of thanks for the favor of your leter last night." *Holograph.\**

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\* In the above four letters the original spelling is retained.



## ROBERT WALPOLE to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1723, October 10. Whitehall.—“You do me but justice in beleiving I did not want to be reminded of my engagements to you, for altho’ the new vacancy that has happened may contribute to make us easy with regard to other people, what concerns you was before as much determined as ’tis in my power to determine it, and I question not but upon the King’s return you will immediately find the good effects of it.

“I suppose Paul [Methuen ?] is with you, and as he is stout, I beg he will be merciful, and whatever havock he makes with the game abroad, I hope he will not be unconscionable in his recreations within doors.” *Signed.*

## THE DUKE OF ARGYLL AND GREENWICH to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1726, July 27. Inverary.—“I have received the favour of your letter, and am most thankful for the friendly part you have been pleased to take in what so nearly concerns me, and shall ever acknowledge the obligation as an honest man ought to do.

“I find by a letter an express brought me from Will Stuart, that Sir Robert has assisted me with great honour upon this occasion, and that the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Townsend have sincerely contributed their share of interest to support me. If all this should fail I am a little unfortunate, but the pleasure I enjoy in the friendship of those I esteem, with the consciousness of having deserved success, will more than balance the disappointment.” *Signed.*

## JOHN SCROPE [SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY] to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1726, September 15 ? \*].—“No business hath been done at the Treasury since you was there till yesterday, when most of the papers you had signed were dispatched, with these I have the honour to transmit to you.

“The governor [Walpole] is extremely pleased with his success at New Park. The King dined Monday at the little house at Richmond ten persons were at the table—viz., the Lords Hartford, Walgrave, Duke of Newcastle, Sir R. Walpole, Colonel Negus, Deimar, and some other foreigners, and another English lord who’s names I have forgot. His Majesty was in very good humour, and drank the healths of the company in a large glass of his landlord’s ale.

“William Steuart expects to succeed the Duke of Portland, tho he says the office is not honestly worth above 12,000*l.* per annum. Spotswood pretends the government hath been offered to him, but he chooses rather to return to Virginia.

“Your servant Fane is under some perplexity, the governant having put him out of conceit with matrimony, and Mr. Pitt having varied his first proposal very much. This makes him desire to get out of the scrape as soon as he can with honour.

“Sir Ch. Turner is in good health, full of projects, in which he

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\* Date of receipt.

meets with some rubs, which is all the contention we are at present apprehensive of . . .”

*Postscript.*—“By what I now hear, I guess Mr. Stuart will be disappointed of his government.”

JOHN SCROPE to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1726, September 20.—“ . . . Both Mr. Fane and I are extremely obliged to you for the regard you have for him, and for the trouble you have given yourself in enquiring about Mr. Pitt. What you have heard of Sam. Pitt is certainly true; Fane was concerned in the Court of Chancery in the dispute about old Pitt, where Sam. Pitt owned that he had forty thousand pounds stock of his uncle’s in his name; but the father of the young lady is William Pitt, the son of a brother that was older then Sam. Pitt’s father, and who might probably get the custody of his uncle if he desired it.

“I believe I mistoke in the account I gave you of the government of Jamaica; Steuart told me it was but 12,000*l.* per annum, not 1,200*l.* How it is to be disposed of I dont know.

“Poyntz hath carried the speaker in the Assembly to the great satisfaction of his masters. I wish we dont, like Waller, spend more money to get one borough thann would buy half a score.

“Though I have dined at Chelsea, and been there several times, I have not had the governor alone since you went hence. I am to be with him to-morrow, when I will try what he will do about the Irish affair.”

The SAME to the SAME.

1726, October 4.—“ . . . You will find by the prints that the King was yesterday at New Park; he afterwards dined at the Governor’s at Richmond without invitation, and was in very good humour.

“I hear Lord Chesterfield is brought into good humour, and if your learned friend the serjeant continues in the temper I left him last week, our Master and he will soon meet. I am extremely sorry to find by the letter which I had the honour to receive from you by Richards that you are so much tired and ill.

“A county election is a frightful thing. The Chancellor [of Exchequer, *i.e.*, Walpole] seemed to be pleased at your having declared, but he was in so much haste that he said nothing more of your letter.”

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

[1726].—“An epistle to Sir Robert W——le, on behalf of the author of a preceeding one.”

*Begins* :—

“Rare gifted W——le, didst thou condescend  
To read th’ Epistle of thy scribbling friend.”

*Ends* :—

“But since no art can make a counter pass,  
Or add the weight of gold to mimic brass  
Let him no more debase a name like thine

Nor stamp thy image on his worthless coin.  
 Just praise to thee if e'er the Muses give,  
 If e'er in equal verse thy actions live,  
 POPE must improve or ADDISON revive."

*Endorsed* :—" To Sir Robert Walpole, ridiculing Mr. Dodington's epistle to him." 80 lines. *A parody on the Original.*

THE EARL OF STRAFFORD to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1728-9, February 20]. Thursday.—" I did myself the honour to wait on you yesterday, but was not so happy to find you at home, therefore take the liberty to trouble you with this to beg the favour of you to call upon the proper officers of the Treasury to lay before you the warrants of about a thousand pounds due to me for surplusage, having received little or nothing of my post-fines for these two years last past, but what I received last year (after a long solicitation) out of the Treasury, though there are two Acts of Parliament in my favour directing prompt payment. I have spoke to Sir Robert Walpole, who has promised me twice that as my pretensions is a matter of right, as soon as the warrants are laid before him he will be sure to dispatch them, but the difficulty is, it seems, to get those warrants lain before you, and unless (as I am informed) some of you lords will call for those warrants they will be delayed, though my deputy is every day soliciting at the Treasury to get them done. . . . It is a great imposition on me, and contrary to the express words of my grant from King William, that I am obliged to come to the Treasury for my money, which should be paid me by the sheriffs, and the Treasury ought to have a call on me for 2,270*l.*, the reserved rent of the crown; but they over-rule my legal right in the Exchequer by that tyrant custom, which has only proceeded from the negligence of my deputy whilst I was abroad, and the troubles I have met with since at home. Few in England have a better right to their estates then I have to this, most having come from grants from the crown one time or other.

" I have not that acquaintance with Sir Robert Walpole as I have with you, to explain the difficulties I lie under, for what by double and extravagant fees this grant, which was meant, and was at first a benefit to me, now brings me in but very little, and may be a prejudice instead of an advantage to my family, being, whether I receive anything or no, I am obliged to pay the reserved rent to the crown of 2,270*l.* a year during the continuation of my lease, which is for about thirty years to come.

" You encouraged me last year to give you this trouble annually whilst you are in the Treasury, which must plead my excuse for so long a scrawl." *Holograph.*

*Endorsed with date.*

THE EARL OF TANKERVILLE to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1729[-30], January 1. Up Park.—Requesting his interest on behalf of one Mr. Williams, who desires a place in the Customs.  
*Signed.*

## THE EARL OF STRAFFORD TO GEORGE DODINGTON.

1729[-30], January 24.—To save you the trouble of a soliciting visit, give me leave to desire by this the favour of you to call for the warrants for the surplusage of my post-fines, which will be ready to be laid before you Tuesday, which I think is the day of your meeting. You are sensible, sir, that the matter is to travel down to the Exchequer, and to take a great and expensive round before it comes back for your ordering the money.

“After I had got the Attorney-General’s opinion, and that of several other counsel, that the disbursements of the sheriffs ought not to be thrown on the post-fines, as they are, and had been with Mr. Fortescue to represent that to Sir Robert Walpole, I was in hopes I should have received the money myself from the sheriffs, as I have right to do, both by my patent and several Acts of Parliament subsequent to my grant, but I find I am still obliged to continue a solicitor to get my own legal money back again, and to beg I may not be delayed and injured in my property, for now there is 908*l.* odd money due to me for almost all the product of the post-fines for last year, after my rent deducted to the crown, so that at present I am, by reason of fees, &c., a good deal of money out of pocket, and must be much more before I get my own, for if I had received it as I have right to do from the sheriffs, all the fees and expenses of the Treasury had been saved, besides the vexation of being obliged to be so often troublesome to you, which you have hitherto received in so obliging a manner, as has made it much easier to me.” *Holograph.*

## The SAME to the SAME.

1729[-30], February 20.—“Having done what I desired of you, you might naturally think you were free from further trouble, but you must bear this one more, which is the sincere acknowledgment of my obligation to you, for though it is a matter of right which can’t be denied me, yet till this year that I wholly left it to you, I met with so many delays and puts off that it made it disagreeable to me; but your handsome way of doing it, with such dispatch, doubles the obligation. I really, for your sake, wish you may never have occasion for my service, but if ever you have, pray be assured, as I shall never forget the obligation so you shall always find me ready and pleased to serve and show you,” &c. *Holograph. Seal of arms in Garter.*

## JAMES THOMSON TO GEORGE DODINGTON.

1730, October 24. Saturday.—“I ought, ere now, to have acknowledged the honour of yours, but must own myself at a loss how to make a suitable return to the fine spirit and humanity of such an agreeable letter. The kind advice and encouragement it gives me, together with the many frank and unsolicited obligations I lie under to your goodness, have made an impression on my heart which I shall always feel with a particular delight, in whatever part of the world and circumstance of life I am.



"What you observe concerning the pursuit of poetry, when one is so far engaged in it as I am, is certainly just. Besides, let him quit it who can, *et erit mihi*—I cannot say *magnus Apollo*, but something as great. A true genius, like light, must be beaming forth, and a false one is an incurable disease. One would not, however, climb Parnassus, any more than your mortal hills, to fix for ever on the barren top. No, it is some little, dear retirement in the plain below that gives the right relish to the prospect, which, without that, is nothing but enchantment, and, though pleasing for some time, yet, at last, leaves us in a desert. The great fat doctor at Bath told me that poets should be kept poor, the more to actuate their genius. This is like the cruel custom of putting a bird's eyes out that it may sing the sweeter; but surely they sing sweetest amidst the luxuriant woods while the full spring blows around them.

"Travelling has been long my fondest wish, for the very purpose you recommend—the storing one's imagination with ideas of all-beautiful, all-great, and all-perfect Nature. These are the true *materia poetica*, the light and colours with which Fancy kindles up her whole creation, paints a sentiment, and even embodies an abstracted thought. I long to see the fields whence Virgil gathered his immortal honey, and to tread the same ground where men have thought and acted so greatly! If it does not give, it must at least awaken, somewhat of the same spirit. But not to travel entirely like a poet, I resolve not to neglect the more prosaic advantages of it; for it is no less my ambition to be capable of serving my country in an active, than in a contemplative, way.

"At my times of leisure abroad I think of attempting another tragedy, and on a story more addressed to common passions than that of Sophonisba. People nowadays must have something like themselves, and a public-spirited monster can never concern them.

"If anything could make me capable of an epic performance it would be your favourable opinion in thinking me so. But, as you justly observe, that must be the work of years, and one in an epic situation to execute it. My heart both trembles with diffidence and burns with ardour at the thought. The story of Timoleon, as to the subject matter of it, is certainly a fine one; but an author (I think) owes the scene of an epic action to his own country; and besides, Timoleon admits of no machinery, except it be that of the heathen gods, which will not do at this time of day. I hope hereafter to have the direction of your taste in these affairs, and in the meantime will endeavour to cultivate those ideas and sentiments, and in some degree to gather that knowledge which are necessary to such an undertaking.

"Should the scenes and climates through which I pass inspire me with any poetry, it will naturally have recourse to you. But to hire a return from Young or Stubbs were a kind of poetical simony, especially when you yourself possess such a large portion of the spirit.

"I shall be very proud of being mentioned by you to any you may think it proper to mention me to at Paris, whither we go first, and in about two weeks hence. Perhaps I may have an opportunity of paying my respects to you at London before then." *Holograph.*

## LEONARD WELSTED to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1730, November 14. The Tower.—I cannot but be in fear that I do not stand in that degree of favour with you which I had reason to hope I did, and some suspicions have occurred to me on this occasion which give me inexpressible uneasiness, not to say torment.

I must, therefore, beg leave to assure you, sir, conclude what you please from it, to assure you, on my honour as a gentleman, and by everything sacred, that as I have never mentioned you in conversation but with the highest respect and gratitude, so I have never writ anything that had a view to you but was perfectly honourable and well intended. There is a line in a late poem—viz., the *One Epistle*, which I presume you may have seen, that carries in it a slight raillery upon Dr. Young;\* but this was sincerely without my approbation, and I was overborne in it, as a thing of that nature, that could not well give offence to him or any one else; and as for the first *Ode of Horace*, which I had the honour to address to you, I hope it is not in the heart of man to conceive that I foresaw and wilfully designed the ridicule, which I found, with grief, followed upon it, or that I could be guilty of such low and wretched dissingenuity and impertinence. I am indeed utterly incapable of every thing of this sort, and I wish you, sir, nothing worse than that the whole world may always have the same sentiments of esteem towards you that I have, and speak of you at all times as I do, and when they write in your praise, be more happy in the way of doing it than I was.

“It concerns me not at all how much lower I may be in your estimation as a writer than Mr. Thomson, or any other person, further than seriously to reflect if I do not deserve to be so, and if you do not judge truer than other men in that regard; but, whether I may ever be so happy as to receive any mark of your patronage hereafter or not, nothing has, nothing ever will tempt me to treat ill, or lightly, or with any paltry slyness whatever, a gentleman of your character and quality, and that has laid great obligations upon me. . . .”

“It would be an uncommon satisfaction to me to know if I were really acquitted in your thoughts, and this, sir, if you will please to exact so severe a thing from me, shall be the last favour I will ever request of you.”

## Odes to MR. DODINGTON.

[1730 ?]—“An imitation of Horace, to Mr. Dodington, in acknowledgment of some favours received (*Ad Martium Censorinum*, Ode 8, liber IV.).”

Begins:—

“Whene’er my stars shall prove so kind  
To suit my fortune to my mind,  
By presents which I’ll soon bestow  
The world each friend of mine shall know.”

\* *One Epistle to Mr. Pope*, written by Welsted and Moore-Smithe. The allusion to Young is as follows:—

—“that name which through both worlds is gone,  
“Which Dr. Young applauds and Prester John.”

*Ends :—*

“Verses you love, those I can give,  
And verses which, perhaps, may live,  
T’embalm your name to future times,  
At least outlast a tombstone’s rhimes.

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The Pyle where Marbro’ lyes inshrined,  
By *Risbrack* wrought, by *Kent* designed,  
But some few ages may survive  
To keep his memory alive.  
In Addison’s immortal lines  
The wondrous man for ever shines  
There (when the Foe’s last doom is passed),  
‘Calm and serene he drives the blast,  
‘And pleased th’Almighty’s orders to perform,  
‘Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.’”

42 lines. With quotations from *Horace’s Ode* in the margin.

1730.—“The Praises of a country life. An imitation of Horace.  
to the same (*Vilse rusticæ laudes Epod. II.*).”

*Begins :—*

“Happy the man who void of care  
(As good old Lords of mannours were)  
From all the plagues of money freed,  
Which prodigals and misers breed,  
Grows fat upon his own estate,  
And never dreams of being great.”

*Ends :—*

“When Dodington had thus expressed  
How rural calm retreats are blessed,  
(That Dodington whose judgement none  
Disputes, who has not lost his own)  
Resolved to lead a country life,  
Renounce the Court—and take a wife,  
This week six horses whirl him down ;  
The next—he hurrys back to town !”

119 lines, with quotations from *Horace* in the margin.

#### JAMES THOMSON to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1731, November 28. Rome.—“I will not make any apology for neglecting to do myself the honour of writing to you since we left Paris, when I may rather plead a merit in not troubling you with long scrolls of that travelling stuff of which the world is full even to loathing. We have been over the most part of France and Italy. What is remarkable and curious in that tour, you know much better than I do, though actually here on the field of staring.

“That enthusiasm I had upon me with regard to travelling goes off, I find, very fast. One may imagine fine things in reading of ancient authors, but to travel is to dissipate that vision. A great many beautiful, antique statues, where several of the fair ideas of Greece are fixed for ever in marble, and the paintings of the first masters are indeed most enchanting objects. How little however of these suffices ? How unessential are they to life ? And surely

not of that importance as to set the whole world, man, woman, and child a-gadding. I should be sorry to be Goth enough not to think them highly ornamental in life, when one can have them at home without paying for them an extravagant price; but for every one who can support it to make a trade of running abroad only to stare at them, I cannot help thinking something worse than a public folly. Instead of travelling so furiously, it were a wiser and more public-spirited thing, with part of those vast sums of money spent that way, to send people of genius for architecture, painting and sculpture, to study these arts here and to import them into England. Did they but once take root there, how they might flourish, in such a generous and wealthy country! The great architect, painter and statuary, Nature, is the same she ever was, and no doubt as profuse of beauty, proportion, lovely forms and real genius as formerly to the sunny realms of Greece, did we but study the one and exert the other. In England though, if we cannot reach the gracefully superfluous, yet I hope we will never lose the substantial, necessary and vital arts of life, such as depend on liberty, labour and all-commanding trade. For my part I, who have no taste in the least for smelling to an old musty stone, look upon these other curiosities with an eye to poetry, in regard that the sister arts reflect lights and images on one another. Now that I mention poetry, should you enquire after my muse, all that I can answer is that I believe she did not cross the Channel with me. I know not whether your gardener at Eastbury has heard anything of her among the woods there. She has not thought fit to visit me while in this once poetic land, nor do I feel the least presages that she will. But not to lengthen out a letter that has no pretence to entertain you, give me leave only to add that I can never lose the pleasing sense I have of your goodness to me, and it is a hope I must flatter myself with, your continuance of it on my return to England; to England, for whom my veneration and love, I will be vain enough to say, increase every day, even to devotion and fondness. It will not be disagreeable to you to hear that Mr. Baily and his family arrived safely here two [or] three days ago. They go this week for Naples, where I hope that from the pure air there they will reap those advantages for which they have undertaken such a fatiguing journey.

“Lord Binney [?] Binning] says that you are building a house in a very fine taste at London. Then I am persuaded we shall see, not an uninhabitable whim of architecture, but a habitable house for the climate of England, where usefulness and convenience support beauty, and beauty dignifies usefulness and convenience. If there is anything in which I can serve you here, or wherever I am, you will do me the greatest pleasure in the world by laying your commands on him who is, &c.” *Holograph.*

My address is *Chez Messieurs Rizzi et Joseph Macirone, à Rome.*

GEORGE DODINGTON to FREDERICK, PRINCE OF WALES.

1732, July 2. N. S. Paris.—“ . . . I own your Royal Highness's favour is the pride and pleasure of my life, but it is because I did not owe its rise, nor will owe its continuance, to flattery. Nor



ought you to think it common to your high rank to find a man who prefers your interest to your pleasure, and dares take part with your glory even against your inclinations, should you ever be so unhappy as to set them at variance. . . . I have set my whole heart upon your happiness, but I place it in your glory, and this last in the welfare of our country. To see that life and gaiety which makes you the delight of all that are near you corrected by a severe probity and rigid honour, makes me every day bless my own good fortune and your partiality to me ; but when I consider the happiness of millions one day flowing from you, as the effect of that probity and honour, I am thoroughly charmed with the prospect, and am proud to own that your good opinion does give me a pleasure that the friendship of a private man could not give. . . .” *Copy.*

SIR THOMAS FRANKLAND to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1732, July 5. London.—“I have received the favour of my dear Mr. Dodington’s of the 2nd of July from Paris, and have delivered the enclosed to the Prince. . . . I don’t like your joke of my buying a cart, I wish you would think of that sort of vehicle for some other of your friends.

“We begin to have a very thin town, and ever since you went, we sea men\* have been the conversation of it ; but as our great men believe the Spanish fleet to be before Oran, hope all our sailing is over.”

FREDERICK, PRINCE OF WALES, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1732, November 16].—“My good Dorrington, this is only for telling you that I and most part of the friends are well ; that I had your letter ; wish you allways well, and hope to see you soon again. I forgot to tell you that I won’t have you conclude that bargain in Ireland ; the reason you’ll know when you come here. I have found a better thing for ’em. Good bye ; you won’t be forgot by Frederick P.” *Holograph. Endorsed with date.*

The SAME to the SAME.

[No date].—“My good Dorrington, I plead excuse for not coming at our meeting by Vane’s, but a croud of family which expect the King hinders me of it. You know the *viellerie* of the Wendsdays comming there, a good courtier must not be out of the way, the more now. I ordered Wrede to look out for you everywhere. I’ll tell you the success of . . . to-night if you can, after their supper, come to me at 12. Adieu, mon bon ami.”—F. P. *Holograph. Seal, a cupid drawing his bow.*

The SAME to the SAME.

[1733, September 8]. Saturday, at 7 o’clock.—“My good Dodington, according to my promise I write to you, but ’tis on my sorrow, for I have weighed with myself enough about it. What an ungrateful

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\* Sir Thomas was one of the Lords of the Admiralty at this date.

part am I to play. I wish a man well, I think him an honest man, and I must tell him the stories that publickly are told here of him. Take me right, I mean publickly are whispered about him. *You are accused to have told some of the superiors that Merry was the only cause of quarrel, and that he could never be left there if servitude should be transplanted.* I hope you comprehend all this, for I can't make it plainer. This story goes so well about, that several people have acquainted me with it, as well by words of mouth as unsigned letters have been sent me ; the belief I give to it you see. Your friends and honest men have advised me to send you word of it, and told me, that if such a thing should get ground, your character would suffer by it, but as one can't in this wicked age be sure of anything, or anybody, I have told [them] I should acquaint you with it, at your return from Ireland, for I should always tell a man what is told to me behind his back ; but for sending you word of it now was no need, for I and my friends knew lies enough to laugh and despise them. They report confidently about town that everything is easy since you are gone, and therefore you, as the disturber, are to be out. This is the common talk as I am told ; if it will happen I doubt, for it is giving themselves the lie, to my opinion. If you was wicked enough to intend to hurt anybody you are too wise to do it so grossly ; therefore, if I do not see it writ by your own hand I'll never believe it. This was an attempt to make me disgrace you, which I take to be my own disgracing, if upon a tittle tattle of some few people a prince will give up a friend, or servant. Any prince may be cheated by people they have a confidence in, and then they are to give them up as a justification and a satisfaction to mankind ; but weak is the prince, and can never be well served, if he believes too quick. Thus things stand now ; what further will happen time will learn. You must reckon what a combat I have had with myself ; at one side I should acquaint a man I live well with of what is told of him. How can a man justify himself if he does not know it ? At the other side what a terrible part do I play, I do worse than to cut a man's throat, when I tell him what trials are made to make him pass for the dishonestest man in the world, for tis true you would be that, if you had done it. I have chose to take the first part, for I think always in everything the fairest way is the best. Now I must desire you to answer me instantly by this man, for, except Barnard, who has pitched upon him, no soul knows it, and he thinks it is something relating to Barnard's affairs ; then to continue quietly your journey to Ireland, for if you returned upon this, and begun a bluster about it, you would undo the whole machine ; therefore, go on to Ireland, end your affairs, and then come quietly after the birthday over again. Your coming to London would do no good, not hinder the noise—rather augment it, and give a handle to your enemies to say the dog came frightened home, for he had else lost that low insignificant creature. If I was like you I would show nothing of this in Ireland, but look as gay as ever, and when you return we'll see if this storm will augment or diminish, and I, as a famous pilot, will bring my carriage and vessel happily in the port. Pray be directed by me in this, for I think few people would have acted as I have done. I hope you can read

and comprehend all this stuff, for I am in haste, and have had not a hour to end my epistle. Good bye ; pray in your letter return me mine, and think that I must be better than the rest of the prince's pack, to behave so fairly to people."

*Endorsed* :—"Copy of the Prince's letter, received at Eastbury the 9th of Sept., being Sunday, 1733. Original returned."

#### GEORGE DODINGTON to the PRINCE OF WALES.

1733, September 9. Sunday. Eastbury.—A long letter defending the writer's conduct, especially in relation to Mr. Merry, against whom he has never, directly or indirectly, said a word, but whom, on the contrary, "when particular facts have been charged against him," he has defended and justified as one whom the Prince loves, and who he himself sincerely esteems, and believes to be an amiable and honourable man. Protests his love and devotion to the Prince, and urges his Highness to be prudent in his conduct, and not to let his passions carry him away, as his enemies will improve every incident that may arise to his disadvantage. The part he has to play is only "duty, respect, affection and gratitude where alone it can be due, and to all the rest of mankind, affability in conversation, but entire reserve as to opinions." *Copy. Seven folio pages.*

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1733, September 19. Eastbury.—"This letter will be delivered to your R. Highness by Sir Thos. Frankland, and I presume I shall be in Ireland before you receive it. . . . I have again carefully considered this wise accusation about Merry, and it amounts to no more than laying a very foolish action to my charge, in doing an ill-office to a deserving man, without a possibility of any gain or advantage to myself by it. But you well know that it has always been my lot to be represented as an arrogant, self-sufficient, empty coxcomb, and in the same quarter of an hour, nay in the same breath, a deep, designing, dangerous spirit. . . . If this fiction were true, I should have done a very foolish action, indeed ; but how does it relate to you or your service, unless it was done in order to deliver you up implicitly to the Minister ? If so, I am indeed infamous to you ; but then how do I become a disturber, and how comes that to be the cause, the sole and only cause, of my disgrace ? . . . I beg leave to assure your R. Highness that I have much too great an opinion of the goodness of your head and your heart to believe that such stories, or indeed any stories, will make you think ill of a man who has ever loved you, and sacrificed all other prospect of advantage to that of serving you most faithfully without any.

"I must, then, take leave humbly to represent to your R. Highness that the question is not what is to become of me, but how you are to behave, in case I go out as a disturber, or in other words, for the share imputed to me of your late conduct. As to myself, I am a private man whom your R. Highness was pleased to call to your acquaintance. Your partiality for me grew very fast, till at last, without any merit even in my own vain opinion, you were pleased

to honour me with so unreserved a confidence that I believe there was nothing that was most near and dear to us that we could not, nay that we did not, communicate to each other. In the beginning of this I found you in no favourable disposition towards the Minister ; I used all my endeavours at that time, nay always have endeavoured, more or less, to soften it." By my attachment to you I have drawn on myself the hatred and indignation of those who have the most power to hurt me, and have done this " with my eyes open and from an affectionate duty to you, in which I call the great God to witness that my principal view was to cultivate in you those maxims which would make you a great and glorious prince, and by strengthening and establishing on immoveable foundations your happy disposition towards great and virtuous actions and sentiments. to leave in you an inestimable legacy to my country, when I shall be beyond the reach of favour or disgrace. . . . I most humbly entreat your R. Highness that your goodness and partiality for me may, by no means, carry you to do anything in my favour that any way derogates from the grandeur of your illustrious rank, or from (what I think more respectable) the true and innate grandeur of your mind. . . . "

*Draft. Five folio pages, closely written.*

SIR THOMAS FRANKLAND to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1733, October 4.—" Our elections in Yorkshire will be the same as last, except Bradshaw in the room of Hotham, but fear it will not be so quiet in other counties, as the barbers and parsons informed me on the roads. I have been at Court, where I met with greater marks of civilities from all the Royal family than I deserve.

" The King of Sardinia has made a treaty, offensive and defensive, with France and Spain. The election of Poland looks like a double return.

" As I am the son of a former post-master, I have desired my friend Mr. Manley to deliver you this."

EARL OF HADINTON to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1733, December 1. Tynninghame.—" . . . About a year ago, James Hamilton, uncle to the present Lord Bellhaven, died ; he had a small post. Upon his death, I sent a flying packet, with one letter to you, one to my Lord Ilay, and one to Sir Robert Walpole, desiring their favour in getting my second son, John Hamilton, to succeed him. You was so kind not only to answer my letter but to let me know what my Lord Ilay said upon that head. Mr. St. Clair, who my Lord said was to have that post, is now one of our judges ; . . . but yesterday I was told that a brother of this Lord Bellhaven's has got his uncle's post. I thought myself bound to acquaint you with this ; I am sure I have given very little trouble to any ministry by my demands ; what I made were but trifles, and it seems they have thought so ; at least that I was of little use, by their not thinking it worth their while to return an answer to any letter I have writ to any of them ; though, if I inclined to boast, I could tell that I very early showed my entire attachment to the family now on the



throne, when my zeal was not well taken, and I defy the world to accuse me of doing anything since that could be interpreted as if I had in the least altered my principles. . . ."

TO GEORGE DENOYER, Dancing Master.

[1739-40, February 19].—The humble petition of Itta Hamilton, spinster. "Is a daughter of James Hamilton, who married Laur (?) Erskine, niece to the Earl of Mar, and a descendant of Sir William de Hambledon, so called from the manor of de Hambledon, co. Bucks." Petitioner's father was killed in the rebellion in King George I.'s reign. Hearing that his honour, Lady Archibald [Hamilton] (her cousin), Mr. Lyttleton, Mr. Pitt, Carey the surgeon, Reynolds, Lord Albemarle's footman, influence the Prince of Wales; that his Royal Highness has a great regard for the ancient family of the de Hambledon's; that the petitioner is informed no person can be admitted into that part of Norfolk House called the nursery but what is a de Hambledon; petitioner prays for the place of a rocker, void by the death of Lady Charlotte Edwin's maid. "Her Father's being a Jacobite and in the Rebellion will be no objection to her coming into play, since his Royal Highness has laid aside all those distinctions by employing her uncle Erskine." \*

*Addressed to George Doddington, Esq., and endorsed with above date.*

WILLIAM MURRAY to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1740, October 7. London.—"The moment I got loose I went abroad to make a little tour by way of amusement. . . . I wish our M[inisters ?] were as vigilant in some of the places I have seen as they are at home. They are making new voters at Dunquerque without molestation, and there are ten thousand returning officers in Berg and Juliers which we dont trouble our heads about. I had a letter to-night brought me by a private hand which informs me of the astonishing and incredible success your friend the Mareschal has had this campaign. The enemy is seized with a panic, and fly before him. I hope your success is as great, but I fancy you are forced to fight much harder for it."

THOMAS PROWSE † to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1742, July 26. Berkley.—"I think the measure you have proposed of returning thanks to the members in so public a manner must be attended with the best consequences, as it will be a means of setting matters in a right light to our friends here, who from the present odd jumble of placemen, and the many other strange events of the late session, are at a loss to guess upon what ground they stand, and are doubtful (perhaps with reason too) whether they have been gainers by the change hitherto effected.

"As the country in general is not apprized that the materials which have been laid before the House this session may serve for the foundation of a parliamentary prosecution in the next, the

\* A skit. Cf. *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Toynbee, i., 161.

† M.P. for Somersetshire.

intimation you have given of it in the draft you favoured me with will be exceeding proper, and ought to be followed strictly in that particular by others: for the world having seen such a scene of iniquity incontestably proved, and the author of it [Walpole] still unpunished, may imagine that those places which have been bestowed upon some in the committee\* could be given with no other reason or design but to frustrate the effects of this and all future inquiries; and as so many have already deserted us, in whom the people have been long used to place a trust and confidence, it is no wonder if they are a little inclined to distrust those who have given them no reason.

"How we shall be able to put this scheme in execution here I am not at present able to judge, being so lately come into the country, and but just upon the edge of it. . . . I own I have great doubts whether Sir William Pynsent's treatment of some of our friends the last assizes, and some little family quarrels amongst our gentlemen in the West, may not be the occasion of a very poor meeting at Bridgwater; but should this be our case, I own I think it pity so proper a measure should be dropped in Dorsetshire, where it is in your power, even though you were single in it, which I daresay will not happen.

"Sir William Carew and Mr. Codrington are expected in the country this week, and as soon as he comes, I will wait upon him, if it be in my power, or at least write to him; but I fear the ill health of poor Sir J. St. Aubyn's family will not permit him to leave London for some time. I have no particular acquaintance in Devonshire, but will try to manage that matter by Mr. Bampfylde."

#### THOMAS PROWSE to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1742, August 5. Berkely.—"Some time before I received the honour of your last I had communicated by letter your scheme to Mr. Carew and Mr. Bampfylde, the first of which gentlemen going in person to Exeter will be able to put it in practice there. . . . I dont know whether there may be time enough for sending a letter across the Severn to Sir Watkin, but I should think if you were to give him a hint of what you propose, by the post, if it come too late for the assizes, that measure may be put in practice by him at some other opportunity. . . ."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1742, August 30. Axbridge.—"Upon my return to Berkely . . . I received a letter from Mr. Carew telling me that Sir J. Trevylian, Mr. Palmer, and several gentlemen, upon the intimation he had given them, were resolved to attend. Upon this assurance I set out the next day to the assizes, and was surprised to find there none of the gentlemen he had mentioned, but in their stead Mr. P. (*sic*) Poulett your brother member, Mr. Baker, and some others of that sort, who, with the assistance of two or three of our friends, rose to

\* The Secret Committee, appointed March, 1742, of which Prowse was a member.

no greater number than ten, so that if Mr. Carew and I had not served, the judge would have had but little trouble. I own I always suspected this would be our case with such a sheriff, and was told Lord Poulett had the nomination of the grand jury, and that the under sheriff had waited upon him with a list for the purpose.

"I cannot conceive how the measure you had so happily begun came not to be followed at Exeter, since there was so great an appearance there, and all friends. I could not learn from Mr. Carew the occasion of it, or whether, indeed, he had even proposed it."

THE EARL OF WILMINGTON to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1742, September 30. St. James' Square.—" . . . The Duke of Argyll has been in town some time, but so low in spirits that it has delayed the match for his daughter. He would take no advice till Dr. Burton came to town, but now, on taking proper remedies, he is so far recovered that I hear the marriage will be on Saturday." [There are three other letters from the Earl, quite unimportant.]

SIR WATKYN WILLIAMS WYNN to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1743, Sept. 25. Wynnstay.—" . . . I trust our friends will not be so captivated with appearances as to 'conster' escape into victory, or consider our profusion abroad in any other light than as it affects this kingdom solely. What is laid out for this sole end, every Englishman will join in; in what relates to foreign concerns I trust we shall be as unanimous. . . . In this remote part of the earth we cannot account for the alliance with Denmark in opposition to Russia and Sweden, seemingly the eve of an additional war."

GEORGE DODINGTON to SIR WATKYN WILLIAMS WYNN.

1744, September 1.—For the Ministry to plume themselves on the late victory and assume the credit of it is almost ridiculous, for it proves the truth of our advice, to push the war by sea, which they rejected. What we have taken, chiefly by privateers and merchant men, shows what we might have done if they had applied the strength of the government that way.

I pray you to advise with your friends what is to be done, and, if nothing, "let us at least agree in that nothing, and show that it does not proceed from meanness, but from a noble despair, which, by a firm union in improving events, may possibly save or contribute towards saving our country." *Copy, endorsed with above date.*

GEORGE DODINGTON to VISCOUNT HILLSBOROUGH.

1744, September 29.—"If I foresaw any moral possibility of repelling the broad ruin that now stares us in the face, I should call upon your Lordship with confidence, as an efficient part of our preservation. . . . However, though I see no salvation for the public, yet still I call upon you. Come to your friends, and help to soften the misfortunes you cannot prevent and disdain to contribute to.

. . . Come away then. Whether, like another Amphion, you teach the attracted rocks and forests to build your rising town, or you are separating the two legged from the four legged savages that inhabit them, in order to people it ; whether you are instilling the more refined passions into the already civilized part of your infant colony by assuming the gentle lover's form . . . or whether you are reforming their morals in the sterner shape of magistracy, . . . in short, however, this letter finds you employed, whether in laying the foundations of the town or of its inhabitants—doing or deserving justice, committing the crime or the criminal . . . come away, and remember you are the child of this country, though were you to stay much longer I presume you would be the father of that where you now reside. . . .”

E[DMUND] WALLER to —.

1744, October 7.—“I still keep the Beaconsfield stage once a week, for which I am but little the better. . . . My eyes are bad, too, from the medicines I use, and I have not writ a line since I wrote to you last.

“You may easily guess that in conversation, the subject of our going as an opposition has been talked of. It has been taken first for granted that in our present situation everybody designed going ; but I have taken it for granted too, for that very reason they designed to keep the resolution they left the last session with, that if ever any good effect was or could be expected from that measure, it must arise from the distress of the public affairs, which might create a virtue out of necessity. . . . The last time I heard from Cobham he was clear for not going. . . .

“As to our foreign affairs, you see what they are reduced to ; as you have heard much of this treaty of Hanau which our Regents refused, you may be glad to know something more particular about it. As I am informed, by that treaty, upon our paying the sum of 300,000 crowns only, the Emperor was to renounce all claims on the Austrian dominions ; that he was to be restored to his dominions, and it was understood, though not specified, that he was to have a couple of secularisations. This treaty, good as it is, was refused by our Regents, who say that the treaty sent over to them was, the Emperor should be put in possession of Flanders till some other dominions were given to the value of 6,000,000 of florins, and if Flanders did not produce that sum England was to make it good. . . .”

LORD HILLSBOROUGH to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1745, July 26. Hillsborough.—“When I returned from introducing Lord Barrington to Mrs. Grouse and her family, who live in the mountains of Morne, I received the favour of your letter, for which, and your goodness to me about the house, I will only beg leave to say, thanks, and in obedience to your orders have done with apologies. . . . One line will convey my mind ; I want to eat and sleep in that house, and to have it answer those ends in as



cheap a manner as possible. If you will take the trouble of giving the necessary orders, your good nature carries you to do what I am not any way entitled to ask. . . .

"Barrington and I are very sorry for the unhappy situation of our affairs, both at home and abroad. I am ready, and I believe he is, to join my mite to the common stock, and wait only for your summons to do my little endeavours towards making things better. In the meantime, be so kind as to send us a little news; let us know if anything can be expected abroad, and what is likely to become of us at home; whether our friends gain or lose ground, and whether they are more united in court than in opposition."

#### THE PRINCE OF WALES and GEORGE DODINGTON.

1748-9, March 11.—"Copy of Mr. Dodington's answer to the Prince, delivered by Mr. Ralph to the Earl of Middlesex, to be presented to his Royal Highness." *Printed in the Appendix to Dodington's Diary, ed. 1784, p. 325.*

#### GEORGE DODINGTON to MR. GARDINER.

1748[-9], March 15. Pall Mall.—"I was just sitting down to write to you when I received the honour of yours of the 7th inst., to acquaint you that I have resigned into his Majesty's hands my office of Treasurer of the Navy, and am retired from public business. . . .

"I have long thought this country in a most dangerous and irretrievable state of decline. The want of measures to conciliate and ease the people, hard-held and heavily loaded, I flattered myself was occasioned by, and would end with the confusion and pressure of the war. But our beginnings, after the peace, seem to me so inauspicious, my own inabilities, in every sense, so unequal to remedy the misfortunes I foresee, and if I were able, myself so little agreeable to those who have the principal direction, that I thought it became me to retire, and not stand loaded with emoluments without the power of doing any real service, either to my country or my friends."

FREDERICK, PRINCE OF WALES, to THOMAS, EARL OF SCARBOROUGH,  
his Treasurer.

1749, September 2. Leicester House.—Warrant to pay George Dodington (whom he has appointed Treasurer of his Chambers) the yearly sum of 1,200*l.* *Signed.*

#### F. B[OWYER] to the PRINCE OF WALES.

[1750, or earlier], April 12.—"I certainly go out of town next Tuesday, and for the last time I earnestly entreat your Royal Highness to let me know what does occasion so great a change in your behaviour. I think, Sir, you have too much good nature to behave in such a manner to her that you know loved you above all

things without some particular reason, and if any impertinent people has tittled-tattled to my disadvantage I beg to know, that I may prove my innocence; if 'tis inconstancy, and that your Royal Highness has any dislike to my person, pray, Sir, own it, for you will not be the first man that has been fickle, nor I the first woman that has been mistaken. I promised in a letter which I sent your Royal Highness about a month ago to trouble you no more, but my uneasiness will get the better of my resolution, and I shall go out of town the most unhappy creature upon earth if I dont know the cause of so extraordinary a change; so I beseech your Royal Highness, if ever you had the smallest regard for me, that you will gratify me this once, and send a letter enclosed for me to Mrs. Wattson, next to the *Golden Fan* in Mary Bone Street. I ask ten thousand pardons for begging so great a favour, but as I have been honoured before, I hope now I petition for it I shall not be denied; and then, Sir, we will bid adieu for ever."

*Endorsed* :—"Miss Fanny Bowyer," over "Lady L. Blanckly" *erased*.

#### J. RALPH to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1750, August 23. Turnham Green.—Long letter, endorsed :—"Respecting the letter of July 26, 1750, to the Earl of Middlesex, Lord Talbot, Sir F. Dashwood, &c." \* States that he has communicated the paper to Mr. Waller, who objects that it seems to be the measure of only part of his Royal Highness's court, in concert with two or three neutrals; that, consequently, the other parts of the court would not be over-forward to embrace it, and that, in this inter-medley, the common enemy would have a tempting opportunity to defame and misrepresent, and to make their court by all manner of means. That if the proposers were defeated, the eclat of what they had done, though it might furnish new matter against the Prince and his family, would scarce excite the attention of the people, so that both men and measure would be lost together. That an union amongst the Prince's friends and servants was the first thing to be established, and "that the principle of union ought to be a sensible opposition, grounded on such facts as might serve to expose the administration to the bottom . . . and that the embarking his Royal Highness in such an opposition is the strongest security for his future conduct." Has also shown the paper to Dashwood, who did not think it particular enough, but does not consider himself qualified to supply what is wanting.

— to the Right Hon. GEORGE DODINGTON, Pell-Mell.

[1750], August 29. Tuesday.—"I beg you will deliver the enclosed to the Prince as soon as you can; his being ill is the cause of my writing it; 'tis to beg no favour, nor does no harm to anybody, and will give his Highness no trouble but to hear it read, which I beg may be by you; pray dont neglect giving it, for should he die and not have had it—that is if ever I come to know it—my misery will

\* *Diary*, August 1.—"I sent to Mr. Ralph a scheme of opposition, to be shown to Lords Middlesex and Talbot, &c., &c. (ed. 1784, p. 53).

be insupportable. Believe me there is no harm in it, 'tis only to ease the mind of a poor unhappy maid who implores your faithfulness." *Unsigned.*

FREDERICK, PRINCE OF WALES, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1750, December 6].—"I am very much pleas'd with the letter, if you'd be so good not to expose your own judgement by praising so much a half witty'd, or to say truth, a no witty'd connoisseur. Be so good not to undo Mrs. Dodington by these excesses, or else new Rome will laugh at your old Rome's Restorer. I sha'n't want the Guercino, nor the 13th Statue. I hope to see you to-night after the Play." F. P. *Holograph. Endorsed with date.*

#### MEMORIAL CONCERNING THE PRINCE OF WALES.

[1752, December].—"A memorial of several noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank and fortune."

The paper begins:—"That the education of a Prince of Wales is an object of the utmost importance to the whole nation; that it ought always to be intrusted to Noblemen of the most unblemished honour and to Prelates of the most distinguished virtue." That the misfortunes of the nation under Charles I. and his sons were owing to the bad education of those princes, who were early initiated in maxims of arbitrary power; that for a faction to engross the Prince's education is unwarrantable, dangerous and illegal; that to place about him men whose principles or belief are doubtful is most mischievous, and for ministers to countenance improper men is a ground for suspecting the worst designs on such ministers' parts. It is notorious that books "inculcating the worst maxims of government and defending the most avowed tyrannies" have been put into the hands of the Prince of Wales, and the men who were honest enough to protest are driven away from court. The security of this Government being built on Whig principles, it cannot but alarm all true Whigs "to see none but the friends and pupils of the late Lord Bolingbroke entrusted with the education of a prince, whose family his lordship endeavoured by his measures to exclude, and by his writings to expel, from the throne of these Kingdoms. One of the preceptors has been accused by a noble lord of Jacobitism, yet continues in his place of trust; that the governor and preceptor (a nobleman of unblemished honour and a Prelate of most unbiassed virtue\*) have been treated in the grossest terms of abuse by a menial servant of the family, and no satisfaction given; that a Scotsman of a most disaffected family, and nearly allied to the Pretender's first minister, is consulted in the Prince's education, and trusted with all the most important government secrets; and lastly, that "the three or four low, dark, suspected persons" are

\* Lord Harcourt and the Bishop of Norwich. The sub-governor and preceptor, accused of Jacobitism, were Stone and Scott; the Scotsman, the Earl of Bute.

the only men whose station is permanent, while all the great offices and officers are constantly varied and shuffled about ; whereby it is feared there is a design to render the Government ridiculous, and facilitate a revolution which is believed to be meditating.

*Numbered "9," and endorsed :—*"This remarkable paper was sent by the penny post inclosed in a cover to General Hawley, about the 18th December, 1752, with an intent ('tis supposed) that he should carry it direct to the Duke [of Cumberland]. But he carried it to the Duke of Newcastle, who laid it before the King." [Lord Harcourt resigned on Dec. 5, and the Bishop immediately after. Lord Waldegrave was declared Governor on Dec. 18. *See Dodington's Diary*, pp. 122, 123 ; also p. 132, for notice of this paper.]

#### DR. SHARPE to [GEORGE DODINGTON ? ].

1752, July 3.—We left Paris with as little regret as we should any other place, but there is a certain vis-inertia in some men, as in all matter, which resists motion, and I was afraid this sluggishness would have kept us at Lyons till we returned to England. Our guardians, it is true, pelted us out of Paris . . . but being cured of our rage for pictures, and living now at a moderate expence, they will hardly think it worth while to write us out of Lyons. We go not further south, not into Italy, it is too hot, nor into Germany, it will be too cold. [The next part of the letter is an answer to the attacks of "a noble Lord" [Bolingbroke] upon the Bible, and a pressing invitation to his correspondent to publish some observations upon Ancient History.]

"I love Dr. Thompson and shall be very glad to see him. . . . I could wish, instead of mingling with Politicians and Poets, he would court the acquaintance of young men of his own profession, and for the good of mankind teach them his art. . . . I think it becomes both him and me rather to mend old books than old governments. Let him take care of the constitutions of his friends, and leave the constitution of the State to those who love Fees and attendance better than himself."

#### J. RALPH to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1753, February 1. Turnham Green.—"I am far from presuming to think that I am the proper person to sum up the merits of the affair which has been so long in suspense before the two brothers [Mr. Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle], but surely the time is come when somebody ought to do it. . . . It is not their interest to make the experiment if they are not morally certain of its success, and this certainty must arise from their known superiority, or the closet opinion of their superiority (which would operate in the same manner). Now the Court (to take in a larger field than the Cabinet) may be divided, as I humbly conceive, thus. The Princess of Wales, the Lord Chancellor, the Secretary Duke (his colleague need not be named), Mr. Pelham, Lord Anson, and Lord Hartington, on one side ; the Duke, the Princess Amelia, the Lord President, the Lord Steward,



the groom of the Stole (though abroad), and Mr. Fox (with his great auxiliary, the Duke of Bedford) on the other. The Dukes of Grafton and Dorset I reckon as trimmers that will certainly lean to the strongest; and if Lord Gower is, at present, too much a cypher to be reckoned at all, Lord Winchelsea may, perhaps, in due time be his successor. Thus the two parties, as they stand at court, stand nearly on equal ground, and from that equality the King may probably find himself in a condition to prefer which he pleases, and, consequently, give the law to both; which was nearly the case of King William in the last year of his life. . . . For a King, so circumstanced, need not yield to either side unless they can talk to him in the name of a majority in Parliament, which also, at present, seems to depend more on himself than anybody else, whether it is understood or acknowledged so to be or not.

“Upon the wisdom of the brothers, therefore, in taking their measures to form a majority of their own, and their resolution to push every measure that may help to constitute such a majority, depends their own real significancy, and with it the fate of this measure.

“But resolution does not seem to be the characteristic of their administration. Have they not suffered Lord Harrington, the first resigner, to be disgraced? Have they not suffered Lord Granville, their old driver, to be taken in? Is not that Lord at open variance with the Lord Chancellor? Are not promotions made every day without their advice, if not against it? And dare they assert their own importance by making an example of any one man, how branded soever for his perfidy and ingratitude to them in particular?” *End of the letter missing.*

#### EARL OF SHAFTESBURY TO GEORGE DODINGTON.

1753, April 13.—Regretting that he cannot give the living of St. Giles to the person recommended (and who on many grounds would have been greatly acceptable to himself), as, when Mr. Dodington's letter came, he had already promised it to a friend of his own.

#### HORACE MANN [Ambassador to Tuscany] TO GEORGE DODINGTON.

1754, March 15. Florence.—“I had the honour to acquaint you, by my last letter, that Colonel Mill was on the point of returning to England, and that I was not quite persuaded that his total disappointment in his India scheme was the motive of these frequent journeys, as he has declared that he will be back again here by the end of next May. I have since discovered that he has obtained a patent from the Emperor to work some mines, both of copper and quicksilver, in this state, that are supposed to be very rich. The conditions of his patent are that he is to begin to work within the space of eighteen months, that for the first five years the whole profit is to be his, after which the Emperor is to have ten per cent. of the net produce. These are very advantageous conditions, as he is not obliged to go on if he should find that they do not answer, nor is he under any forfeiture if he desists ever so soon. He proposes

to set out for England in a few days, in order, I suppose, to get associates in this undertaking, who must, I believe, advance the money that will be required. He intends, likewise, to bring out with him two Cornish miners, who, he thinks, will be very useful in directing the work. . . . It is a pity he should not be rich, for nobody can rack his brain more than he does to invent the means to be so. . . .

“Miss [Elizabeth] Pitt, whom we have had here about two months, last Friday made a public abjuration of the Protestant religion, and became a Roman Catholic. Such a conversion would have been more taken notice of at Rome than it has been here.”

#### HORACE MANN to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1754, June 7. Florence.—“ . . . Lady Rochford is extremely kind ; and . . . at the same time that my Lord and she showed me so great an instance of it, by condescending to dwell under my roof, from a peculiar good and obliging disposition of mind expresses herself as if they had received and not conferred the favour. Did but the greatest part of our countrymen in some degree only resemble them, one should have the greatest satisfaction in employing one's whole time, nay, one's fortune, in showing attentions to them ; but, alas, how few one meets with like her ! . . . One sees by daily experience how useless it is, and that very few remember any civilities after they have passed the first mountain, though the least omission, on the other hand, would make so deep an impression as never to be forgiven.

“The fair lady whose name is mentioned in the next paragraph of your letter [Miss Eliz. Pitt] is a strong instance of such a character as I have hinted at, and who, though she came into this country with so many and such disadvantages as would have excluded a person in any country from the least society, was, by the pains I took, better and more generally well received than I could have expected ; but I have, unfortunately, lost all the merit of my first two months' attentions by not espousing her extravagancies, a recital of which would tire you, as really her behaviour has been of such a nature as forms the most dangerous character imaginable, and so much the more as she is still handsome, has wit and great art. Nobody could ever guess the motive of her quarrel with Mr. Montgomery, who was not conscious of having offended her, but still offered to make whatever submissions she might dictate for his supposed offence. Instead of accepting of this she, by degrees, worked herself up to such a pitch of extravagance as made all reconciliation impracticable, though even then she never particularised any motive, nor was it till long after his departure that she invented that of his having told her she was handsome. Nobody pretends to guess either at the motive of her second abjuration, for she performed the same in France, and says that they forgot there to relieve her from the original excommunication. We once thought that she had a view of marriage with a young gentleman of this country, who might be her son. His family has been much alarmed, though he has assured them, without reason ;—that he knows her character too

well by having avoided the danger she would have exposed him to, by fighting on her account. For my part I am inclined to believe that she had no other motive but that of conformity to the religion of the country where she seems determined, and perhaps is obliged to live, thinking to recommend herself by that means ; for the day after she had acted that farce she asked an audience of Count Richecourt by a note (though she had never been at his house before) on purpose to acquaint him with it, and to demand the Emperor's protection, telling his minister that she foresaw that it was a step that would be disapproved of by her *nation*, and that it would become her enemy. I interrupted the Count by saying that I was very sure her nation would be as indifferent about the religion she professed as she was herself. In short, supposing even that this step would have done her any good with the inhabitants, the extravagance of her behaviour has been such that it excludes even with them the opinion that she could have any good motive for taking it. I should not have dwelt so long upon this subject had not you ordered me to acquaint you with some particulars relating to this lady in a full confidence that it will remain entirely with you.

"Sir William Stanhope passed by here last autumn ; during his stay here he permitted me to enjoy much of his company, having passed most of his time at my house ; he is now at Naples, from whence in the Holy Week he made an excursion to Rome, and instead of going to Venice for the Ascension, as he had promised his nephew, he returned to Naples, where I hear he has taken a house for a year, still detained by the same motive that engaged him to return. He has quite recovered his hearing, and is vastly happy."

#### GEORGE DODINGTON to MRS. EAST.

1754, December 14.—"The government of a gentleman of eighteen, master of a large fortune, is not a province of the most profound tranquillity for a lady." Induced by a long friendship with your families, being the only old man he is acquainted with, I will willingly, if it please you, try to convey the thoughts of a father to him, though I believe my rules and maxims are grown as old and unfashionable as myself.

"I am not alarmed at his love of expense ; his allowance from Chancery is too small, and provided it does not arise from the pernicious passion for play, I think his finding 1,000*l.* more or 1,000*l.* less when he comes of age is of very little importance. His love of horsemanship also I am not apprehensive of. That sort he there practices, which is called the 'great Saddle,' will not lead him to a passion for fox-hunting, and the noble ambition of being the most formidable beast in the field, and spending the rest of his time with a set of animals, at home, who are employed and maintained to destroy those that remain without doors.

"I am chiefly afraid of his too hasty desire of going to Paris, where he will see and hear things, at an improper time of life, which he might make a very good use of at a proper one. I should wish, therefore, he should first stay some time in Italy . . . and from

taly return for a year to you (I shall have taken a journey that I hope he will defer many, many happy years), and then pass a winter at Paris. Lord Huntingdon did so." *Copy.*

GEORGE DODINGTON to MR. EAST.

1755, March 2. Pall Mall.—“ You are now, dear Sir, of an age that permits me to tell you that I love you and to offer you my sincere wishes. You are born in a rank that gives the public a claim to you and expectations from you ; of a mother who was always reckoned one of the most amiable women of her time. Her tenderness for you I am sure you have felt and I have seen. . . . You cannot receive the same marks of affection from your father, so I say no more of him. . . .

“ You are now in a situation of fitting yourself for either or both of these characters [a man devoted to public life, or a private gentleman]. As to the dead languages, they embellish and amuse the mind, and I wish you may think so ; but I lay no greater stress upon them to a man of your rank than as they relate to orthography and writing like a gentleman in your own. As to the living ones, permit me to insist that they are full as necessary to, and more the mark of a gentleman than a laced coat or a fine equipage. The same, give me leave to say, of a competent knowledge in the exercises of riding, dancing and fencing, which you are now entering upon ; for though I should be sorry to see you at the head of a society of grooms, or a Mr. Fribble at every ball, and much more, a bully in midnight brawls, yet still I could wish, when properly called upon to any of these exercises, you should have it in your power to acquit yourself like a gentleman.

“ And give me leave to tell you that, in my sense, the character of an English gentleman is a serious character. It is not a family, an estate, or an employment that gives it ; 'tis not the Patent of the King ; it is the Patent of the People only that bestows it. A gentleman must love his country, and look a little into its constitution, to know why he loves it ; and if called to mount on horseback in defence of it, or his friend or mistress, he must know how to do it, in a manner that may neither disgrace himself or disgust either of them. He must know how to defend himself, and must only *not* know how to offend. He must wear his sword, like his wit, only pointed against those who, by undeserved provocation, run wilfully upon it. . . .

“ Next, let me recommend to you very frequent conversation with women of fashion ; I know nothing so proper to polish a firm and noble mind, and that so naturally will add grace to dignity. Let your first applications to intimacy be, if you please, with ladies much older than yourself ; there is youth enough on your side. You will find those, believe me, very charitably inclined to put a young traveller in the right road. . . .

“ And now, dear Sir, to finish the character of a pedagogue, which I have very impertinently assumed, it may be expected that I should tell you what I wish you should avoid ; and these are only two things, gaming and marriage, and I trust you are too fond of your estate and your liberty to engage in either.



"As to gaming, the first propensity [to] it must be curbed, for I do assure you that amongst all the men of distinction that I ever was acquainted with, I never knew but one who had that passion, that ever left it off entirely; and I do also beg leave to assure you that I never knew one whom it did not make uneasy, even in the greatest fortunes. . . . As to marriage, my humble request is only temporary. The day will come (though I shall not live to see it) when I should as much wish to see you enter into that situation as I now do that you would defer it for some years. . . . Believe me, it is the step in life of all others that requires the most engaged and most mature consideration; for as a man that has a fortune to make is never absolutely undone, so a man whose fortune is made is never absolutely uneasy till he is married.

"I hope, dear Sir, you are pleased where you are, and with what you are doing. . . . I am the more partial to this way of education which you have happily entered upon because it was my own. I have lived some years abroad, and part of them in a public character, which led me to contract friendships with people of the first quality in most countries. These friendships I have kept up; and if this plan be at all agreeable to you, I will take care to recommend you, in all the great courts, to people of the highest distinction, who, I am sure, will receive you with as much affection as if you were my own son."

*With postscript, dated as above, stating that the letter had been written the previous autumn, but it was thought better not to send it then. Copy.*

#### GEORGE DODINGTON to MR. EAST.

1755, May 11. Pall Mall.—Stating that he has forfeited Mrs. East's favour and confidence, he knows not why, and urging Mr. East on no account to enter into any engagement, promise or obligation to be made good when he comes of age, either as to himself or his fortune, by marriage or otherwise. *Copy.*

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1755, July 17. Hammersmith.—Praying him, if the danger of war with France should drive him from Caen, not to be persuaded to join his mother and her friend, seeing that for a lady to travel tête-à-tête with a gentleman she has not the least relation to is not enough authorized by custom to escape either the observation of foreigners or the remarks of their own countrymen; also desiring him to show this letter to nobody.

"I like your aversion to cards. 'Tis natural to be pleased that those we love should like and dislike as we do. I believe I have not played at cards ten hours these ten years, but it must sometimes be submitted to, by way of introduction and for small sums. . . . I think your allowance ought not to be less than 600*l.* per annum, nor can *that* by any means do if you must have a governor. I am very positive upon that head; I have no notion of your travelling with a governor; 'tis a great expense (not less than 300*l.* per annum in salary, maintenance, &c.) quite thrown

away, nay worse, for, as you rightly observe, one is never so well received with one as without one. However, if you are forced to Geneva so much sooner than we wished, you may take yours, who is a very good man, with you thither. They are more used to them there than in greater states; but you must, by all means, take leave of him when you go to Italy, and take only a couple of servants with you—one that is used to be about you, and another that you may get, well recommended to you, that is used to travelling and knows the languages.

“I say I think your allowance should not be less than 600*l.* per annum, without a governor. You do not tell me if you think that is enough. Pray let me hear your thoughts of it, and if you think your guardians have settled it too narrow, say nothing to them, but draw upon me to make it up. Your bills shall be punctually paid, and you may repay me when you are of age or never, just as you please, for of you I accept neither security nor interest. In short, my meaning is this: I should be much happier to produce you to the world, a credit to your country and the pride of your friends, than to find that you, or I, were a thousand pounds richer when you come of age.

“A word about guardians. They are now, or ought to be nothing but names, to carry your intentions into execution. You must know what is proper for you to do much better than anybody; maybe not how to conduct it. Now to facilitate the execution of your plan is all they have to do, or will attempt, with a young man of your capacity, if they are in their senses. . . . I shall assist you in carrying your choice into execution with decency, honour and advantage, by all the means that my experience shall suggest; for in experience only I pretend to be your superior.” *Copy.*

#### GEORGE DODINGTON to the EARL OF HALIFAX.

1755, August 23. La Trappe.—“The King will be here between the 10th and 15th. Hawke’s orders that your Lordship understood to be very indecisive, when we parted, were so, to a ridiculous degree; but have been altered into very decisive ones lately, of which we may expect the effects every hour. In the meantime, they forget to give the same orders to any other Admiral or single commander. Now for the natural consequences of so much wisdom.

“The 16th inst., the *Greyhound*, one of Smith’s squadron in the Downs, takes a French ship of 400 ton, 20 guns, and 60 men, bound, I think, for America; brings her to Smyth, who dismisses her; she continues her voyage, persuaded all is well. . . . Now I am pleasing myself with the thought, when this very ship is taken and made prize by Hawke’s people, as in all human probability she must be where she is going, how Capt. Agat will stare, and how much our incomprehensible neighbours (who are full of a peace, at Paris) must honour our superior incomprehensibility. . . .

“I have good reason to believe that Spain has declared to our ministers that she will observe an exact neutrality in this war; let it be carried on how or where it will, which I am very glad of.

“Lord Holderness went to Woolfenbottle the 9th, and returned

the 12th or 13th. My correspondent that went with him thinks it certain that they completed one match at least, most probably two ; says that the transaction itself was carried on with much secrecy, but that the appearances were so strong that all those of the party and of the place whom they conversed with thought alike ; and somebody put it into their heads that it was to be a double match,\* and no money on either side. The extraordinary reception was one reason, for he says the servants were treated like gentlemen and Lord Holderness like a prince. I can hardly think that his Lordship would have left the King for three or four days at this critical conjuncture, to go to a fair ! God send it may be happy. For the contingent that we are to furnish, I have known them ever since they were born, and better goods for domestic, as well as public happiness, never were put out of hand. *Copy.*

MRS. ANNE EAST to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1755, September 5. Paris.—“The obliging letters you write to my son does him great honour, and I am much obliged to you for the kind notice you take of him, and, indeed, the offers you make him of supplying his want of money where the Chancery falls short is such an obligation as is never to be forgot ; but, Sir, I must beg you to consider he is very young, certainly not capable of judging for himself yet ; too much encouraged may perhaps be too presumptuous—for what is so much so as ignorance—and he may take liberties from your indulgence that may be improper. . . . He is a very honest, good-hearted boy, but too young of his age, inattentive to business, apt to trifle away his time, knows but little of books. Let me intreat you, when you honour him with your letters, to recommend such books as may inform his mind. You have but to name 'em ; I'll answer for his readiness to observe, for he has set you up as his law-giver, and I believe the world could not persuade him to go contrary to your advice.” Prays Dodington not to oppose her son coming to her in Paris for a day or two.

P.S.—“Sir John Bland took his leave of this world by the help of a sword last Wednesday morning.”

GEORGE DODINGTON to the EARL OF HALIFAX.

1755, September 6.—“ . . . Either this country or the whole system of continent subsidies must be put an end to. I defy the art of man to support the naval war in Europe and the mixed war in America vigorously, as the true interest of Britain requires, with a subsidiary war at the same time, upon the continent, fruitless and increasing. I say I defy the art of man to do these two things for three years together without a general bankruptcy.

“These subsidies will be strongly opposed ; possibly in your House by court lords of the first consideration. . . . I write only to entreat you to take no positive engagements when you come to town, nor to drop any expressions, even to the King, much less to the minister [Newcastle], that may in the least influence you when the time of action comes nearer.”

\* Prince of Wales to Princess ; Princess Augusta to Hereditary Prince.

## GEORGE DODINGTON to HENRY FOX.

1755, September 27. Eastbury.—“That of all those who are in the King’s service or likely to be so, you are one whom I most cordially wish to see in the first rank, is a truth that I hoped to convince you of by contributing both to the placing and supporting you in it, and not by words, and therefore I have been very sparing of them. . . . My opinions in many things must naturally be known to most of those I converse with, for as it is below the Administration to take notice of them, I have thought it below me to conceal them ; but as to the particular manner of acting in pursuit and consequence of those opinions, I have taken no positive engagement, because I have not positively determined it in my own thoughts, nor will I take any till I have the honour of seeing you, since you are pleased to make me some part of your care in so noble and friendly a manner. . . . I never thought you could be a looker on ; I never wished it. I always wished you should be an actor—a principal actor, but where honour and reputation, as well as power and profit, distinguish the part you appear in ; for, dear Mr. Fox, believe an old man that loves and esteems you, there is nothing else worthy of an honest, noble, well-regulated ambition.” *Copy.*

## THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE to LORD HALIFAX.

1755, October 4. Claremont.—“I am sorry that your Lordship’s absence has deprived me of an opportunity, which I should otherwise have taken, of acquainting you with the rise, progress, and cause of Mr. Fox’s promotion, which was not so much as in negotiation till very lately. Everything has been done by my Lord Chancellor and myself, and I cannot too much commend the King’s grace and goodness to us, upon this occasion, and at this conjuncture. I can send no particulars by letter, but when I have the honour of seeing you, which, I hope, will be soon, I shall explain the whole to you.

“As I have had no view since last session of Parliament, but to bring all men of weight and abilities into the King’s service, who would support the King’s measures, and act in concert with his servants, I have been very desirous that the King should have the assistance of Mr. Dodington ; and have not only spoke to the King for that purpose, but have his Majesty’s leave to offer him a very considerable employment, which I hope will be entirely to his satisfaction. I found Mr. Fox equally desirous with myself to bring this about ; and that Mr. Fox was at this time in great favour with Mr. Dodington. Mr. Fox readily undertook to talk to him, and intended to have gone to Dorsetshire on purpose ; but Mr. Dodington coming to Hammersmith, they have since had a meeting, which has ended well, though Mr. Dodington has given no positive answer, or Fox made any particular offer. Mr. Fox found Mr. Dodington had the greatest regard for your lordship and desire to act with you, and is of opinion that you may be of great service to fix this matter to our satisfaction. I know your goodness to me, and your readiness to do anything that may be of real service, and particularly with Mr. Dodington. I therefore would be obliged to you if you would see him as soon as you can, acquaint him with the inclination of



us all to have him one of us, and that for that purpose I had his Majesty's leave that Mr. Fox should talk to him, and you will say everything from yourself to induce him to come in. Mr. Fox has not thought proper to name the particular employment to him, and therefore you should not ; but to show your lordship that I am in earnest, I have procured the King's leave to offer him the Comptroller's staff, but I beg you would not mention it to him. Your friend Hillsborough will then be pleased with the other staff, as Fox was, to be Secretary of State. I was glad of this opportunity of making our friend Barrington Secretary at War, which pleased the King as well as it did me." *Copy, on the same sheet as the following letter.*

#### HENRY FOX to LORD HALIFAX.

1755, October 4. Holland House. —“ . . . I am coming into a situation that will, I hope, give me opportunities of cultivating what I have long aspired to, your Lordship's friendship. . . . Mr. Dodington, who has known you longer, honours you above all mankind, and I believe is as much inclined as man can be to make one in a political system with your Lordship, Lord Hillsborough and your humble servant ; but how far his opinion will permit him to follow his inclination, I do not know. I think him of great importance, and I believe, to the forming or changing that opinion, your Lordship will go a great way. If your Lordship thinks the measure which will be the question in debate (I mean the defence of Hanover by these two subsidiary treaties) just and necessary, and to be given in to, upon a knowledge that it is to extend no further, and would endeavour to engage Mr. Dodington, your Lordship would do the greatest service to your friends. The King has given his word that he will no longer put his negative on Mr. Dodington. . . .

“I am sensible that I have ventured too far with your Lordship in a first letter, but I hope and believe your Lordship will not only excuse this, but let me go a great deal further in the progress of that friendship which is among the sincerest and most ambitious wishes of, &c.” *Copy.*

#### THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE to LORD HALIFAX.

[1755, October 8]. Wednesday. Claremont.—Appointing a meeting with Mr. Dodington. *Copy, on the same sheet.*

#### THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE and MR. DODINGTON.

1755, October 10.—“An account of a conference between the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Dodington.” *Printed in the Appendix to Dodington's Diary (ed. 1784, p. 337).*

#### Memorandum by the EARL OF HALIFAX.

1755, December 27. Horton.—On his claims to receive the Garter.

## GEORGE DODINGTON to MR. EAST.

1756, January 19.—Urging him to remain in Geneva until the next year and to apply himself to acquiring thoroughly the French and Italian languages, and to the study of history—the history of his own country above all others. He can no doubt obtain Rapin Thoyras' *Histoire de l'Angleterre*, and there are many select pieces, on interesting periods and by men of great genius, such as are to be found in the works of the Abbés de Vertôt and St. Real in French, Guicciardini and Davila in Italian, and “a more comprehensive work, though not a very good one, but yet necessary to be read, *L'Histoire ancienne par Rollin* ; the little period of his own time, wrote by the Cardinal de Retz, with inimitable beauty,” and many others which no doubt Mr. Fraigneau will have the goodness to point out.

In *belles lettres* there are Boileau's *Satires* and *Epistles*, and M. de Voltaire's works, with many lesser compositions of wit and humour, and to these must be added the French critics and their translations of the Greek and Latin authors. *Copy.*

## HENRY FOX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1756, April 7].—“His Majesty has consented to our staying till a properer time, so I advise you *not* to be at his levée to-day. I shall see you at the House.” *Endorsed with date.*

## GEORGE DODINGTON to MR. EAST.

1756, June 4. Pall Mall.—Expressing his astonishment that Mr. East has seen nothing remarkable in his mother's behaviour, giving him advice about money matters, and stating that he has left a sealed packet with a friend, Mr. Breton, to be delivered to East in case he (Dodington) dies before they can meet.

“I cannot conclude without declaring myself obliged to you for taking my plain friendly treating you, upon these tender but necessary points, in so kind, so generous a manner. I am charmed with it, as it proves both an excellent head and a good heart. . . . I recommend you, my dear child, most fervently to God's goodness and protection.”

## HENRY FOX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1756, June 23. H[olland] House.—“ . . . You will observe how like Galissoniere's [the French Admiral's] account was to this of Bing's, *mutato nomine*. I own I cannot but suppose this, as far as it goes, authentic, and as all the accounts from France agree that the siege of fort St. Phillips is not at all advanced, what if we should at last save it ? This is the first time I have indulged myself in such a supposition.

“Bing's despatches, sent from Barcelona cross Spain to the Corunna, are not arrived.”

## The SAME to the SAME.

1756, June 23.—“The despatches mentioned in Miller's letter are already come this moment, not all deciphered, but enough so to

blast most of the hopes you and I conceived. He [Byng] says he beat the French fleet, or rather that it was a drawn battle. But he says they are too strong for us, that the fort is invested with 17,000 men (in buckram I suppose), so that a letter cannot be conveyed into the place; and that by the advice of a council of war he is going back to Gibraltar to refit, wait for reinforcements, and return. He hopes to make a more complete victory. *Helas! adieu.*"

*P.S.*—Capt. Andrews of the *Defiance* is killed.

#### SIR HORACE MANN to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1756, July 23. Florence.—" . . . Long before this can reach you the fatal news of the loss of Minorca will be known in England. The stroke is so great, and attended by so many disagreeable circumstances, that the shock, I fear, will not have been diminished by being foreseen; the consequences, too, must be very great, and not hidden to your penetration. It has already emboldened the perfidious republic of Genoa to avow what they have long been secretly treating about, a convention with the French, by which they yield up all their ports in Corsica, that are immediately to be garrisoned by French troops, in consideration of an annual subsidy of one million two hundred thousand livres. It is said that some steps of the same kind will be taken to exclude our ships from Villa Franca, and that the Duke de Richelieu is to go to Turin for that purpose; and yet it is necessary that we should have a large fleet in the Mediterranean to retrieve the honour of the nation as well as to protect our trade. What an opportunity has been lost to strike a blow that France would not have recovered in twenty years. . . ."

#### GEORGE DODINGTON to HENRY FOX.

1756, August 30. Eastbury.—"I know nothing of public affairs but from the public papers, which represent them in a state of perplexity which I do not see sufficient grounds for; but if those gentlemen are at all well-informed, and they should, in any the least degree, be in such a state as to make people think that their friends can be of any use to them, you will please to remember that if you send your commands to La Trappe you will find one who is much more ready to do than to say.

"But in truth, the state of my poor dear country is not the cause of my writing, tho' so pathetically set forth by those gentlemen, but their report of your ill-health, which a little alarms me, is the real motive of this letter; and if you can order Mr. Tucker to send me word that you are well, it will be a more agreeable piece of news to me than all the ministerial intelligence you will ever be able to send me as long as you live."

*Postscript.*—"My duty to Lady Caroline and any young widow you may find in the neighbourhood." *Copy, on the same sheet as the preceding.*

#### GEORGE DODINGTON to LORD DUPPLIN.

1756, August 30. Eastbury.—Although public affairs afford no very promising prospect, he sees no ground for despair, or even

great uneasiness. His own part is easy, as it is both his inclination and duty to serve the public by co-operating with his friends, amongst whom he hopes his lordship may be reckoned. *Copy, on the same sheet as the preceding.*

#### R. GLOVER to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1756, August 30. London.—“ . . . The public are sufficiently prepared for some expedient of a militia, probably from the quarter you refer to ; from that quarter they expect nothing but a snake in the grass, and will receive it with the indignation it deserves. . . . There are three clouds over our heads, and must burst before the end of two months. The Brest squadron has been stronger than Boscawen for some time. It will not lie always in port. Sir Edward Hawke, all circumstances considered, is inferior to theoulon squadron, which, we have reason to expect, will soon put to sea. General Winslow marched with nine thousand New England troops from Albany on the 12th of July to attack Crown Point, where the works are vastly enlarged, and defended by at least five thousand men. For my own part, I wait with the utmost uneasiness for these three events, which all promise nothing but new disgrace and calamity.”

#### SAM MASHAM to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1756, September 5. Oates, near Harlow, Essex.—“ Give me leave, dear Sir, to return you a thousand thanks for the best venison I ever tasted. . . . I invited two fat parsons to partake of it. They ate as if it did their hearts good, though it made mine ache. It put me in mind of Joh. Miller (by the by no bad author), who invited a friend (a devilish eater) to dine with him on a shoulder of mutton. Good Master Miller, says he, this is something like living, here's cut and come again. Aye, says poor Joh., you may cut, but by — you shall never come again.”

#### GEORGE DODINGTON to HENRY FOX.

1756, [September 6]. Eastbury.—“ I thank you for your kind letter. Your recovery gives me real joy ; take care not to dash it by a relapse, but obey the Countess and I am contented . . . “ You say nothing of Brest. Are you sure that they are not stronger there than Boscawen for periods long enough to come out and attack him ? “ I hope the best from the Mediterranean, but am not quite so sure as you seem to be of our superiority there at this hour. Remember how you were misled into a belief that Byng's squadron was too strong for all that they could put out, which it certainly is not ; for those who affirmed that to you could have no certainty of his being joined by Edgecumbe—but this is between ourselves. “ I entirely agree there is no great reason to apprehend any active mischief from America this year, but reflect a little, if inaction be not defeat, in an undertaking where, without victory, the expense is ruin . . . ” *Copy. Dated August 6, but endorsed :—“ To Mr. Fox of the 6th of September.”*



## SAM MASHAM to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1756, October 13.—I have been this morning with the Duke of Newcastle. He acknowledged the promise he had made me, and (without making any sort of excuse) told me it was fixed for somebody else. This is truth, upon my honour."

## THE EARL OF HALIFAX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1756, October 18. Horton.—I am much obliged to you for the notice you give me of things being in a state of fermentation, and heartily wish it may soon subside. I dare say you think my presence in town necessary, but really, "considering the inferior rank of office I hold, the little right I have to be consulted on such an occasion, and the little weight my opinion, if given, would probably have, I am not aware my journey to town could be of any utility to the King's government or the public service; and as it may be attended with unpleasant circumstances to myself, who am naturally an enemy to quarrel, and don't like being a spectator of distress, my purpose enjoying my retirement here till I see reason to think my presence in town will be of use."

## HENRY FOX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1756, Oct. 19. H[olland] House.—"I had a good deal of serious discourse with his Majesty yesterday. The Chancellor did not come to town till last night. The D[uke] of N[ewcastle] did not know his own mind till then, if he does now. His Majesty kept his temper therefore, and is open to any future behaviour he shall think proper. Pitt came to town this morning. I know nothing more, and therefore had nothing to trouble you with. I believe, without knowledge, reflection will have brought you from what seemed to be your opinion on Saturday, that things will be accommodated. But [what] will be the event I know not, nor am in any degree master of it; it is in other hands, and I am *not* sorry for it."

## GEORGE DODINGTON to the EARL OF HALIFAX.

1756, October 27. La Trappe.—Congratulating him upon his "new station," and calling upon him not only to defend his country but to assist her in her collective capacity; to "procure her justice from her neighbours, retrieve her honour, recover her possession and fix her independency once more among the nations, without which her independency at home will be very precarious." *Copy.*

## THE EARL OF HALIFAX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1757, February 26]. Saturday Evening. Bushey Park.—"I take for granted that the House of Commons will unanimously agree to the Bill,\* and everything relative to that and the suspension of the execution, I dare say you have taken proper care of. I never

\* For absolving the members of the Court Martial on Admiral Byng from their oath of secrecy.

aw such times as these, and therefore I hinted to you this morning that nothing was to be trusted to. Though I have not too partial regard to the body of which I am one, yet my astonishment and indignation were raised as high as one of my phlegm and resignation can be supposed to indulge either, when I received the news you sent me of the Bill being to be opposed in the House of Lords. In matters of death, you will allow that Patience may come as properly from the monument as on any other occasion ; and though I pretend not to move hearts of stone, I am resolved to do what I can towards it.

“ Do our Bishops, who are so careful of their Sunday, wish that blood, probably innocent, should be spilt on Monday ? Will former Ministers wish that blood should be spilt on a supposed crime of negligence ? Will lords of the law oppose the explanation of a sentence that nobody can understand, and they less than any others ? And will common sense and humanity quit the breasts of every other Lord who has not been tied to law or church ? Fye, fye ! I can't suppose it ; but if it be so, as I love you, let me recommend to you never to think of us ; we are not fit company for you.”

I beg you to tell my servant what has passed in your house, and is likely to pass in ours. I took my children to La Trappe this morning. They had never seen anything so elegant before, and were the better pleased with all they saw, because it belonged to one who has been so good to them, and who they know is so dear to their father.

#### HENRY FOX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1757, March 12]. Saturday Morning.—“ What can I do ? Can I speak to Lord Halifax without such authority as may justify me in all events in what I say to him. I not only authorise but desire you to converse with him on the subject, and if you please, to say that it is by my desire and on this foot :—That I wish the King would dismiss Pitt, Lord Temple, &c. ; that I think no one of the late Ministers can now succeed them, but that such a ministry should be formed as the late Ministers may support, and as the people cannot complain of ; that the Secretary of State must be in the House of Commons ; that if the Duke of Devon will stay there is no place but First Lord of the Admiralty for his lordship, nor anybody that I know of but his lordship who could fill that place ; that I should advise you to succeed him, and that Oswald should be Secretary of the Admiralty ; that the *conciliabulum* should consist of the Dukes of Devon and Bedford, the Earl of Halifax, Lord Mansfield, and the two Secretaries. This is my notion, and if everybody will act the part assigned them, I can answer for the success. If because they will not, or for any other reason, his Majesty is forced to keep these gentlemen two months longer, I shall look upon them as complete conquerors, and Leicester House the Court. I shall not go to it, but I shall struggle no longer against it. Adieu, my dear Sir. As soon as I know his Majesty's determination you shall know more, or that there is nothing more to be known.”

*Endorsed with date.*

## THE EARL OF HALIFAX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1757, March 12.] Saturday night. Bushey Park.—I receive yours, enclosing that from Mr. Fox to you, at dinner time. “A Mr. Fox has no positive and precise proposition to make, I can have none such answer to give. You have done your part in laying before me what he desired might be submitted to my consideration and I will talk with him on the subject whenever he likes I should by his own account of things I think he is not quite ripe for it yet I continue with respect to the Admiralty in the same opinion I was last night, . . . and am convinced of the necessity of its being further explained, and the concurrence of all the principal parties being proved, before a man of common sense and prudence would be inclined to pledge himself. You know how delicate I am in my engagements of a political sort, because I am desirous of a strict adherence to them.” I will come up to-morrow evening if necessary.

*Endorsed with date.*

## HENRY FOX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1757, March 15.—“I understand Lord T[emple] had an unkind audience, in which his Majesty did by no means yield; but I understand they do not intend to resign upon it. So now things tend to delay again; and you and I think alike of the consequence of that. I am the less anxious, because, though you may not see Lord H[alifax]’s refusal in so strong a light as I do, yet, my dear Sir, we cannot change his mind, it is much the same thing; and I will not, upon consideration, give myself leave to imagine that what you cannot do with him, the Duke of Bedford can. Pitt, &c., have by their faults and want of judgment, put themselves into our power; it is now our turn by the same means to make them again masters. It is, however, neither your fault nor that of yours ever.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1757, March 16.—“Capacity is so little necessary for most employments that you seem to forget that there is one where it is absolutely so—viz., the Admiralty. It is there we want Lord Halifax’ activity, and if he will not accept it, Lord Winchelsea must be the man. Now, my dear Sir, when the King with difficulty can be brought to open his closet door to Lord Halifax, as head of the Admiralty, do you believe his declining that office will leave any possibility of his being Secretary of State? Neither do I (however I may wish it him for his own sake) think there is any immediate want of him in that office. His objection can’t be Lord Anson, for I told him whenever the King and the times were ripe for that, he could not go out of the Admiralty, but to something he would like infinitely better. And if that should happen, he might be courted to take those seals, which nobody can force for him now. The plan I projected was not to please particular people, but to extricate the King and the country from the difficulties, both domestic and foreign they are involved in. This cannot be done but by finding such measures as are least obnoxious and most able; and placing them, not where

they may choose, but where they may best answer the great purposes they are called upon for.

"Upon the whole you are troubled with this to desire you to turn your thoughts to this measure, remembering these two things which I lay down as certainties—first, that the First Lord of the Admiralty must be a man of real ability and great application; secondly, that if Lord Halifax refuses it, though the Secretaries should both be taken out of the House of Lords, he will not be one of them, unless great chance, for which in planning you can take no credit, should so order it.

"I shall talk this over with the Duke of Bedford, but if his Grace should have more weight than you with Lord Halifax, I shall be struck with wonder not favourable to his lordship."

#### GEORGE DODINGTON to HENRY FOX.

1757, March 18.—Thinks it absurd to exact a promise "to concur" from a man who never in his life kept one if it interfered with his interest and safety. If that is all the assurance their friend [Halifax] has, believes he himself will not think it worth sixpence. Lord Mansfield is said not to approve as warmly as could be wished.

La Cerda, the Portuguese Minister to France, is in London. "Would catch like a drowning man at the smallest twig that could possibly shoot out into a peace," but wishes his friends to have the making of it. *Copy.*

#### HENRY FOX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1757, March 20.] Sunday night.—"I wish I could agree with you that Lord H[alifax] mentioned the idle promise of another, *pro formâ* only. But we may probably see, for a positive declaration will be required on the D[uke] of N[ewcastle]'s part; and, perhaps, declined. Lord Mansfield, I am told, approves of no *mezzo termino*. I believe he approves of nothing that may sooner or later make his patron again a minister. Be at the House to-morrow, and I will inform you, and besides I intend there to call upon the Ministers for a contradiction of the prevailing lie that is industriously spread, of an intended message for English troops to be sent to Westphalia. They say Pitt would not carry such message, and is therefore to be turned out. Adieu. Put the inclosed in your drawer, and 100*l.* in your pocket, which give me to-morrow."

*Endorsed with date.*

*Enclosing :—*

*Receipt for 100*l.*, from George Bub Dodington, for which is promised delivery of "a proper security on the Stockbridge turnpike." Signed, Harry Harwood, Treasurer to the Commissioners.*

#### EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1757, April 2]. Saturday.—"I have called three times upon dear Mr. Dodington to tell him all I know and to deliver a message



to him from Mr. F[ox], who wished me to send him your answer at two o'clock. He begs of you to accept of Treasurer of the Navy without making conditions at present; and commissioned me to repeat to you his assurances of standing by you, *totis viribus*, if during his Majesty's life any attempt should be made to maltreat you; that he will not stay in a quarter of an hour if such an event was to happen; and if you will be so kind to him as to accept of this for the present, he will be ready to assist in bringing about any practicable exchange that you may wish. I beg leave to add that I hope you will comply with his request, and let me know your resolution as soon as you arrive. He desired me further to ask you whether you would choose it should be done before or after the holidays. [Winchelsea] accepts of the A[dmiralty], so things will be immediately carried into execution; but I believe as yet this is a secret."

*Date given in endorsement.*

#### GEORGE DODINGTON to HENRY FOX.

1757, June 2. La Trappe. Thursday night.—"I hear you are come to town, but not much more informed of the settlement of the administration than the King himself. How long is this gentleman[Pitt] to trifle with his sovereign and benefactor, and to keep our destiny in suspense; you of too much consequence, I of too little, to be trusted with or admitted to the honour of supporting him? I know nobody that ought to decide for you but the King: I am sure nobody shall decide for me but you." *Copy.*

#### SAME to the SAME.

1757, June 3. La Trappe.—Expressing his conviction that the King "stands equally engaged in honour, though not in interest," to both of them for the two Paymasters' offices. If it is necessary for him to be left out, he has nothing to say, except that Mr. Fox must settle about an equivalent for him, as he himself will have nothing to do with them. *Copy.*

#### HENRY FOX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1757, June 3]. Friday night.—"It is impossible to recollect, and you, dear Sir, would be sorry to read, half the absurdities I have heard this day. The Duke of Newcastle went to the King not to accept but to desire till Tuesday to determine, because Lord Hardwicke does not come to town till Monday. If he accepts, it is against the advice of all his friends; yet he will accept, and let those friends make his situation ten times worse than it would be if they did not meddle. But he is to act against their advice, and yet they are to advise him. I, in the meantime, will not be of the system (as you will persist to call what those do who never had a system). I will take what I take from the King. He is certainly engaged in honour to you as well as to me, and therefore that settlement too must be with him. But they cannot settle it with me, nor I

with him as yet, for I am sick of what passes, and will neither see him nor them more till I kiss his hand, and that I ever shall kiss it is doubtful."

*Endorsed with date of receipt, June 4.*

#### HENRY FOX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1757, June 6.—"The Duke of Newcastle has been with the King to know what terms he may offer Mr. Pitt, whom, together with Lord Hardwyke and Lord Bute, he is to meet to-night. The King gave the Duke little encouragement to think he would condescend to such terms as they would accept, and the Duke gave the King as little to imagine that he would come in without them. His Grace is to be at Court to-morrow, when, *according to present appearances*, they will part for good and all, for the King complains of himself for having permitted so long delay. But the very reverse of this conjecture may prove to be the event. *Incertus, non perturbatus*. I'll go to dinner. Adieu! *Copy. With note that the original has been sent on to the Earl of Hillsborough.*

#### GEORGE DODINGTON to HENRY FOX.

[1757], June 10. La Trappe.—"When we parted, I went to carry Lord Leicester to Ken-wood, who kept us drinking there till nine. Not a word said of what had passed or was passing. I met Rigby yesterday in Hyde Park, who stopped me to tell me that Lord H[oldernes] had resigned. Am I to wish you joy, and of what? If I am, I do it cordially, and will support you in every honourable thing, *usque ad internecionem*, in whatever shape you like best, either in or out." *Copy.*

#### RICHARD CUMBERLAND.

1757, August. Eastbury.—Verses in praise of Eastbury and Dodington. After lamenting the "gothic taste," which runs after "wayward fabrics" without "fence from winds or shelter from the sky," or "after

"Some puppet shrine, where antick Folly dwells  
Bedawbed with dragons and behung with bells,"

he continues:—

"Hither with joy the man of Taste resorts,  
But slowly lags through Eastbury's stately courts:  
Forward to censure, though profoundly blind,  
He spies out faults Palladio would not find;  
Sleeps o'er her splendours with an idiot gaze,  
Nor damns one elegance with awkward praise.

. . . . .  
Yet mourn not Eastbury, thy peculiar fate,  
Thy master's virtues are as much their hate;  
Know, to excell at this degenerate time,  
In him or thee is equally a crime."

The poem ends with a prophecy that a better race and a happier age will

“Respect a genius form’d the State to guide,  
Brand the low arts that tore him from its side;  
Lay bare to shame the faction and their plan  
And pay his memory what they ow’d the man.”

THE EARL OF HALIFAX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1757, October 15. Bushey Park.—Has lately been so ill of a fever that it might have prevented his seeing the ruin of his country, which he now imagines he will be a miserable spectator of.

Is alone with his three dear children (who will probably see more misery than he himself will), and prays Dodington to join their family dinner at three o’clock.

LORD TALBOT to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1757, December 17].—“ . . . Lord Bute’s manner of honouring me with expressions of esteem before you is doubly flattering; he has capacity, discernment, spirit and dignity of mind that might make a person more exempt from vanity than myself highly pleased with the knowledge of such a man’s good opinion, and he has such a propriety of manners and such attentive good breeding that he would not have chosen me for a theme of conversation to you unless he had believed the topic acceptable. I am to dine with him to-morrow, but I believe he has nothing of a political nature to communicate to me, for, though I am not without some degree of accidental merit to his connexion, I fancy they do not much care what my sentiments are; but whether I stand well or ill with them, if they will do their duty by the public, they shall have my cordial support.” *Date given in endorsement.*

SIR HORACE MANN to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1758, March 18. Florence.—“ . . . I am much obliged to you for the instructive sketch which you have given me of our affairs at home. . . . An union of counsels of people of such abilities and experience to concert and determine all political measures, and a vigorous execution of them by others, seems the most expedient for the service of any country. Such a hero as Prussia affords both in civil and military affairs is not often to be met with, and he too has his exceptions. The prospect of success that we may expect from the efforts that will be made so early this year in America affords some satisfaction; any one considerable advantage in those parts would, in all probability, oblige the court of France to listen to equitable terms of accommodation, as there is hardly room to doubt that she is already tired of an ally who has involved that nation in such imbroils, the expence and duration of which could not be foreseen, . . . so that considering it purely in the light that you mention, of a diversion, it seems both a prudent and necessary measure to support the King of Prussia. . . . If each of the

Empress's allies should do their utmost, one might tremble for the King of Prussia ; but he alone will have 200,000 men, exclusive of the Hanoverian Army. Great feats may be done with such a force, directed by such a prince. During all these troubles, Italy enjoys a perfect tranquillity, nor, excepting the trifling number of troops that the Queen has had from hence, there is no probability that any of the princes of it will take part in them."

GEORGE DODINGTON to SIR HORACE MANN.

1758, July 11. Hammersmith. —Praying him to try to bring about a reconciliation between Lady Orford and her husband, Mr. Shirley.\* *Copy.*

SIR HORACE MANN to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1758, August 12. Florence.—Giving an account of his interview with Lady Orford, and regretting that he has not been able to bring about a reconciliation.

The SAME to the SAME.

1759, March 30. Florence.—“ . . . We are in daily expectation of an event that might naturally disturb the tranquillity of Italy, but we are now told, and the public dispositions seem to confirm it, that the King of Spain's death will not give occasion to any disturbances. It is difficult to see how such contending interests can be adjusted ; certain it is that the ground work of it is, however, to leave the Kingdom of Naples to a second son of the present possessor when he succeeds to the crown of Spain. What equivalent can be found for Don Philip or for those who by the treaty of Aix were to share the States which he now enjoys, is a secret I suppose known to very few ; but the Courts of Vienna and France were too much interested to prevent a storm that must have proved very prejudicial to the system they are at present engaged in, not to make some sacrifice on this occasion.

“We have the pleasure to hear that our own affairs go on very successfully, and have reason to flatter ourselves that we shall be able to baffle the resentment which the French threaten us with this summer. It is certain that they will exert their utmost efforts to recover the reputation of their arms. I will venture to congratulate you, Sir, on our success at Guadaloupe, as it is a severe blow on the enemy, though I fear that such an acquisition will not totally make amends for the disappointment we met with at Martinico. Their trade in these ports to the Levant is entirely put a stop to by the vigilance of our cruisers, though they had found out the means of carrying it on under neutral colours and in the names of neutral subjects. Those of Leghorn were deeply engaged in this deceit, but many have paid dear for it of late. This Government is angry, and cannot brook seeing their own ships brought

There are several letters from Lady Orford to Dodington, and one from him to her, on this subject.



back as prizes into their own ports, though at the same time they are sensible that the least resentment or impediment would make the matter worse, and that our people would carry them down to Gibraltar.

“Marquis Niccolini thinks that he has had a misfortune in his family by loosing his eldest nephew, who was the head of it, and who was on the point of marrying; but he was so unhappy in his understanding, almost an idiot, that everybody else thinks it was lucky. The next brother marries the same young lady who was designed for the other.”

#### GEORGE DODINGTON to MR. SHIRLEY.

1759, September 15. Eastbury.—“We have not only sacrificed thirty millions of moneys and thirty thousand men to preserve the interests, rights and power of the nation upon the continent of America, but we have added ten supererogatory millions upon this continent to preserve the interest and power of the ministry. We have succeeded fully in both, thank God; let us leave off while we are well, and before we are obliged to sacrifice our works of necessary duty to our acts of supererogation; let us clap up a good English peace while we may, and not be forced to cover our losses in Germany by our gains in America. . . . It is true (and I rejoice, I pride myself in it), that with the help of our money and a very gallant body of our countrymen, [Prince Ferdinand] has beat the French about the field; but let us remember he has not beat them out of the field.

“Poor Lord George! I hear he begins again. *Virum volitare per ora*. He was burnt this week at Salisbury.” *Copy*.

#### The EARL OF HALIFAX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1759, December 10. Downing Street.—“As you gave me hopes I should have the honour and pleasure of your company at Horton this Christmas, I called on you . . . to tell you that our party moves northward on Friday sennight, and that I am far more ready to treat on terms of accommodation (for our journey) than any Plenipos you may have read or heard of lately. . . .”

When there you shall have everything as much to your wish as I and my young ones can make it, “who will sing and prattle to you better than when you saw Horton last.”

#### GEORGE DODINGTON to LORD CHANCELLOR BOWES.

1760, April 8.—A very long letter, giving a clear and unprejudiced summary of Lord George Sackville's conduct at and after the battle of Minden; of his dismissal by the King and demand for a Court Martial. Dodington believes that when Lord Holderness sent the King's permission for a Court Martial, adding that his Lordship would see *that there was no specific charge against him*, Lord George's wisest plan would have been to go no further, but to let his friends spread about “that he had been injured by private pique, that he had insisted upon a Court Martial to expose his faults to all mankind, and when he had forced them to grant it, they told him that they

had nothing to charge him with ; conscious then of his own innocence, he had nothing left but to sit down contented with being made a sacrifice to a German General, whose displeasure he had incurred for not suffering without remonstrance the British army to be squandered and the British troops to be destroyed by undue preferences in the defence of Hanover." All this, though probably not true, might have been of great avail to him by and by, when the people's hot fit was over and a cold one come on. Instead of this his Lordship has held fast to his claim for a Court Martial, though it is difficult to see what he can gain by it. It is a strange transaction, which has put under a military arrest and trial by a Court Martial a member of Parliament who has now nothing on earth to do with the army ; a point which seems to be of the highest importance, "but given up by the Parliament and the people with the utmost indifference." On the day when the King sent the message to the Commons that he had "detained" one of the members, Dodington went to the House, although he was not in the habit of attending it, and had not been there above three times this session. He found all the lawyers there "of all ages and denominations," which made him expect that they meant to give their opinions on the legality of this military detainer, which actually affected the life of a member, but to his astonishment, "the question for the address of thanks [for the King's message] was put and agreed to without one word being said."

Upon this Dodington rose and testified his surprise that in a case so grave, affecting the life of a member and the liberty of them all, the House should "tacitly approve of a doctrine certainly very new, and supported, indeed, upon very great authority, without requiring any one reason in support of that authority"; that knowing no statute or reasons on which the legality of the military detainer was grounded, he felt it his duty to declare positively that in his opinion it was not law, and that "a point so affecting the very foundation of the constitution was not to be established by implication and arbitrary constructions of ambiguous expressions; that such an express and dangerous abridgement of liberty must be established by an express law, framed for that sole purpose and intention, and declaring in the preamble the absolute necessity it is built upon." To this the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Treasurer of the Navy said something "pretty slight." Dodington answered them pretty strongly, and there the matter ended without another word.

#### LORD TALBOT to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1760, August 25. Hensol.—"The comparative power of France and England is a melancholy consideration; but their own writers, who state their revenue nearly as high as it is stated in the paper for which I am indebted to your kind attention, acknowledge that both in the collection and management of their revenue, and in numerous instances of their domestic conduct, they have interior evils that enervate and consume their strength, and it appears to me, had we guarded against the intrigues of France at the commencement of this war, and not absurdly imagined that we could enable the personal abilities of the King of Prussia to be superior to the

numerous forces and extensive territorial powers combined against him, and had not we impotently and impolitically attempted to raise him upon the ruins of a house that it has, unhappily, cost this nation so much blood and treasure to establish as a bulwark against that of Bourbon, I, with diffidence, say it appears to me that this war would probably have reduced France to a lower ebb than she was reduced to by the Marlborough successes, and notwithstanding the ruin impending over us, it will require a length of time, and a very wise and steady administration of affairs, for France to recover the trade, the marine and recruits of people, of which she has been deprived by the exertion of our maritime force. You will conclude that I am an advocate for the war. I own I think it was unavoidable, not that I am deluded by the splendid events that gratify our vanity in our brilliant beggary, or insensible of the misery and devastation of mankind. The wisdom, the spirit and the integrity of those ministers who advised our piratical denunciation of our resentment for the insolence and injuries received in America never were the theme of my panegyrics, but in public, as in private life, the conduct of other people leave to the ablest of men only the option which part to take between different evils. The annals of our history prove that our wealth, our power, the employment and consequential increase of our numbers of inhabitants have been greatly advanced by our American possessions, and therefore true policy, as well as the protection due in honour and justice to those who are entitled to it by their obedience to our Government, made it impossible longer to endure the both open and insidious attacks of France upon our colonies, for Machiavel's observation is true, that an injury ought not to be connived at when you have power to revenge it. . . .

"I have always considered the Prussian victories in a different light from that with which they have dazzled much stronger and abler eyes, and I do not feel his distress with the aching heart that possibly an Englishman ought to have for the benevolent and pious defender of the German liberties and Protestant religion, and I do not see, provided we were not accessory to it, that the ungrateful Hungarian woman's being possessed of the dominions of the House of Brandenburg would be finally advantageous to France or injurious to Britain. But I dread the arrival of every post, for though we have reason to have confidence in the valour of our troops, and much praise is bestowed on the capacities of Duke Ferdinand and the hereditary Prince, and the French seem subject to panics, our stake is a deep one, and should it be lost, besides the private friends we shall have cause to lament and the number of gallant countrymen to deplore, I fear there is something in the air of the Cabinet that would not advise such measures as might still enable us to dictate terms of peace, and to secure our future tranquillity and lasting influence."

LORD TALBOT to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1760, September 1. Hensol.—"I am much obliged to an inaccurate account for a second favour from my very dear Mr. Dodington. . . . I thank you for your kind desire to hear that

had got well into a post assigned me by your friend Stanley. You judge very justly that it is the only one into which, if I was fairly entered, I might effectually serve my friends and country, but it is now too late in life for me to occupy that post with ability and to discharge the duty of it with readiness and assiduity. . . .

"The Brecknockshire militia have been amused with a march of near two hundred miles. I suppose ours\* will be called out before Christmas. I will endeavour to do my duty as well as the lowest private man, and as readily as the first officer honoured with a station to acquire glory; but it is impossible not to feel the insolence with which the militia is treated, or not to be provoked at the violation of the law by which this constitutional force ought to be regulated; or not to be exasperated by being made an expedient army, to facilitate German politics. Where I shall be sent I do not guess, but I shall not compliment power by an offer of my service. I accepted the command because my countrymen desired me, and I thought I could not consistently with my principles of government refuse their request. Till imminent danger of invasion, our continuance unembodied is most agreeable to my sense of the true nature of a British militia; but wherever I go you may be sure there will be found a person most sincerely attached to my dear Mr. Dodington."

GEORGE DODINGTON to the EARL OF BUTE.

1760, October 27.—Stating that he has just heard of the King's death, and praying his Lordship to obtain for him some mark of the royal favour from the young King and the Princess, who has ever been his most gracious mistress.

The SAME to the SAME.

1760, Dec. 15.—" . . . I am exerting all my endeavours to get as many members as I possibly can. For God's sake do not suffer all the King's interest to be employed against his power. If it be not thought proper to raise an army, let us at least secure a phalanx to oppose the malice and faction which are everywhere at work. *Copy.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1760, December 22. Pall Mall.—In relation to the measures to be taken "to recover monarchy from the inveterate usurpation of oligarchy." Sends some lines, which must not be seen by anybody, unless his lordship has a mind to make the King or the Princess laugh.

Quoth Newcastle to Pitt, 'tis in vain to dispute;

If we'd quarrel in private, we must make room for Bute.

Quoth Pitt to his Grace, to bring that about,

I fear, my dear lord, you or I must turn out.

Not at all, quoth the Duke, I meant no such thing,

To make room for us all, we must turn out the King.

If that's all your scheme, quoth the Earl, by my troth,

I shall stick by my master, and turn ye out Both.

\* *I.e.*, the Glamorganshire militia, of which Lord Talbot had been made Colonel.



## LORD TALBOT TO GEORGE DODINGTON.

1760, December 28. Hensol.—“I have this moment received melancholy, penitential epistle from the gloomy cell of the most mortified anchorite that ever passed his unsocial life without bestowing or receiving pleasure in the ordinary intercourse of the world . . . . You tell me you have heard nothing from me, know nothing about me, and have nothing to say to me. The first position for your advantage, the second for mine, and the third, provided such a letter as I have this minute received can be said to contain nothing, is the sort of correspondence I would wish from you and any pen, if another can be found equal to yours. . . .

“Dashwood’s reception gives me extreme felicity; his head is capable of being *turned to* everything considerable; his heart is incapable of being perverted from everything good, great and amiable. Lord Bute will find him an original equal to the picture delineated by your masterly pencil and coloured from your Rubens’ pallet, and he has a firmness in his nature that will make very flippant orators unwilling to take up the gauntlet when he throws it upon the arena. A King that means to found his glory and happiness upon the felicity of his people cannot place such a subject too high in office. Of the names who are to add lumber to the House of Lords, some I much approve; Lord Mansfield (*sic*) and yours are each a plus that will allow many minuses in our political algebraical calculations of ability.

“I before heard the country dance figure of crossing over and changing hands in the debate in the House of Commons; a little interest and some vanity made mutual absurdities. His Majesty’s elegant and lively expression from his heart was known and felt before I left town; it was a sentiment that a Lord Strafford would have felt, and a Lord Bute I hope deserves, but it was such a one as the Lord President [Lord Ashley] thought a youthful extravagance. Indeed the united people do justice to their monarch, and if he is supported by instruments worthy the dignity and spirit of his mind, his annals will shine beyond the most illustrious of the fortunate number added to his name.”

## SAME to the SAME.

1761. Lent. Wednesday morning.—“Lent is a season of self-denial and mortification to good Christians; I shall, therefore, deny myself the pleasure I had proposed of dining with my dear Mr. Dodington, and acquaint him that resentment arising from a proud heart and suspicion entertained by too refining a head, have, though supported by as obstinate a temper as ever made man impracticable, been forced to give way to the accumulated acts of friendship and attention shown by your noble friend [Bute] to all the little circle of my most cordial attachments. Dashwood repeated to me what passed yesterday; McKye was also highly satisfied with his reception in truth, there is a conduct of such dignity, spirit, and generosity, so characteristic of the man, that I think I should as easily determine from what source particular measures flowed, as you would judge

cartoon to have been drawn by Raphael or a beautiful passage in the Iliads to have been wrote by Homer, though you should have found one in a country church, or read the other on a scrap of waste paper. I, therefore, have told Dashwood that I will venture to accept for Mr. Rice, as dispatch is necessary, and it must be seven or eight days at soonest before his answer can return. . . .

"I hope Mr. Rice will be in town before I set out for Wales, or that I shall meet him on the road, for it is necessary that he should know that the offer proceeds spontaneously from Lord Bute, entirely unsolicited by me or unhinted by the Duke of Newcastle, who will be much hurt that a man should be placed in office without his assistance that he has known from an infant, and for whom he has constantly professed the affection of a parent."

#### THE EARL OF BUTE to LORD MELCOMBE.\*

[1761, June 15]. Monday night.—"Late as it is, I can't go to bed without imparting to you a piece of intelligence that vexes me extremely, while I hate myself for suffering it [to] do so, as I think highly improbable. It has been asserted to Lord Shelburn that your lordship attempted to supply his vacancy in Wycomb without his knowledge. There is not a man in the kingdom for whom I entertain a warmer friendship, and whose character, spirit, and talents I have a higher opinion of; therefore, you must not be surprised if the least surmise of this nature puts me in a flurry, it tends to disjoint persons I wish to see cordially united. Be so good, my dear lord, as to let me know what you imagine could have given rise to this report, for if (as I incline to believe) it prove entirely groundless, it will render me extremely happy."

*Endorsed (with date of receipt) June 16, 1761.*

#### THE SAME to the SAME.

1761, June 29.—Making inquiries as to his health after an accident and congratulating him on his narrow escape.

#### LORD MELCOMBE to the EARL OF BUTE.

1761, June 29.—Thanking his lordship for his and Lady Bute's kind enquiries, and expressing his conviction that by stopping and laying hold of him, his Lordship had saved his life.

#### HANS STANLEY to LORD MELCOMBE.

1761, July 12. Paris.—"You can scarce conceive a more fatiguing employment than that which I am engaged in. This consideration, attended with that partial indulgence which your Lordship has always shown me, will, I hope, plead my excuse for not having sooner written to you. . . . My reception here has been very civil and polite; I pass my leisure hours agreeably, but not enough to forget that my own cottage lies within the reach of a morning

\* Dodington was created Baron Melcombe of Melcombe Regis in April, 1761.

from that palace of Eastbury, whose magnificence is a weak recommendation compared to the cheerfulness and sociable friendship its Lord. Though I am nothing less than a prophet, I shall hope ever to preserve my bed and my candlestick there."

LORD MELCOMBE to the EARL OF BUTE.

1761, October 6. La Trappe.—Expressing his joy that his Lordship is delivered from a most impracticable colleague, his Majesty from a most imperious servant, and the country from a most dangerous minister.\* *Copy.*

DR. E. YOUNG to LORD MELCOMBE.

1761, October 6.—"Indeed, my good and honoured Lord, I have not been in town since January last. I probably may be mistaken in my fancied amendments,† but in truth I have done my best, for I was pleased and proud of the task. There is much noble and useful sense in it, which will be more applauded than obeyed. I know but little of my Lord Bute, but admire his uncle [the 2nd Duke of Argyll] as much as you. My dear Lord, God preserve you and prepare us both for the *urn* you mention. Pollio [Bute] will soon visit us there on an equal foot."

The SAME to the SAME.

1761, October 17.—"What, my good Lord, if it ran thus:—

— — — If we can judge aright  
From a fair morning, of meridian light.

There is an ease and simplicity in the above alteration (which I think right, especially in an Epistle), and almost the reverse of flattery."

*With these two letters is a MS. copy of the Epistle.‡*

LORD MELCOMBE to the EARL OF BUTE.

1762, February 8.—Reminding him of a previous application, on behalf of a friend of his named Jones, for a prebend or canonry of Windsor, Christ Church, Westminster, Canterbury, &c., which his Lordship encouraged him to believe should be complied with, when Dr. Blair was provided for, who is now satisfied at Westminster.

It has, of late, rained Bishoprics, Deaneries and Canonries, and he has waited, hoping that his poor friend "would have got into the tail of the shower;" but the last of them, Dr. York's canonry of Windsor, being now given to Dr. Hort, he is obliged to trouble his Lordship. *Copy.*

\* Pitt resigned on Monday, October 5.

† To Dodington's metrical *Epistle to the Earl of Bute*; published in 1776 with Dr. Young's emendations as foot-notes.

‡ In this copy the last two lines (which are absent from the printed text) run—  
"And thine it is, if we can judge aright  
From morning brightness, of meridian light."

## THE EARL OF BUTE to LORD MELCOMBE

1762, February 10. Wednesday night.—“Your Lordship’s letter, though wrote with your usual politeness, has too much the air of reproach, and conveys too sensibly the idea of a broken promise not to surprise a person of my warm temper, and of my most friendly regard to your Lordship. . . . I will not call to mind any occurrences that passed from the death of the Prince of Wales to that of the late King, for I not only buried them in oblivion myself, but endeavoured to eradicate them elsewhere. Thus much, indeed, I must affirm; all former habitudes were so broken off between your Lordship and me at the demise that you certainly could not call on me for acts of friendship, and yet my conduct ever since has been that of a sincere and steady friend. . . . Your friend, my Lord, was not forgot; Windsor and Westminster were neither of them in my power to procure him; the first vacancy in Worcester or Canterbury I ever intended to be at your Lordship’s disposal. . . .

“I own, and that without blushing, I have been unfortunate in the means I have for years taken of cementing friendships and procuring attachments; others, with much less trouble, perhaps without my honesty, succeed better . . . but I repine not; conscious of my own feelings, conscious of deserving better treatment, I shall go on, though single and alone, to serve my King and country in the best manner my poor talents will allow me; happy, too happy, when the heavy burden that I bear shall be removed and placed on other shoulders.”

## THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH to LORD MELCOMBE.

1762, February 29 (*sic*). Dublin.—“When I reflect upon the long and uninterrupted friendship and the sincere and affectionate respect I have entertained towards you, and have upon all occasions, as far as my little sphere of action would permit, endeavoured to convince, and when I recollect that for twenty years of my life, I have been countenanced and protected, and imagined myself beloved by Mr. Dodinton, I cannot but observe with the utmost mortification that my Lord Melcombe seems to have totally forgotten me. I do not complain, my dear lord, that you have not written to me. I could not expect that favour unless I had given you the trouble of a letter, which in truth I should have done with pleasure, if at the same time that I gave you trouble I could have entertained you. What gives me pain is, that knowing I am in this country, in the many letters you have written to our mutual friend you should not once have asked, is Hillsborough alive? What is he doing? How does he bear his annihilation, &c., &c. Indeed, I am heartily mortified by this, I think, undeserved neglect, and if I did not truly respect and love you, I would not let you know it. You write also to the Chancellor, but I am equally forgotten in that correspondence. In the shade of life which the happiest are sometimes in, our spirits feel the unkindness of our friends with quicker sensibility, and as the probability is that I shall always remain in it, perhaps I grow the more liable to see that unkindness in stronger lights than it deserves. He real regard your Lordship retains for Halifax and he for you



gives me true pleasure ; I should be glad to partake, but I do not envy. Were I of an envious disposition, he daily furnishes food for such an appetite. His conduct in every circumstance since his arrival in his kingdom has not only been unblameable, but as highly commendable and praiseworthy as is possible. The few worthy honour and admire him, the crowd of selfish, corrupt and vicious are ashamed and afraid. Political art and cunning have assailed him by every method that metropolitical priestcraft could suggest in vain. The last great effort was made a day or two ago—a motion in the House of Commons to address for an addition to his salary, so as to make it clear 16,000*l*. They thought him caught. His circumstances, as they argued, embarrassed, this so great offer must enslave him to us ; we can ruin his popularity by representing him as sordidly interested ; he cannot refuse to augment our salaries in return for our having thus largely increased his ; in short, he is ours, he is in our power. Your lordship would have laughed to see the long faces of astonishment and disappointment, when he had given his answer. The Primate [Stone] would not believe it, and every mean-spirited abject soul, not able to comprehend his nobleness of nature, is at this moment turning and twisting and straining his intentions, if possible, to some dirty purpose. I will not tell you his manner of refusal, I should do it injustice ; I suppose Lord Bute must have it, and will show you the copy. In general, the dignity and delicacy of sentiment, as well as the elegance and propriety of expression that run through the whole, made me admire it extremely, and I assure you it lost nothing by the just and affecting manner in which he delivered it. I have thus, my dear lord, filled almost three sides of paper about one who flattered himself he had some share in your friendship, and one who deserves to be and is in the entire possession of it. I must, before I have done, add that your friend at St. James' could not possibly be better or more truly represented than he is by your friend at Dublin Castle.

“And now, my dear lord, give me leave to say that the only thing I have regretted since I have been here is the being absent from your late debate in the House of Lords. I have received such accounts of Lord B[ute]'s speech, whom I never, and of yours, whom I have often with infinite pleasure heard that I lament my loss. I should have voted with you, agreeing, nevertheless, in opinion against the German ruinous war ; but how any man of common sense could think it right to end it by a Parliamentary vote is beyond my conception. I did intend to have said a word to you about our Septennial Bill, which I hope you will send back, as it is a measure which will effectually place the King's Lieutenant at the head of this government, independent of Primates and other factious leaders ; but I have already taken up more of your time than a forgotten friend ought to think himself entitled to ; forgotten or not I shall ever wish you all that can increase and continue happiness.”

THE EARL OF BUTE to LORD MELCOMBE.

[1762, April 9.] Friday night.—Is by no means well, and begins

to think that a little more of what he has gone through will prepare him for a longer journey than he would choose at present to take. begs Lord Melcombe to come to eat his mutton with him on the morrow.

*Received on Easter Eve.*

#### LORD MELCOMBE to the EARL OF BUTE.

1762, April 13. Pell Mell.—“I set down the overflowings of a most affectionate and grateful heart, opprest with anxiety too sharp to be suppress. . . . The people are intoxicated with conquest, and partisans take effectual care to combine the idea of Mr. Pitt with it; his party rises; they attack you publicly in all conversations, and now in writing, personally, in the strongest and most audacious manner. Does the body of office assist them in all this? No. Does it lift a finger against them? Yet less. They observe it worse than Spanish neutrality, and though 'tis probable they may at present have no compact with your enemy, yet they will not, most certainly, show you their own family compact among themselves (which I believe will be found more offensive than the Spanish one), as they find they are in no danger of your declaring war. Would they then have Mr. Pitt again? No. But they desire to have that phantom followed enough to intimidate you, if you offer to break through their measures of government or interfere with their disposition of the emoluments of it, by which alone they know they can be defended. But if you were to go too fast in the one, or meddle at all with the other, they would, in my opinion, rather have Mr. Pitt than you, because they would think, in the first place, that he might be a little humbled by adversity, and in the next, that they could better struggle with his popularity, transient and ill-founded, than on your credit with the King, built upon the solid foundation of honour as well as inclination. . . . Other reasons for abetting Pitt's party are that you will be driven either [to] meet this phantom of popularity (which has no body) yourself, with your few firm friends, which experience may make them think you will not venture upon; or else to adopt their system without your own friends (who cannot follow you), and then they will say that you are as deeply dipped as they. Mr. Pitt's party will insult you with following their example, and you must employ the whole weight of your great character, abilities and credit in the closet, to absolve them and justify yourself. . . . Thus fettered, they will not dislike to see you with the Seals, alone and unsupported, while they and their creatures divide all the rest, and are enabled, by wearying, worrying, overbearing, to force the acquiescence of the crown to their system by you, which they could not do by themselves. . . . “This picture would be unwelcome, even from a welcome hand; mine, I am sensible, is become an unwelcome one. Since the middle of the summer I found such an alteration, not in your kindness, my dear Lord, but in your confidence, as would have been very grievous if the consciousness of my pure, unswerving attachment to you had not supported me. . . . I perceive that

you impute this vehemence at bottom to a desire and an eager one, to get a place. I do not wonder you should be told this, I do, that you should believe it. . . . My fortune is just sufficient to support the rank that you, my dear Lord, have raised me to, and to leave no stain of injustice upon my memory to make you repent the friendship you honoured me with. Money has no charms for me ; I have neither passions or time to employ it, or anybody to leave it to. What then should make me solicitous about a place ; indeed, why wish it unless your service or credit calls for it. . . . I do assure you, my dear Lord, that I will never take one from any other hand or for any other reason." *Copy.*

#### The EARL OF BUTE to LORD MELCOMBE.

[1762, June 19.] Saturday.—“A thousand thanks for the heads you sent me ; they are admirably chosen, and will furnish matter for very serious consideration. I have invited the Chancellor to meet me at Kew to-morrow about ten. I hope you will make one, for I wish much to talk over the very important business of Monday. I am ever, with the greatest regard, my dear lord, yours most affectionately.”

*Endorsed with date.*

#### The SAME to the SAME.

[1762, July 13.]—“I am extremely concerned to hear you are still so much out of order. . . . If you are too weak to come out, I will endeavour to call on Thursday on my way to Kew. . . . I spoke to the King about Dr. Thompson, and have orders to give him the same salary as the physicians, but to pay it myself, that he may not lose part of it by fees. . . . I long to impart most interesting news received three days ago, in which my noble friend will rejoice with me.”

*Endorsed with date.*

#### A CHARACTER.

“Everybody must remember, in the latter part of the Queen’s reign, a certain venerable person of a tall stature, who generally frequented the Court of St. James’ Palace, and by the gravity of his deportment, as well as by his habit, was taken for a decayed gentleman of Spain. He was of an olive complexion and long-visaged, his brows black and even, his eyes hollow, yet piercing ; his nose inclined to aquiline, his beard neglected and mixed with grey.” His wig was as black and smooth as the plumes of a raven, his cloak so ample as to show nothing beneath it, his sword appearing a yard behind him, and worn so stiffly that it seemed rusted to his thigh. “His whole figure was so utterly unlike anything of this world that it was not natural for any man to ask him a question without blessing himself first. . . .

“But under this macerated form was concealed a mind replete with science, burning with a zeal of benefitting his fellow-creatures

. . . mixed with a scorn of doing or suffering anything below the dignity of a philosopher ; and accordingly, though he lodged in a small chamber up four pairs of stairs, and had his set days for eating and drinking, yet he was known to refuse several offers of charity from the greatest hands. He was observed never to endeavour to speak to anybody but the Queen or her chief ministers, but in the midst of his application to these distinguished persons . . . he was spirited away from us." If, as I believe, he is still living, I am persuaded I shall some day hear from him.

*In Dodington's handwriting.*

## II.—LETTERS ON IRISH AFFAIRS.

JOHN WEST, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1725, December 2. Dublin.—“ Between the term, the Parliament and the Council, I have scarcely had an hour to myself. . . . You write as if you expected news from hence. Believe me, I never think of politics, but when I am obliged to it, and I assure you that excepting the idle dispute about the word *wisdom* in the House of Lords, nothing has happened worth your reading. I had forgot, indeed, that in the House of Commons, in order to settle the supply, which they here grant from two years to two years, they made an estimate of what the revenue might produce for the next two years. For this purpose they thought it necessary to take a *medium* of what had hitherto produced, and this they gravely did from the produce of one single year, that happened to be the highest that ever was known.

The SAME to the SAME.

1726, April 9. Dublin.—Has received a letter from Mr. Love, stating, on the ground of infirmities, that he is willing to resign his post as Mr. Dodington's deputy [in the Pells Office], which will give them the opportunity of putting that office into good order without the necessity of doing anything hard to an officer of forty years' standing.

Strongly recommends one Mr. John Bayly as Mr. Love's successor.

*Enclosing :—*

*Letter from Jos. Love, desiring to resign, and asking that Mr. John Bayly, “bred in the treasury,” may be appointed in his place ; the said Mr. Bayly having promised to allow him 30l. a year out of his pay, if he gets the space.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1726, May 14. Dublin.—Suggesting that he should write to Love, something of a kind letter to the old creature, approving his behaviour and giving consent to his resignation, would certainly



be very proper," and the poor man is anxious to have it. It will be better to say nothing that might be shown about the tax concerning his 30*l.* per annum.

THE DUKE OF DORSET to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1728, August 31.—Offering a small place in the Poultry office Dodington for a friend, if he cares to take it. The salary is forty fifty pounds a year, the perquisites considerably more. *Holograph*

THOMAS MEDLYCOTT\* to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1730, December 27. Dublin.—“ . . . I have desired to attend these sessions in England to do my duty in Parliament for His Majesty's service, as I am bound, and, indeed, my own corporation take it ill that I have so long neglected them (having been absent almost three years). Besides, my own private affairs in Monmouthshire require my being there. Forgive me, Sir, therefore, if I humbly beg you to intercede with Sir Robert Walpole to procure me leave. Nobody is more dutifully his servant.”

The SAME to the SAME.

1731, December 2. Dublin.—“ Some few months ago I took the liberty to acquaint you of the indispensable necessity that was upon me to be in England this winter to settle my (late) brother's affairs . . . I could not think it became me (a servant of the crown) to be absent from the Irish Parliament on the arrival of a new Lord Lieutenant, so have struggled against all the importunities of my sister and her children, till his Majesty's affairs here were pretty well over. They being now so, I hope you, Sir, will be so good as to interest yourself on my behalf, and please to be my advocate to Sir Robert Walpole for his leave that I may take the first opportunity to come over. I need not tell you, Sir, that I have been near four years without stirring from the Board, and persuaded myself that that will be some excuse for an indulgence upon this pressing occasion. . . besides the ambition I have to attend his Majesty's service in your Parliament there.”

JOHN WAINWRIGHT, Baron of Exchequer, to GEORGE DODINGTON

1733[–4], January 2. Dublin.—The storm which is shaking our houses makes us fear that you may have been carried away to the north, but the Surveyor, old “Gresdale, whose nose is a better beacon than the Hill of Howth, assures me you lie safe under Ormshead.”

“The illustrious House of Commons came to a resolution in Committee, by a sonorous majority (which stifled the voice of every lawyer but Bettsworth and Dixon, who were with them), contrary

\* A Commissioner for the Revenue in Ireland, and M.P. for Milbourn Port, co. Somerset, in the Parliament of England, and for Newtown Limavady, co. Londonderry, in that of Ireland.

to the Act by which they are privileged for certain days, that their privilege was indefinite. They were something ashamed of this afterwards, and re-committed the matter in the House. It was upon a complaint of Caesar Cocley [Colclough] that this happened. I fear our Connaught friends are in it, who are apt enough to give judgments, but hate execution. The absurdity is this. We shall fine and commit the sheriff if he does not execute his process; if he does, according to these odd votes and complaints, he will be threatened and put to expense by every incumbranced knight, citizen and burgess, by much the strongest party in this Kingdom.

“My Lord Chancellor lays this matter much to heart, *et terque quaterque concutiens illustre caput*, says it may tend to dissolution.

“The roar that was in the House, and the confidence of strength to carry any question when Sir R. Mead moved to set a day for determining the hopes of the dissenters, made it the most desperate attempt that ever I observed in Parliament. They persevered to the last moment of the time limited, and, if I am rightly informed, were very pert with my Lord Lieutenant; but I have not this from the Castle, but Dr. Coghill, who told me too that the dark gentleman gives out that the Duke pressed him to vote for them, and he absolutely refused, and that this was told to be published. If the prudence of the Prime Serjeant had not stopped it, we should have had such a hurricane of addressing upon this subject as you had about the excise. His Corporation of Drogheda were beginning the dance, but his discretion laid the spirit. Having mentioned the dark gentleman, I must tell you a project he has been upon lately. He has long wanted to get part of our business of the Exchequer into his office in the King's Bench, and now he has got two lives in it, and 500*l.* per annum pension, he is not less desirous of increasing the profit. He was not to appear in this himself, but his cousin Maxwell, who is prothonotary of the Common Pleas, was the visible person, and R. Bettsworth was to move the clause. Those who were to be affected with the loss were David Nixon, the Chief Baron and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It comes to nothing. . . . This, and his artifices and behaviour to obviate the Bill for the relief of Burton's creditors, lest Castle Martin should be in danger, bring his credit and his bows very low. . . .

“The communication of Bills retards their proceedings in Parliament. They have sat in the Lower House all the holidays; the Lords have adjourned only for one week. I believe they are heartily sick of this new method, and ripe for a difference between the houses which will dissolve it, for they don't like the alterations the Lords make, and the freedom they take with their heads of bills, and they have had a doubt whether they would send up a tythe bill or not, and under this difficulty, if they do, the Lords will cut it all to pieces, and it is a favourite, though unjust, point with the Commons; so here is really a convenience to the Government from the communication. The Council will not have the trouble of rejecting or altering heads of an unrighteous bill in favour of the clergy against the instances of the laity. The Lords will do it, and should they go on in the way they are, more instances of this kind might happen; so that it is really worth attention whether an alteration so minute

. . . may not be attended with more advantage than hurt to the Government. As to the Parliament, it will certainly create delay and perplexity among them in all but the money bills, and the scheme will soon destroy itself. . . .”

THE DUKE OF DORSET to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1733-4, January 10. Dublin Castle.—On his victory in the Irish House of Commons. [*Printed in the Hist. MSS. Report on the Stopford-Sackville Papers (octavo edition), vol. i., p. 149.*]

W. CARY to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1733-4, January 10. Dublin Castle.—“I told you in my last of the 3rd instant that the communication which seemed to give so much uneasiness in England, and to be so little understood, would probably be at an end before that letter came to your hands. I have now the satisfaction to let you know that it is entirely broke off, as you will see by the enclosed resolution, which was carried by a majority of 102 against 27. His Grace exerted himself on this occasion, and the carrying this question in so effectual and explicit a manner in that House, where you know their former resolution passed almost *nem. con.*, is looked on here as a coup de maitre. Our three great men procured us one vote—viz., Mr. Philips, which was one less than they got in your affair.

“Though I write in haste, I can’t help observing how little anyone here is acquainted with the usage of Parliament or the journals of either House. They have been examined on this occasion, and by them it appears that this method of communication with the Lords was the ancient usage; it was in practice at the Restoration, and not only continued from that time till the intermission of Parliaments, but has been taken up occasionally, since the Revolution. This, I believe, was not known, even by those who contended for the question when you was here, who, as I am told, had looked back no further than the year 1716. But you who was present at the debate know best what was mentioned in it. . . .

“His Grace gives you by this mail an account of our victory, which is matter of triumph to him as general, with such damned militia, whereas your troops are such that you march into the field always sure of conquest. . . . Lord Middlesex, Lord Rothes, Sir Adolphus [Oughton?], &c., set sail for England in two or three days; to them I refer you for Irish news.”

The SAME to the SAME.

1733-4, February 4. Dublin Castle.—“ . . . We have been very much employed at the Council in settling the bills that are sent by this transmission, none of which were communicated, nor do any remain here without that circumstance, except Burton’s bill, and two or three private ones, that took their rise in Council, and are not yet finished. The bill for the relief of the creditors of Burton’s bank took up eighteen entire days in the House of

commons, in hearing counsel of the several parties concerned in interest, and the debates of members that were not less so. It meets in Council with the same sort of opposition, which will probably follow it to England, when it goes from hence. This has been no occasion, and not the least, of making our recess something shorter than it was the last session. The passing this bill is of great importance to the credit and commerce of this kingdom, and the failures and frauds of that bank make almost as much noise here as the South Sea year did in England.

"The two Houses are now adjourned to the last of this month, and if we have a number of bills returned from England by that time, sufficient to employ us, we shall be able to leave this place about the usual time."

#### BARON WAINWRIGHT to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1733[-4], February 23. Dublin.—The struggles to defeat and the efforts to embarrass Burton's bill are incredible. . . . I have kept myself from knowing even the merits of the case, lest a natural inclination to oppose Carter should misguide my opinion. The knowledge and indefatigable skill of Roberts, our Deputy Remembrancer, has at length carried the bill. . . . You may have heard me speak my opinion of this young man. Lord Palmerston was a treasure in him; no Court of Justice ever had a better officer. But besides, I know no one that understands the constitution, the revenue, and the estates of this Kingdom half so well. I have told the Secretary that if he was in the House of Commons he would be the best man an administration could have to furnish materials either to annoy or defend. Him to furnish and state facts, and Caulfeild to speak to them, is what I wish for the public; besides, he knows accounts beyond any man in the House. The Secretary begins to think this way, and I believe the Duke too. . . .

"The place of puisne Baron is worth almost as much as the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, by means of the affidavits I make in Court, &c. Sir John St. Leger enjoyed it twenty years, and about a year and a half. My Lord Chancellor, without the least intimation to me, went to the Duke to have Sir John removed into the King's Bench, upon pretence of easing him, though he knows that the Exchequer has been a sinecure to him ever since I came here. If the Duke had passed his word suddenly, I had been kicked upstairs. The plot to which I was to have been the sacrifice was to defeat Rose, to remove Sir John, and put Bowes into the Exchequer.

. . . I had not the least notice till they found it could not be carried by surprise. Then Bowes proposed a division of the profits. I rejected that with scorn. Then that he would be second Baron. My answer was, I would sooner lose my profit than my rank. It ended thus, I had the satisfaction to know that if the Duke could do me no good, he would do me no harm. If my Lord Talbot had been Chancellor of Ireland, I could not have shown him greater respect and deference than I have done this man. . . . He that got into the Chancellorship by the wheel of fortune, and has had it for so many years, should not have stript me of a poor per-



quisite, which I have not enjoyed long enough to bear the expences of my settling here. . . .

"One thing I must tell you. We had a complaint against some bailiffs employed by the Sheriff of Mayo for executing our process by breaking open a house violently in the night-time; and in the affidavit of the fact, they swore that the bailiffs justified their proceedings by declaring they came to take and arrest them for high treason against Sir John Bingham."

JOSIAH [HORT], Bishop of Kilmore, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1733 [-4], March.—Asking for a subscription to a scheme very useful "to the Protestant religion and interest of Ireland. . . . People of the greatest distinction compose the body of this incorporated society, and from their great zeal and assiduity in promoting the laudable design of the charter, one many presage the happy fruits of it in time. . . .

"The Cashel election has been decided in favour of Mr. Pennyfather by a majority of twenty-four in the Committee and of thirteen in the House upon the report. The Committee sat till six in the morning, chiefly in examining witnesses. The speaking was reserved for the day of report. A certain prelate dreaded having his name brought on the tapis, but all the art of man could not stave it off, and he was treated very freely, and indeed too roughly, as all sides allow. I'll give you a fragment of the Master of the Rolls speech—If all these things should be proved, then I shall allow the Archbishop of Cashel to be a man of virtue, probity and honour, which I am far from believing at present.

"The Bishop of Raphoe acquainted the Duke of Dorset in the Great Room this morning that the Popish Bishop having removed a quiet, inoffensive priest, and put a turbulent fellow in his place, Dr. Rogers had issued his warrant for apprehending him. As they were carrying [him] to the county jail, guarded by several protestants, some of them gentlemen, a great body of papists attacked them, wounded several, and rescued the priest. Letters from my own diocese are full of apprehensions that some mischief is brewing, and that the papists have many private cabals. What particular mischief they have in their heads, God knows, but there does not seem to be a crisis in affairs at present for their purpose."

W. CARY to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734, March 28. Dublin Castle.—" . . . Both Houses will this day address his Majesty, expressing their joy, &c., on account of the wedding [of the Princess Royal], though our Lords here are much displeased that their peers had no rank in that ceremonial. We shall not think of a bill of naturalization, which would be no ill compliment, if it could convey all the rights, perquisites, &c., of an Irishman.

"You may imagine how much I long to see you. We stay for nothing but Burton's Bill, which has now been before the Attorney and Solicitor in England above twenty days. The whole credit of this country depends on the success of that bill, and if it should

miscarry, there would be a run on all the banks in this Kingdom, and everything would be in confusion."

*P.S.*—"I am just come from the House of Commons, where I find everybody greatly alarmed at some private accounts from London, as if the passing of Burton's Bill was doubtful. . . . Pray assist, as far as properly you may, in preventing so fatal a blow to this Kingdom."

JOSIAH, Bishop of Kilmore, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734, April 13. Dublin.—Asking him to use his influence to enable Major Philip Dunbar "to turn his half pay into a sum of money," in order to provide for his children. Captain Thomas Weldon, Fort Major of St. Philip's in Minorca, is soliciting to be put on the establishment of half pay in the room of Major Dunbar, and Cornet Stratford Eyre, of Hawley's Dragoons, wishes to succeed Mr. Weldon in his Fort Majorship.

Cornet Eyre has had the thanks of the House of Lords in Ireland for his great zeal and intrepidity in rummaging the monasteries, priories and seminaries of Galway, and transmitting to the House those original papers he found there, out of which they formed their report that was published the last session; in doing which he was so exposed that the Lords gave him the protection of a solemn vote."

BARON WAINWRIGHT to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734, May 10. Dublin.—"Since my Lord Duke left us, we have had a run upon the Banks. The bleeding is at present stopt, and the immediate danger over, but there are symptoms of a consumption. . . . A few years may procure an entire bankruptcy in Ireland of private credit, but the public credit here is a fair field, little of which has been broke up, and the whole is in good heart, though England can hardly be more rich, Ireland can hardly be more poor. The whole cash of this Kingdom does not exceed 100,000*l.*; at least that sum passes out of the Kingdom annually; as much, probably, repasses, and the circulation is such as to keep up life at least, if not vigour. If we continue under the same administration, the scheme of a fund for public credit should be thought of and well-digested in time; the opposition may not be invincible now. Before these blows, all gentlemen were becoming bankers or involved with them; now they begin to draw out.

"Your services in Burton's Bill, particularly your good offices with my Lord President, overpay all you ask here. . . ."

LORD JUSTICE HENRY BOYLE to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734, May 21. Dublin.—"Dickson is demolished, and we are all undone, unless timely and effectually relieved. . . . Love has brought over an order from the Lords of the Treasury for his succeeding Maynard, which by this time, to be sure, you have informed yourself of. If it is to be understood that Dickson is to be laid aside to make way for him, where's my credit, where's my

influence, or what business have I here, when I can no longer be of use or service to his Majesty's affairs. My own personal interest I shall be able to support in all events ; but you, Sir, very well know the difficulties I laboured under at my first setting out, and the pains I was frequently obliged to be at from four in the afternoon to five or six in the morning to persuade my troops to fight in a cause foreign to their own principles or natural inclinations, and now, just as they are brought into good discipline, I can expect no less than a revolt, if they find their endeavours to support me have proved altogether ineffectual. . . . If the foundation I stand on be sapped, I see no remedy for our not falling a prey into the hands of our enemy, who are vigilant enough for all opportunities to devour us."

WM. HARRISON to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734, May 22. Custom House, Dublin.—“ . . . We are here a little disconcerted at present about the Collection of Cork, and you know, I presume, that the Speaker recommended Mr. Dickson to the Duke of Dorset to succeed Mr. Maynard, the late Collector. His Grace pressed us to appoint Mr. Dickson, notwithstanding that we told him that Sir Robert Walpole had recommended Mr. Love, who was then a collector at Moyallow, but as his Grace undertook to settle that matter with Sir Robert, we submitted and appointed Mr. Dickson ; since which we have received a letter from the Treasury in favour of Mr. Love, which we think is our duty to obey.

“On Monday last, the Lords Justices sent for us (the Commissioners) to the Castle, to know if we would remonstrate against the Treasury order. We told them we did not think it our duty to do it, whereupon Lord Justice Boyle fell into a most violent rage, scarce to be imagined, setting forth the disquiet it would give in the country if Mr. Dickson should be superseded. We lamented our unfortunate situation to be between the two great powers, and hoped that their Lordships would not put so disagreeable a task upon us, to make remonstrance to your lordships, when they themselves might do it, if they thought fit. The Lord Primate and Chancellor would not come into that, so we left Mr. Boyle full of resentment.”

BARON WAINWRIGHT to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734, November 23. Dublin.—The trusts of Burton's Bank will, I foresee, “double the business of the year, in a thankless office, which they who gain by it regard only as our duty, and they who lose think our officiousness. In short, to us trustees, as Trotter says, it is all birch and no boys. . . .

“The *Grafton* being cast away, the new packet boat is called the *Windham*, and the wags here will have it that the lion at the stern is turned into a man's face, and his mane into a periwig, and that they have put a broad brim hat upon him. I remember to have heard it said that the Indians call a lion the *dashcoya*, which being

interpreted is, the beast with the great periwig. Don't tell this to the serious. The young and merry Lord Middlesex, &c., may hear it."

JOSIAH, Bishop of Kilmore, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734[-5], January 10. Dublin.—Recommending to him Lady Doneraile's case, who has an appeal before the House of Lords for alimony. Her husband "being a weak man and a sot, his relatives have him entirely in their keeping in the Isle of Man, where, for 200*l.* a year, he may have his dose of brandy and claret twice a day."

JAMES TYNTE to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734[-5], March 10.—In favour of Mr. Chaigneau's request, below.

DAVID CHAIGNEAU to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734[-5], March 12. Dublin.—Is anxious to succeed the late Mr. Deering as Deputy Clerk of the Council, and begs Mr. Dodington's good offices with the Duke of Dorset and Lord George Sackville, the latter of whom "is the Patentee officer, and of consequence, is master to depute whoever he thinks proper."

BISHOP OF KILMORE TO GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734[-5], March 20, Dublin.—Thanking him for his successful efforts on behalf of Lady Doneraile.

JOHN BOWES, Solicitor-General for Ireland, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1735, April 21. Dublin.—"Your readiness on all occasions to serve this country induces me at this time to ask your patronage against a bill depending in the British House of Commons for securing the titles of protestants, &c., in Ireland. I need not inform you how much the protestant interest here depends upon the acts made the 2nd and 8th of the late Queen, to prevent the growth of Popery, and how jealous we are, both for the safety and property of the Kingdom, that those laws should not be defeated. But if this bill should pass into a law, those acts would be greatly weakened, if not totally repealed." I beg you to peruse a paper sent over to the Duke [of Dorset], and "I would also submit to your consideration whether a British parliament, in point of policy, should trouble themselves to make general laws to affect the property of the subjects of Ireland, in cases where neither the commerce nor interest of England can be in any shape concerned. . . ."

The SAME to the SAME.

1735, September 25. Dublin.—Concerning the annual vote for his payment [as Clerk of the Pells].

"Your name was mentioned upon this subject some time since, at a public city dinner, by that eternal snarl, Swift. Speaking of



the good nature of his countrymen, he said, one Carey, last session introduced a gentleman from England, dressed him in a suit of Irish manufacture, which cost thirty shillings, and then showed him for a patriot, upon which the good people of Ireland gave him seven hundred pounds per annum :—Truth, you know, is only a circumstance in stories, nor could what was spoke in this way admit of a reply.”

ST. GEORGE CAULFEILD to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1735, October 11. Dublin.—Concerning Mr. Dodington's affairs. “The town is yet very thin; of those that are here, I think the greater part will be governed by the merits and against any innovation. I find the Speaker [Henry Boyle] of this mind, and believe him to be sincere. My Lord Duncannon and the Master of the Rolls say the same. . . . I have found but two who declare open war, Mr. Morgan and Mr. Malone, and its said Mr. Cowper is another.\* If those were all, either in number or kind, it would be but a poor knot, but doubtless there are many who speak fairly who yet cannot be depended upon, so your friends, especially those of consequence and figure, ought to be as active as possible.”

BARON WAINWRIGHT to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1735, October].—Discussing who will be for and who against Dodington when the vote for his salary comes on, and advising him—if this sort of thing goes on every session, and he is expected to owe an obligation to every man who does not vote against him, if he must be every man's solicitor, work for him in Parliament and at Court, and treat him in Piccadilly—to “give up the 500*l.* a year and deprive them of the topic,” arranging to take some equivalent; especially as some future governor, without the Duke of Dorset's esteem for him, may allege that the matter embarrasses his measures, and give up the cause.

*Endorsed as received on Oct. 24, 1735.*

SIR ARTHUR ACHESON to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1735, October 23. Dublin.—“We do meet in frequent but idle senate, very little to do, no faction stirring, and our friend Mr. Carey troubled about few things. A great many of our members are not yet come to town. . . .

“I was a little surprised at that part of your letter relating to Dr. Swift. He came to see me soon after I landed, and we had a good deal of discourse of you; he spoke of the acquaintance he formerly had with you, and seemed to wonder that you never sent or took any notice of him when you were here. I told him I had heard you mention the same thing, and that he had never been to wait upon you, which, in my opinion, was wrong in him; upon the whole he said he was sorry the mistake had happened. I have

\* Morgan, Marcus Anthony, M.P. for Athy; Malone, Anthony, co. Westmeath; Cooper, Joshua, co. Sligo.

quired concerning the feast and what mention he made of you here. Doctor Cope, who was present, gave me this account of it:—Luke Gardner was there, talking like a great patriot, and said no gentleman of this country should be forgiven that wore anything out the manufactures of it. The Dean answered him thus:—I am told you have got into employments worth two thousand pounds, and possibly you lay out ten pounds a year for a suit of clothes; for this you would be esteemed a vast friend to the country, enough in an affair of any importance you gave it up. I hear that Mr. Dodington, when he was here, bought an Irish stuff suit, and then everybody said, wont you vote for Mr. Dodington, who wears our manufactures; so you made him a present of seven or eight hundred pounds a year for laying out forty or fifty shillings in Irish stuff. This, Dr. Cope assures me, was all that passed, and therefore I apprehend it has been greatly magnified or misrepresented to you, so it is a way of rattling the Dean has always indulged himself in, and towards all sorts of people, which, though I don't approve of, I fear he will never be broke of."

ROBERT JOCELYN, Attorney-General for Ireland, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1735, October 27.—"My reason I did not sooner acknowledge the honour of your letter is that I was desirous to feel the pulse of some of our country members. Whether it is controverted elections or want of money, which I am most apprehensive of, I think we could not have reckoned more than seventy at any one sitting. By the inquiries I have been able to make, though I find there will be some Crumbletonians, yet I flatter myself we shall be able to do you and ourselves that justice which we did the last sessions. For my own part, I will most undoubtedly make the motion in the words of our last resolution, and put the good-natured labouring oar on those who, in my opinion, ought always to tug at it. . . . I shall look upon it as the greatest happiness if I can be of any service to you."

The SAME to the SAME.

1735, November 11.—Stating that the Committee of Ways and Means has sat this day, when he proposed the resolution that "the sum of 6*d.* in the pound, and all other fees which shall or may be payable to the Vice-Treasurer or Vice-Treasurer's paymaster or Receiver-General, out of the aids granted this present session of parliament, be applied towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty." Mr. Malone and Mr. Morgan proposed an amendment, but Malone did not speak in his best manner, and "seemed to express himself with more uneasiness and confusion than usual." Mr. Robert Allen and Mr. Cope supported the original motion, the latter saying that he thought there was a stronger case for the Clerk of the Pells than ever, and that he would not have it imagined that the presence of any person would so influence them that they would recall in his absence what they had given when he was there. Mr.

Coote also opposed the amendment, declaring that it was their interest to oblige those English gentlemen who had it in their power and inclination to serve Ireland.

Mr. Recorder [Stannard] then began to give the state of the National debt; said that he wished they were rich enough to be liberal; but though the Chief Governor had done everything in his power to ease them, and the alterations in the army had for some time lessened their expense, yet, if the peace was concluded, their regiments would be put upon the old foot, and therefore he should be for the question. The Committee then appeared to be impatient for the question, and when it was put, there were not ten persons, in a full Committee, for the amendment. Mr. Cary has been indefatigable on Dodington's behalf.

SIR ARTHUR ACHESON to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1735, November [11]. Dublin.—Congratulating him upon the happy issue of his affair, which has this day been before the Committee of Supply. Malone and the Recorder were the only two who spoke against it. They did not think fit to divide, which was a pity, as they would not have had twenty with them. The Archbishop and Prime Serjeant were very zealous for Dodington, and so was Harry Bingham. *Dated Nov. 10, by mistake.*

MARMADUKE COGHILL to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1735, November 11.—To the same effect as the above, but stating that the writer, "being in the chair, had the satisfaction, upon putting the question for expunging the words proposed by Mr. Malone, not to hear one single affirmative for it, and the resolution stood as at first proposed without Mr. Malone's negative. Several of your friends were ready to speak, but . . . thought it most prudent to let the question be put without further debate. Mr. Stannard said something in answer to what had been urged by those who spoke against the amendment, but concluded in giving his opinion in your favour."

SIR RICHARD MEAD to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1735, November 11. Dublin.—On the same subject. In a very full House, "the only persons who spoke against it were Mr. Stannard and Mr. Malone, who were answered by many gentlemen of our side, and after a very short debate the thing was given up without any division," the objectors seeing so great a majority against them.

THOMAS, LORD WYNDHAM, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1735, November 15. Dublin.—Informing him that his affair has passed the House with only a few words from the objectors, which never "rose to the shadow of a debate," and that the session has proceeded hitherto with great harmony in both Houses.

## BARON WAINWRIGHT to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1736, May 14. Dublin.—All things go on quietly, and respect to the Duke has kept them more so than ever I expect to see them gain. "All things wear out soon or tarnish in this air and nothing more fast than friendship. When we are at peace and marching on cheerfully and quietly, a mine is sprung, and the engineer protests he had no thoughts of disturbing the General or the army, but there were two or three fellows that he had a mind to toss into the air or beat their brains out. . . . In confidence, I am heartily, confoundedly tired of this Kingdom. There is no comfort in doing all the good or using all the diligence to serve them in a man's power; reputation here is not like what it is in England; when the Duke is absent, it is rather a prejudice than an advantage, and draws invasion rather than protection. Cunning is the noble science upon which the masters that mount the stage depend, and an Englishman turning Irish is like a dog running wild and herding with wolves; he has his own domestic tricks to add to their savage dispositions."

## The SAME to the SAME.

1736, October 12. Dublin.—" . . . The situation is odd enough. Munster and Connaught are united, they say, under the speaker, but over all cups but his, swear they see he does nothing but under the direction and influence of —, and often complain and are uneasy at it, and in this the other two provinces agree. . . . There are great intimacies between Lord Windham, his Master of the Rolls, and Register; perhaps by some means his presence in England may yield you offers of his influence, if you think that worth while; for from that quarter and the whiskey club came the alarm before last sessions."

## JAMES TYNTE to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1736, October 16. Dublin.—Praying him to use his interest with the Duke of Dorset for his [the writer's] good friend and instructor, Dr. Christopher Lloyd, who desires the Treasurership of Christ Church, Dublin. The Doctor "has done more good to the King and Kingdom by the education of many gentlemen in the sound principles of government and religion than half the Bishops, with their occasional prayers and occasional politics," and has been constantly affectionate to the succession and the present government, which is more than can be said for very many other churchmen. If the King will consider that the writer "was the only gentleman from Ireland who did not beg some advantage to themselves from his succession, but engaged himself heartily, sincerely, and to the hazard of no small estate, whose title did not depend on any revolution," it will be very afflicting if, in the present King's reign, he can neither have merit or interest to obtain so small a thing.

## SIR ARTHUR ACHESON to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1737, April 2. Market Hill, near Newry.—" . . . I find we are to lose his grace of Dorset, which I am sorry for. I have not the



honour of being at all known to the Duke of Devonshire, nor do I know what terms you and he are upon. I could wish to have my name mentioned to him before he comes over, that he might take some more notice of me than he would of a mere stranger; if you and he are well together, I need say no more. I should be glad to know what degree of favour he stands in with His Royal Highness. I believe I did not acquaint you that before I left London I had the honour of an audience there for half an hour, and was very graciously used. Many pertinent questions were asked about this Kingdom, and several people of it, whom I was surprised to hear him name till I afterwards recollected how it must come about. He commanded me to tell a gentleman, he thanked him for being civil to you when you were here, and spoke very kind things of this country. This I have not failed to tell, and who I supposed infused those good thoughts, so you are now esteemed our greatest friend, and indeed our sheet anchor; your health is as generally drank all over this part of the country, as in my house, where it is not one day missed.

"I have been here all the winter, Dublin not being agreeable when it wants a Lord Lieutenant and Parliament. We are in the best improved part of Ireland; not inferior to many parts of England; and the fullest of people, and yet a hundred and thirty years ago there was not one British man in all these northern counties, they being the territory of O'Neal, who was subdued and drove abroad about that time. Never surely was any country so much altered in so short a time. We have now few or none of the old Irish amongst us; we have indeed plenty of everything but money, which is very much wanted. However, we can live comfortably enough if we are satisfied with our obscurity."

ROBERT JOCELYN, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1739, October 27. Dublin.—Thanking him for his congratulations on his promotion to the Chancellorship, and stating that the Duke of Devonshire having assured them he has nothing new to ask, they expect a very easy session. The Lords adjourn for want of business.

LORD CHIEF BARON BOWES to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1746, May 29. Dublin.—" . . . It will be now too late to tell you of our gaiety and our sobriety whilst Lord Chesterfield was here, and unnecessary to tell you we are returning to old habits now he is gone. This I must say, his example has convinced that people may be cheerful, though sober.

"Our attention at present is on the Brest fleet. At first we feared for ourselves, but a short reflection satisfied that we were not an object worthy such an armament, and our insignificance must continue to be our security. However, I can't at times reflect upon the situation of affairs abroad without terror. I wish it may be in your power to quiet me on this head, which I own alarms me more than the Scotch rebellion."

## The SAME to the SAME.

1747, November 28.—“ . . . Lord Hillsborough is, I hope, safe with you in London, and if report be true, I must wish him a safe return hither. The town have settled all preliminaries for his speedy marriage with Lady Margaret FitzGerald, Lord Kildare's sister, with twenty thousand pounds certain, and a mother who may (and probably will), to so deserving a son-in-law, make her a much greater fortune. I thought this intelligence would please you, and was not certain that it would come from himself. My compliments to him, and learn from him how much I value myself on being honoured with your friendship.”

## The SAME to the SAME.

1752, May 26. Dublin.—A long letter on Irish affairs, already printed, from an unsigned copy, in the *Report on the Stopford-Sackville papers* (octavo edition, p. 182), where Archbishop Stone is suggested as the possible writer.

## DR. LEWIS BRUCE to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1756, February 3. Dublin.—“ There was a scheme in the House of Lords of limiting the number of popish priests here by an Act for the register of one to each parish. The heads of a bill were printed; on January the 29th it was thrown out 18 to 16. Then it was the Bishop of Clogher acquainted the House that he thought the protestant dissenters were at least as much entitled to their attention as the papists; that with a view to them he had prepared heads of a bill which he would offer at their next meeting. He did so yesterday, and opened the subject by objecting to some passages in the Act of Uniformity that offended them. He spoke of the multiplicity of creeds, declaring his sentiments freely that the Nicene fathers had asserted what the scriptures do not reveal; that the Athanasian is subject to the same censure, is in great part a forgery, was not received in the church till two hundred years after his death—that he thought it derogated from the honour of the Almighty when any other being was confessed to be consubstantial, co-eternal, or co-equal; that the damnatory clauses were unchristian. He spoke an hour with great calmness and presence of mind and memory. The primate rose, and in the manner of uneasiness, assured the lords his ears had tingled at a proposition so imprudent, so dangerous. His Grace did not enter on the articles of faith; he said he would do every proper thing in his power that could invite the dissenters to the established church, but that matters of this essential, sacred nature should not come before the House without previous consultations and a proper authority from the King. Dr. Smith, Bishop of Down, joined himself to the Primate, and read an extract of the Coronation Oath that his Majesty would preserve the constitution of the *Church of Ireland* as then established.

“ Lord Limerick called on the most reverend Prelate, who expressed such favour for the dissenters, to lay his hand on his heart and say whether the abolition of these two creeds would not invite many of them to the church. He observed that if reformation

was to wait for the sanction of crowned heads, Luther and his associates might not have succeeded to this day. He was cordial to the Bishop of Clogher's scheme, but much embarrassed in the substance and method of what he said.

"Doctor Synge, Bishop of Elphin, spoke an hour with temper and weight. Without entering into particulars, he allowed some things required farther reformation, but insisted that they should come recommended to that House, or a convocation from the King, as 'supreme head of the church;' that, supposing, by innovations prematurely agreed to here, all the dissenters were brought into our communion, it ought to be feared that the mother Church of England would treat the Church of Ireland as schismatics.

"Lord Carrick, of most promising genius and manners, was the only temporal peer who spoke against the heads of the bill being read. The Bishop of Clogher divided the House, and went outside of the Bar accompanied by the Lords Limerick, Tullamore, Powerscourt, and Mountgarrett. Thus the heads of the bill were not read.

"This matter will undoubtedly be much spoken of through the christian world, and I am desirous of giving you, Sir, the earliest account of what I heard in the House."

#### LORD CHANCELLOR BOWES to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1759, end of December\*].—This letter, which I presume will be very long, was occasioned by yours to Mr. Baily desiring an account of what passed here, and will I trust be received as proof of my inclinations to comply with your commands, though, in fact, years and business render me a bad correspondent.

"We had devoted this winter to the pleasures of a court where all parties were united to support Government, which had nothing to ask, and render the session honourable to the Governor, &c., &c.

"Thus we set out till the secretary from your side gave the alarm of a French invasion, and the necessity of being prepared. The speech from the throne stood in the way of asking, and diffidence (which attends provincial government) advanced, scattering every suggestion which suspicion could devise, and talked them over as certain. However, the defenceless state of this Kingdom, the feasibility of such an attempt, and the known truth that they had wantonly emptied the Treasury the last session, got the better of clamour; they addressed and agreed to a loan for 15,000*l.* at 4*l.* per cent.

"This was honourable. Whether the appropriating that sum (in the act for raising the duties to pay the interest), so as that 42,000*l.* only is left in the power of the Chief Governor, whilst the remainder is to be applied to answer deficiencies of the grants in the former sessions and sums now given to carry on the projects of the last for making rivers navigable, &c. has not lessened the favour, you must judge. But must remark that these projects were considered last session rather as a method to dissipate and disperse the stock in hand at the Treasury rather than matters of real use

\* Endorsed as received on Jan 5, 1760. The date of the letters is usually about a week earlier than that of their receipt.

at this time, but by giving them further aid from Parliament they will be Parliamentary charge, probably for the benefit of the managers only. The loan was opened some weeks since, but is not full.

"This session has produced a young orator of quicker growth than has been known. He did not speak before he was sworn, but in few minutes after ; his patriotic zeal has from the warmth of that House expanded itself since *de die in diem*. He called for an account of the 42,000*l.* not only before it was raised, but before it could be known what was necessary to be done with it. He (as said) procured the corporation of the City of Cork to resolve that the exporting live cattle from Ireland was prejudicial to the trade, manufactures and interest of Ireland, and in consequence a petition to Parliament, which he promised to introduce, and did with such success, that it was referred to a committee who came to the like resolution, and *nem. con.* agreed to by the House. Why ? Because the question was too popular to admit of opposition, though unsupported with aid save from Cork, or giving time to receive the sense of other parts of the Kingdom, whose lands are only fit to rear cattle, and could rear more than they do, could they sell them when reared. You know what passed in your Parliament on this subject. Success produced a motion from Dil : the next day, for an address to his Grace to lay this resolution before his Majesty, which was rejected with deserved contempt. Not discouraged, he moves for committee to enquire what laws were necessary to secure the liberties of the subject (or of that import) ; this was disagreed to after debate, though the Chancellor of the Exchequer was with the minority ; as also for leave to bring in heads of bill for making Judges to hold during good behaviour, removable only by address of *either* House of Parliament. Where will these labours end ?

"Prior in time, our secretary had leave to bring in heads of a bill to enable the crown in case of invasion to call the Parliament during prorogation. This was opposed, and by art gave rise to fears without doors that the disuse of Parliaments was intended preparatory to an union with Britain, which produced tumults about the House and insults threatened to some of the members, when these impressions were (as supposed) removed by withdrawing of that motion. On the 3rd instant I received when in the Court of Chancery a note from the clerk, then expecting my coming to the House of Lords, to inform [me] of the unusual concourse about both Houses and the danger of coming till they were dispersed. I instantly went to the Castle, which had taken the alarm and sent the Lord Mayor to disperse them. During his absence many of the council were collected and frequent informations of the increase of the riot and the personal insults on the members, on which His Grace ordered a guard to march and receive their directions from the Lord Mayor, who soon after returned to the Castle, complained that soldiers were sent unasked, that their appearance irritated, but on the whole that every thing was in the way to be quiet.

"This was in the dark of the evening. The House of Lords was not adjourned, and on the Mayor's assurance of safety, I agreed to go under his protection, though offered a guard, and took your friend



the Chief Justice in my coach. On the way, some called to me not to proceed, others encouraged me, and thus I passed through the greatest mob I ever saw. They suffered me to go up the steps to the Lords, where I found the outer door shut. On being required to open, a man was let out and the door again closed, who, with an oath, told me I should not enter, but advised me to return, as did the Lord Mayor, who then owned he could not protect me. With difficulty we got to the coach, the mob calling out to swear that we were for the country and against the union. They gave a book to the Chief Justice, requiring him to swear, which he took to prevent mischief, and put the book to my face, on which they said that should not do, I must swear, but desisted further insult. I was thus detained half an hour threatening to take the horses from the coach; at last I returned, and on my report some horse were sent by the Duke's order (for the Lord Mayor still refused assistance), and the people after throwing stones fled. After which I went escorted by a squadron of horse and adjourned. They had broke every door belonging to the House besides other indecent indignities within.

"Thus ended this unexampled, unprovoked riot—one only has been secured, but fear they will not be able to convict him.

"I find they are strongly affected on your side, and talk of Government, &c., &c.; but when the people have lost all reverence for Government or laws, and are prepared to believe the most improbable suggestions to the prejudice of those who rule, what can be done? The state may possibly by conviction make martyrs without lessening the evil. God grant it may not end in requiring some strong effort of British authority to establish constitutional Government in Ireland.

"I can't enter into the detail of our great bank and its consequences. The distress is great, and the people dissatisfied; whether any Parliamentary aid will be applied for is uncertain, and without it I can't see how they can sell to raise the debt.

"I wish you may read what I write; bad at best, worse as wrote under pain in the gout."

GEORGE DODINGTON TO LORD CHANCELLOR BOWES.

1760, January 19.—"I received the honour of your Lordship's with very sensible pleasure, as a very obliging mark of your goodness and remembrance, but, at the same time, I must own that in every other light it gave me great and real uneasiness. However diverting the sight might be, or be represented, of a Chief Justice swearing a Chancellor in the hands of an enraged multitude, who have no cause of complaint against Government but that they are governed, yet I myself see it with great concern, and the more so, because though I see the tendency but too plain, I do not see the remedy.

"I really do not know what to say to you upon so striking a subject, not from any the least regard to the opinions of any man in this island, but from the love and gratitude I profess to that where you reside, to which I am under very great obligations, and where I have constantly met with much more goodness, friendship and

manity than in this country where I have lived so long without, hope, any dishonour to it.

"But to see a Protestant multitude attack a Protestant Government, in a country where all together do not make a sixth of the whole, without any imaginable cause of complaint, but because it Government; detaining and affronting the chief magistrates of civil policy; seizing and insulting the seats of delegated sovereignty and of legislation, is to me a very striking and a very shocking picture, and though I am told that all is quiet again, I must be better assured than I am of the foundations of that quiet before I can trust to the surface, calm and serene as it may appear. Methinks we are dancing upon a mine that may spring at once, in the very moment that we imagine we are most entertained and entertaining.

"Permit me, before I close this head, to congratulate your Lordship, and my very good and very much-beloved and honoured friend the Lord Chief Justice, upon your fortunate escape from the hands of anarchy and Indistinction. At the same time, I as seriously and sincerely rejoice at the safety of that country, to which we are both so much obliged, from the most imminent danger of destruction; nor had not Hawke been more and Conflans less than a man, Ireland must have been as much lost as Minorca by midsummer. How you came to be in so defenceless a condition I neither understand, nor do I enquire; if I did, I presume I should not be told, and if I was, suppose I should not have the capacity to comprehend. Wonderfully and fearfully are we made is, for aught I know, as true of the body politic as of the natural. We seem to know as little of the ruling powers of the first as we do of the last, and piously at least, not prudently, trust the operations of the one entirely to the same hand that formed the other."

LORD CHANCELLOR BOWES to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1760, January 21. Henrietta Street.—"You have probably heard that my decree in Mr. Bayly's favour has been reversed by Lord Mansfield, in the absence of Lord Hardwick. I have habituated myself to think the dernier court right in their determinations, without being dissatisfied with myself, where my errors have not proceeded from neglect, though, in the present case, for the sake of this young man's family, I wish his Lordship has concurred in the decree here, the rather as many of the profession, both here and in England thought it was to be supported." This will probably take away all that was decreed him, but I verily believe that he will be a better officer for being a poorer man, and that "a kind expression from you will compose his mind and enable him to apply his very useful abilities to his own and your service.

"The Parliament here, though not very willingly, yet with a great majority, will give his Grace a vote of credit for what is desired, which, including the former 150,000*l.*, will amount to 450,000*l.*, with interest at 5 per cent. You are too well acquainted with Ireland not to consider this as bearing some proportion to the millions on your side the water."

## LORD CHANCELLOR BOWES to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1760, March 21. Dublin.—“You have treated Mr. Bayly with your usual humanity. . . . Your office will support him with decency, and we all here think you may with safety depend on his punctuality. . . .

“I am much concerned for the Dorset family. The military trial of one not under that command was new to me. They say the Judges have concurred with the King’s servants that such trial may be had. The opinions of the Attorney and Solicitor I have seen, but without information, as they have not assigned the reasons on which their opinions were founded. If any have been given by them or the Judges, you may possibly procure them for me. Our accounts of the unhappy man are unfavourable, and yesterday the Primate [Dr. Stone] retired from town, unable to stand the shock expected by the next post. My inclinations are ever in favour of innocence, nor could I account for his pressing on the trial on any principle but that of conscious innocence on his part.”

I have purchased Belvidere, the Lodge of the late Master of the Rolls, near this town, and hope the air and the garden will amuse me and fill up the time which the custom of this place devotes to the table and cards.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1760, April 17. Dublin.—“Lord G. [Sackville]’s conduct would be unaccountable did not experience prove that men may deceive themselves in their own affairs, and that those of the greatest abilities are most apt to do so, by trusting more to their own powers than the merits of their particular cases. Be his fate deserved or not, I feel for him and the family, but presume his dismissal may be forgot, and he again become considerable in another walk. It also seems strange to me that the judges saw no ground to doubt of the legality of the jurisdiction of a court martial in the case before them. They must allow it was an implied jurisdiction that might be extended beyond the necessity of the service, and exerted at a time when terror (which is the end of punishment) could not have its effect, and seems the rather unnecessary as a soldier cannot discharge himself. . . .

“Dawson’s bank has stopped payment, by which 192,000*l.* is shut up till they can call in debts, or raise money by sale of part of their estates to pay their creditors. There is no doubt of the sufficiency of the fund, but in the meantime the creditors are distressed, and the public must suffer, as duties arise from trade, which can’t be carried on without paper credit. It has been most injuriously attempted to impute the late failures to the loan voted for the support of the additional regiments on our military establishment.

“The merchants have petitioned Parliament for relief in a way open to objections; but those have been prudently overlooked, and the subject matter will be considered in a committee of the whole House on Monday next. Probably nothing can be done, unless by resolution that the notes of the subsisting banks should be received in payments at the public offices till next session; this may give

hem credit, and if privilege were suspended as to those who are debtors to the banks, as it has been from the bankers, some debts might be got in towards the discharge of the large demands against the banks who have stopped payment.

“Our Governor has little reason to be pleased with his situation ; rifles no way connected with his public character are heightened, and the casualties of the times are placed to his account. They say this is all personal ; I rather fear it is the Governor, and will be the same who ever succeeds.

“This Kingdom is an object that requires more attention than it has yet received. Time has almost destroyed the old machine by which this country was governed as a province, and till either that be restored or another framed, like uneasinesses will happen, and if war continues and France carry into execution any attempt to make this country the seat of it, the Lord have mercy upon us.”

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1760, December 25.—“Your attention to the interests of this country may raise your curiosity to know what is our present situation, especially as you subscribed the letter of the 3rd instant, the event of which may be very serious. Nor am I averse to taking every opportunity of evincing my personal regard to Mr. Dodington.

“The orders to dissolve the late Parliament and to send over bills as usual to certify to his Majesty the considerations for calling a new one, were in consequence of application from the Lords Justices here, that the affair might be speedily over, and that within the year of the present sheriffs. The reasons were just and prudent. Had the difficulties relating to the sending over the bill for a supply (pursuant to precedents) then occurred, it ought to have been disclosed ; charity bids us hope it did not ; in fact the subject was not mentioned to my knowledge till on the meeting of a Council called, as then informed, to consider what bills should be sent. It was mentioned to me the instant before we took our seats, requesting me to name such as might be proper. My answer was that the notice was short and unexpected, that I presumed we should see what had been done, and follow precedents. On my memory, I thought a money bill was always one.

“The Primate, who spoke to me, and the Attorney-General, who was present, seemed to acquiesce. On mentioning of it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he objected against sending a bill for a supply, as there would be time after the meeting of Parliament to prepare one in form, and that it was not necessary before, as the duties would not expire till 25th of December, 1761 ; adding that such bill would be rejected and produce warmth, which was to be avoided in a new Parliament, and possibly end in a dissolution, the rather as they resolved in the year 1727, the day they passed a like bill on the meeting of that Parliament, that no money bill should be read before the report from the proper committees of accounts, &c., and that this should be the standing order.

“These reasons, to which I have given their full strength, were repeated instantly at the Board, urged pathetically (in my judgment) improperly, at that time and place. Departing from settled



usage in affairs of government, required temper to judge of the necessity, and previous private deliberation with those in the King's service to settle the manner in which such necessary change can be effected.

"This was not done, and the effects to be expected happened: hasty resolutions and declarations of what they would or would not do, and that equally at the upper and lower end of the table. My intimations of what has since been the case were to little purpose, and spoke strongly, to my understanding, that each man saw this would be a popular point, and strove which should appear strongest in support of it. The next step was to guard against resentment on your side the water. They were warned, and therefore the Justices wrote the next day to the Lieutenant apprizing him of the then sentiments, the improbability of changing them, the consequences of attempting the sending such bill, and I think sufficiently to be understood that they could not do it, proposing the expedient of other bills which, if received, the affair would end; at least it gave time to deliberate; to which I (an eye witness to the ferment) concurred, expressing my sense to comply if the expedient should not be accepted.

"You know the event on your side. On ours, no answer to the sent letter; increased heats; more determined declarations; debate blowed the coals, they were told without effect: that the sending bills to his Majesty, to be by him returned to his Parliament to notify from him the causes of their meeting and the business they were to proceed upon was peculiar to Ireland, depended on positive laws, enacted by Parliament, Henry VII., under which they could not enter upon other acts than those transmitted by the King: that subsisting that law, supplies must be sent to them as other acts: that the 1st of Philip and Mary confirms the former at the time when it enlarges the power of the Government here to transmit to his Majesty other causes which might arise during the session of Parliament, but the former remained in full force as to such causes or considerations as were known before the meeting of Parliament: that in fact a supply was understood to be the primary cause of calling Parliaments: that the establishment in Ireland made it necessary to ask a supply from the next Parliament as it would certainly be wanted; the time of asking the quantum and the continuance were in the discretion of the crown: that this notification equally left to the House of Commons their affirmative or negative: that ancient laws were to be expounded by usage: that this appears to have been ever the usage from the journals of Parliament and the records of the Council, especially since the contest, 1692, without a single exception to the contrary: that contests with the crown were to be avoided: that the nature of the subject made it less justifiable in point of prudence, as no one attempted to urge any real prejudice that might attend the following precedents, whilst on the other it obstructed the calling a Parliament. How long that might subsist could not be known: that at that Board they were to consider what was their duty and to represent and advise it; inconveniences were expected from doing what had been done and seemed required by law. Prudential reasons were also urged without

aining ground ; time has been taken for consideration, I wish it will not rather inflame.

“ Possibly the event may be that no such cause will be transmitted yet ; that if required towards the necessary meeting of Parliament may be complied with ; but what will be the fate of such bill sent back, or the consequences of an unanimous rejection, is out of my ken. Turn your eye on your friend’s situation. Acting with his judgment, possibly, a thankless office, recollecting 1753, considering as productive of what has now happened, and foreseeing the many objections that arise to the present legal constitution of Ireland, the danger of changing them, the difficulties, &c., &c., &c., and I am assured you will wish for your friend a quieter situation, more united to his principles and years.

“ This country is numerous and wealthy ; they have been taught to think themselves injured by their present constitution, forgetting Poyning’s law was their own request, and that their form of government whilst in their present relation to England be different from that of England, and the worst which can befall them is to force England to determine what power the Parliament of England have over Ireland. As to others who want not this information, their business is, and will be, to secure such Parliamentary interest as may render them necessary to every chief governor ; he may parade, but must submit. This is the present state of things, which occasions questions to be taken up here for the sake of popularity that as governors they should discountenance. This will account for the great precaution that one should not get the start of the other, and keeping together empowers them to say, change hands as oft as you please, you can only be furnished from this shop. Something of this you have seen in England, and now accept this as intended. The date will account for its length, and your honour will keep the contents to yourself. The hand requires no name or assurances of regard, &c.”

LORD CHANCELLOR BOWES to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1761, February 2.—As to present disturbances, “ to view them in the true light we must look back on Ireland as it was after the Revolution, or rather as at the accession of the present family, since which time it has been the most flourishing state in Europe, as is evident from the rise of lands and the great increase of personal property ; and probably their representatives in this Parliament have been possessed of more real property than yours in Great Britain in proportion to numbers, without taking in the disproportion of wealth in the two kingdoms ; whence you will conclude that power, or attempts to acquire it, have accompanied opulence.

“ They have not had any real grievance from Government, and have, therefore, quarrelled with its present legal constitution. They have considered your House as the model, and in general think themselves injured, in the instances wherein theirs upon the legal constitution must differ. In fact, they are become the terror of governors sent from England, who for present quiet, and under uncertainty of support from your ministry, have rather chose to gratify by compliance than contest points, which when acquiesced

in become a foundation for future superstructures. This gave rise to undertakers who insured quiet to the Governor, in exchange for power, and are now in that state of strength to be able to tell the — he must come into their measures or be rendered too uneasy for men of rank to remain under. You need not be told by me where that power now resides, nor how necessary popularity is to the keeping of it, especially on the election of a new Parliament; but must observe that formerly protestant or papist were the key words; they are now court or country, referring still to constitutional grievances, for of others they dont pretend to complain.

“The Chancellor of the Exchequer (when in opposition) was the popular man, and (with his abilities) of great consequence. His acceptance of this employment, with an added salary, together with his conduct in the late bank, had totally deprived him of popularity; nor could it be retrieved by his being of no use on the other side.

“The Parliament here being dissolved, the law required the Council here to certify (in form of bills) the consideration for calling a new Parliament. Usage had always sent a bill for a supply, commonly called a money bill, as one. The Commons had received these bills with reluctance. The application to Council to send over bills as usual gave the Chancellor of Exchequer opportunity to object against sending any money bill, which he enforced by such reasons as were the popular arguments against it. Prevailing in this point at that Board must have merit, as the Commons had not been able to succeed, and their attempt in 1692 ended in their dissolution. The intent was evident, as also that what one gained thereby must be loss to others, which probably occasioned that unprecedented warmth which followed. Neither could hurt the other with this advantage, and therefore joined instantly, and in such manner as to become principals; at once resolving and declaring they were ready to suffer political martyrdom in support of it, and this, before the Council had given, or been asked their opinions on the subject, though in fact the majority soon espoused the same sentiments.

“To this united strength may be ascribed the letters to the Lieutenant, in terms unusual, to say no more, and hence the difficulties arise as to the prudential part on your side the water; and are in truth of great moment with respect to the future government of this kingdom.

“There is a bill sent from hence in seeming compliance with the resolutions on your side, to which some names are wanting, because they did not consider the bill sent agreeable to former usage, or the intent of it, not being a bill for a supply to his Majesty; that it was open to every objection made against sending the usual bill, with many others, arising from the nature of the bill sent, as it related to a vote of credit for which the honour of the Commons was engaged; not desired by those who had lent their money, and could be only necessary on the supposed defective security of that vote; that it appropriated duties in the first instance, and deprived the Commons of considering the amount of the debt to be provided for, or the duties for repayment, &c.; that these added objections would probably create contests in another place, and was therefore unsafe,

well as unusual, and seemed calculated only to ascertain in the event that which they had said would happen on sending a money bill. We now wait the result from the determinations on your side. "It is observable, and I believe true, that the opposition here is universally disapproved of, and the actors see their error, though not the way to get rid of the affair. If this last attempt succeeds, they will rejoice as on victory; if not, their having departed from their first declarations, the doing what they ought to have done, seems to be a necessary consequence, if those on your side insist on it. Firmness (when in the right) supports Government, this much wants it."

#### LORD CHANCELLOR BOWES to LORD MELCOMBE.

1761, March 26. Henrietta Street.—"My dear Lord, pleased I am to salute you by that title, most valuable, as it is an early mark of his Majesty's favour, and will, I hope, be followed by those of confidence. . . .

"Lord Halifax comes hither at a critical time, and his conduct will probably fix the future government of Ireland. . . . Mr. Malone, it seems, will return to the Bar—not from want of fortune—probably to be in view, and in that situation wait the changes to which public affairs are liable."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1761, May 7. Dublin.—"Your not expecting can't prevent my most grateful thanks for your friendly representation of me to the Earl of Halifax. He, I presume, knows your warmth on such occasions, or you and I may suffer when the original shall be exhibited. However, it has already procured me a most respectful, interesting letter from that nobleman, such as, from every consideration, will bind me to his service, and happy shall I be if my experience here may assist him in that arduous affair he is entering upon. I shall with caution avoid obtrusion, but be always ready when required to submit what occurs to me to his consideration, trusting that, on his return, he will acknowledge you made him acquainted with an honest man. . . ."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1761, October 16. Dublin.—"Lord H[alifax] had a short but rough passage, and found this coast, like the sea, disposed to calm after the tempest. The ruffles under the former administration produced a visible, and I hope sincere, disposition in those of consequence here, to show the present governor that they were not from general dissatisfaction, but particular offence. Be that as it may, the Lieutenant's reception was as he could wish. His unaffected natural civility was observed by all, and had its effect not the less from the comparison, &c.

"Your Lordship knows that Chief Governors here are ushered in with addresses from the city, the merchants, &c.; they are always



soothing, and answered by general thanks. The present Lieutenant returned their compliments at large. You know his manner, which would lose by my description; in short, he spoke to each properly politely, and sent them away dignified by this unusual treatment and assured of his sincerity. The effects were strong, especially amongst the merchants. To me he seems to have got the start of Opposition, and they will have no easy task to persuade these people that this Lieutenant is not their friend. The scene of public business is not yet drawn. The disposing of the money bill returned as the cause for convening this Parliament may occasion difficulties, but the train in which the leading people agree to conduct it, will, if approved on your side, prevent disagreeable consequences. In truth, that bill was sent hence in wrath, knowing it would and must be rejected on its return. Your Lordship well knows what uphill work it must be to carry such a question against the inclinations, and in fact against utility or convenience. What is, therefore, wished is that it may be received, and read, and then postponed till a new bill may be framed, which will take in the substance of that act and what else may be necessary to answer the end proposed by way of supply and duration, and then drop the first upon the reason of the thing without entering on any further question.

"Questions may, and probably will, be proposed, but I think rejected by a respectable majority. The bill for septennial Parliaments will be introduced and, like your place bill, carried in, though strongly against the inclinations of many who will be silent; in what light that may be considered elsewhere you may know before I can. The question is, or rather may be, of importance to the crown, but infinitely more so to the quiet, &c., of this kingdom.

"I am sensible of and very grateful to your Lordship for the personal civilities with which I have been honoured by his Excellency, and in return have assured him that I shall be always open to his commands and serve him with the assiduity, explicitness and fidelity that I would Lord Melcombe in his station. Thus we stand at present."

#### THE EARL OF HALIFAX to LORD MELCOMBE.

1762, April 28. Dublin Castle.—"My last bills are come, I am preparing for my departure, and shall be with you within a few days as soon as my letter; but still, great as my hurry is, I cannot keep my pen from paper to tell you I have been attentive to your commands, and if I had not been so, I should have been a brute. To make your friend a captain at once was impracticable, but I transgressed rule as much as I could venture to do by making him at once a lieutenant, and Mr. Beaghar's commission as such is dated the 13th of February last in Col. Bagshaw's regiment. . . .

"What with claret and business I am almost dead, and yet I have been as sober and busy a Lieutenant as my predecessors have of late been."

## THE MANUSCRIPTS OF CAPTAIN H. V. KNOX.

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—CORRESPONDENCE OF WILLIAM KNOX, CHIEFLY IN  
RELATION TO AMERICAN AFFAIRS, 1757-1808.

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WILLIAM HENRY LYTTTELTON, Governor of South Carolina, to  
WILLIAM KNOX.

1757, Dec. 17. Charlestown.—“I have received your most obliging letter, and the very ingenuous tract that accompanied it, with the greatest pleasure. . . . I should be bold in endeavouring to do justice to the treatise by the freest commendations of it, if a consciousness of my own ignorance of the subject-matter did not restrain me, but I must not, in the person of a little governor, assume the self-sufficiency of some great men, and proudly give the praises of a master where I am myself but in the class of a learner. . . .” 2 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1759, Aug. 30. Charles Town.—“Your letter, which I received yesterday, gave me much pleasure, and I am not sorry I have lived to receive it instead of having an elegy made upon my death, which, though it had been as good as the verses which Orpheus sang to bring Euridice back from hell, I shou’d probably have known nothing of, nor woud it have eased any of my pains if I had been condemn’d to that place. The weather is now so hot here that if fire be the punishment of the damn’d, I think I am in a sort of hell by anticipation. . . . What do you mean by mentioning Stowe to me? If I were to suffer my thoughts to dwell but for a few minutes upon the Templum Veneris Hortensis, and some other things I have seen and remember there, I shou’d have the worse opinion of all publick employments for seven years to come. I am at present in very good health, but as irritable as if I were a poor poet or a poorer counsellor of Georgia, therefore . . . if you chance to affront me, I may, in return for the elegy you promise to write upon me when I am dead, write a lampoon upon you whilst you are living.”

*Postscript.*—“Are you not ashamed to be so fat, while your friends, Mr. Ellis\* and I, are so lean?” 4 pp.

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\* Henry Ellis, Governor of Georgia.

## WILLIAM KNOX to GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON.

1760, March 5. Savannah.—The suddenness of your Excellency's departure and the tardiness of our assembly has cut me off from all hopes of coming to you, although the consequence of your new appointment seems to deprive me of the pleasure of ever seeing you again. Yet I must congratulate you on the change, because I am convinced that it will be no less happy than honourable and advantageous to you, and at all events it shows "that the British Ministry are better judges of merit than the sordid Legislators of Carolina, of whom, I think, it may now, without any injustice, be said that no King can govern nor no God can please. If your Excellency had staid another year I should have been happy in accompanying you to England, for it is my firm purpose to return thither in that time." Neither the climate or the country are agreeable to me, and there is no other person here who either will or can do any public business; therefore, I must bear all the blame of every impalatable measure. "Could your Excellency believe that it is in the power of a man to whom I have rendered more services than can be easily conceived to raise me to public notice, and that rather than do it he is bargaining with a man who will do the business for a less sum, but not so much on that account is he prefer'd as because his administration, 'tis hoped, will be an advantageous contrast to the one before it. This being the case, your Excellency cannot be surprised that I should quit thoughts of any office on this side the water. Indeed, I have little expectation of anything valuable on t'other unless by exchange or purchase. The agency for this province is the thing of all the world that I wish for, but I have been refused even a recommendation to that, lest it might be thought impertinent. . . . I did not expect to succeed Mr. Martyn without his consent. My scheme was either to exchange offices, giving him a sum, or to have leave to hold my own and reside in England, and to be appointed to his, giving him the greater part of the sallary during his life. Your Excellency will please to note that the agent for this province is appointed by the King, and has no sallary from hence." Mr. Martyn is advanced in life, and has but indifferent health. If you think there is anything practicable in this scheme, I beg for your advice as to how to pursue it. I do not so much want the emolument as the office, as I think that, in it, I should be able to recommend myself, and should be willing even to give Martyn the whole salary. My present office I have deputed, and I believe I could lease it for 50*l.* per annum, exclusive of the salary, which is 100*l.* I am now settling a plantation, and hope, by the end of the year, to have twenty good slaves on it. A planter, with whom I have already agreed, is to pay me 150*l.* per annum for seven years, and to make good my slaves at the end of that term. So long as I can enjoy 150*l.* a year in England or Ireland I know nothing that could tempt me to renounce them for America. There are abundance of pretty things in the Revenue in Ireland not hard to come at, and if I can obtain nothing more through my Georgia connections than leave to reside there and depute my office I shall forgive them. Had your Excellency's promotion been in England I intended to make you a tender of my abilities, and

ould have thought myself happy in having you alone for my patron. I venture to think I should not have disgraced your recommendation to an office in the Treasury, and that I had a disposition for that sort of business I think the paper you will receive with this will be evidence of. Jamaica has put an end to my views, but, as your Excellency is going first to England, "that my labours may not be lost to my country for want of being properly introduced, I have, together with the scheme which I now present your Excellency, enclosed a paper containing a few thoughts which have occur'd to me at different times since I came to America. This is my whole political stock, on which I hoped to have set up under your Excellency's protection. I, therefore, make you my sole heir." *Draft. 3 folio pp.*

GOVERNOR W. H. LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1760, March 22. Charles Town—"I received a few days ago your very kind letter of the 5th instant, with the scheme that accompanied it, which I will take great care of, and put into the best hands I possibly can upon my arrival in London; you must not be surprised that I say no more concerning it at present, for if I was better able to judge than I am of a performance concerning finances I could not now have leisure to consider yours with the attention it deserves. . . . Had I continued in this country I should have omitted no opportunity of improving a connection with a man of your amiable turn and usefull talents, and now that my fortune carries me to England I shall be happy to bear testimony to your merit. . . . tho' much cannot be expected from my weak suffrage." As to your future purposes, "I imagine that which is most likely to succeed wou'd be the agency, unless you have any friends whose particular situation and circumstances wou'd enable them to serve you in Ireland. Your political conundrums, as you are pleased to call them, will be a most agreeable present to me, and if I must consider them as the bequest of a *departed politician* I hope it will only be of one who dies in order to experience a happy resurrection." *2½ pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to —.

1760, May 20. Savannah—"It is with real concern that I learn you have so good reasons for delaying to acknowledge the receipt of several of my letters; yet, however sensibly I feel your misfortunes, I will not give you the pain of an impertinent condolation, and indeed, as every station in life has its chequers, adversity must afford you a pleasure which you could not have tasted in fluence. You can now be assured that the general esteem you before enjoy'd was not adoration of your prosperity, and that it was not to your fortune you were indebted for your friends." My visions of securing a little competence and returning to Europe to enjoy it amongst my relations have all proved visionary, for I hear that my dearest brother has been for some time numbered among the dead, and that my poor father, not many weeks after, followed



him to the grave. As the desire of ministering to an aged parent was my strongest reason for wishing to return, I have postponed my intended voyage for some years, "and as our governor [Ellis] is so soon to go for England I must begin to think of acquiring something better than my present office. You will perhaps think it strange that among all the handsome things the governor has had to give away that I should at this time be able to declare that I have never accepted of any government favour to the value of sixpence. . . . It has not been the governor's fault, for he has offered me several, but the fear of exciting jealousies and lessening the governor's influence have ever made me refuse them. Such is the hard case of favourites. If they have more regard for the service of their patron than their own private emolument they must be content to be the last served. Should not our superiors consider this, and annex such salaries to their offices as might give the officer an hope of being one day in a state of independence without either betraying the interests of the crown or plundering the people. My salary is one hundred pounds, and the fees of my office about fifty. This is all I am allowed to live on as a member of council in a country where every imported commodity sells at an advance of 75 per cent., and every necessary of life is proportionately expensive. This you must suppose when I tell you that day labourers will not work under two shillings. In short had it not been for the assistance I had from Europe I must have either left the colony or become a scandal to my office. When the governor asked me if he should mention me for his successor as lieutenant I was obliged to decline it, partly indeed from an apprehension of miscarrying, having no one here to assist me, and partly from the narrowness of my circumstances. . . . What has occasioned me to give you all this trouble is your mentioning to your last to the governor that many complaints were come against our agent for Indian affairs, and as I have some hopes that, should he be removed and my Lord Halifax was made acquainted with my being desirous of the employment, that his lordship would have the goodness to appoint me to it, I must request your good office for that purpose, for it might look like design were our governor who has complained of the present, to recommend a successor. . . . I have several advantages over every man in England, and many over most people here. In the first place, I have served an apprenticeship under the second master in America. In the next place, the Creek Indians, who hold the ballance of power in this part of the continent, are the very Indians with whom I am acquainted, indeed I may say personally known to; and in the third place, I think I am not ignorant of the interests of the colony and of the state of our connections with the savages; and lastly that, as our governor is going from hence and his successor has no his ability, at least in this respect, the deficiencies in the government must be made up by the agent. I might add that I am pretty well acquainted with the white people with whom I should have to do and indeed at this time there is something more necessary in an Indian agent than merely a knowledge of Indian customs." I therefore, beg the favour that you will mention me to his lordship

and that you will be so good as to refer him to Governor Lyttelton, who is now in England, for my character. "Large as the salary, I should find it all necessary, for as I should copy our governor everything I should rather seek the goodwill of the Indians by acts of kindness and hospitality than, by an austere carriage, aim at exciting reverence. It is ridiculous in the highest degree to think of gaining an influence among a people who are as free as the wild beasts and as jealous of their liberty, by assuming a superiority over them." I have no room to speak of our affairs, but "in the meantime, as we are sure of the friendship (not assistance) of the Creeks, we are in no pain for ourselves; and as for the Carolinians, their pride requires an humbling, and get it they will." *Draft.*  
*1½ folio pp.*

GOVERNOR W. H. LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1761, Jan. 2. Hill Street, London.—" . . . I have put your scheme concerning the National Debt into the hands of Mr. Oswald, one of the Lords of the Treasury, who has promised me to inspect it carefully and to communicate it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. . . . With respect to the superintendence of Indian affairs, I don't believe Mr. Atkin has any intention to resign it, but I will not fail to do your talents all the justice in my power in speaking of you to Lord Halifax. . . . This is all the service I can do you, for, circumstanced as I am with regard to Jamaica, I can take no part by applying for an office for anybody that is not concern'd in that island." Direct to me under care of Lord Lyttelton, who will forward the letters. 4 *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to his brother, [ROBERT] KNOX.

1761, June 28. Savannah.—" . . . I am drawing in all my little affairs and settling them so as to be ready to leave this country next spring, yet, as the character of my fortune has always been disappointment in my views, tho' not to my disadvantage, I scarce dare flatter myself with the thoughts of returning so soon. . . . I have lately had a very extraordinary deliverance from death. I was struck by lightning on the crown of my head, but Providence gave the shaft an oblique direction which saved me, and I am now perfectly recovered of the shock and feel no injury save the loss of a hatt and the coat I had on, which were burned or tore in pieces. . . . The war with the Indians in these parts is spun out to a much greater lenth than could have been expected when it began. I hope, however, it is now drawing near a period. The Cherokees appear willing to make peace, but we all think it unsafe to make it with them, as they have not yet felt the calamities of war so as to insure their keeping it. The difficulty then lyes in coming at them to give them a good drubbing without making use of treachery, which would not only be infamous, but might prevent the Indians from ever treating with us again. . . . I think it most prudent to give them peace on *their* putting a few of the promoters of the war to death; even one of them would content me, and that, I believe, will be the most that can be done at last, tho' I

imagine, as the Carolinians are very proud, a few thousands more must be spent before they will put up with so small satisfaction. Be that as it may, the march of the army has humbled our neighbours, the Creeks, and whenever they shall hear of our landing at Mobile I dare promise they will fall upon the French and cut twice as many of their throats as they did of ours, by way of atonement. This we might perhaps call murder, if Europeans did not do the like every day to one another and acquire glory by it. Our present governor\* continues to give great content. He is a really honest man, and acts with great caution, and in most things by advice of the council. . . . I am upon the best terms with him, insomuch that I am in no doubt of having his interest to assist me in England. I wish I had been there when Lord Halifax was appointed your Lord Lieutenant." *Draft. 2 pp.*

#### WILLIAM KNOX to GOVERNOR LYTTTELTON.

1762, Feb. 10. Savannah.—Since I received your Excellency's of January twelvemonth I have written you a very long letter, containing the second part of the history of the Cherokee war and congratulations upon your marriage. "I may now, I hope, congratulate your Excellency on your once more taking up the reins of government, tho' if I knew any way of addressing your people I should think they had a better title to my congratulations on that occasion than your Excellency. . . . I have the pleasure to tell your Excellency that I have obtained the King's leave to return to England, and that our legislature have appointed me their agent for transacting their affairs in Great Britain in conjunction with Mr. Martin, the agent for the crown." I am to have only 50*l* salary, but that is enough for my purpose, as I only wanted the appointment to make better terms with Mr. Martin. I have farmed my office of P[rovost] M[arshal] for 60*l*. a year, exclusive of the salary which is 100*l*., and let my plantation and negroes for 130*l*. per annum, so I shall have 340*l*. to support me in London as the representative of Georgia. Lord Halifax's departure from the Board of Trade is a great loss to me, but I hope your Excellency will one day exchange your government for a seat there. "At present I have not the honour to be known to any gentleman there, nor to any of the Lords of the Council, altho' my business may call me often to both places, and countenance there is often necessary for getting business done, but I must struggle with all difficulties and trust in an upright conduct, for I have few friends to depend on." I beg your Excellency to allow me to hope that you will continue to be one of them. *Draft. 2 pp.*

#### GOVERNOR HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1762, April 28. Bath.—Congratulating him on his arrival in England, and urging him to visit him at Bath, as he has a thousand enquiries to make which Knox can satisfy better than anybody. As the business of an American governor is not the most favourable

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\* Sir James Wright, bart.

o health, he is trying to lay in a stock to carry out with him, and is going presently to Tunbridge, or, if he can get the King's permission, to Spaw. Is at Mrs. Flemming's on the South Parade. Asks for Harry Yonge's address, who, he hears, has been Knox's fellow passenger. 1½ pp.

#### GOVERNOR ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1762, April 30. Bath.—Your letter confirms me in my view that you would do well to consult with me before beginning to act under your new commission. "I suspect Mr. Martyn will throw every difficulty in your way in his power. . . . Were I here only for pleasure I should not hesitate a moment about returning immediately to London, but that is not the case. I am drinking these waters by advice of my physician, preparatory to a course of chalybeates, either at Tunbridge or Spaw." If you cannot come here I will go to London a week earlier, but as the stage coach comes here in a day I imagine you will be tempted to make the excursion. If you cannot defer your appearance at the Board of Trade so long "I will with all my heart send you an introductory letter to Mr. Pownall in as strong terms as I can word it. . . . As to your impatience to write by the Carolina ships the effects of your embassy, I think it is rather too great. You will not be able to do any business of a public nature so soon as you imagine. . . . You must have time to look about you, to survey the ground you stand upon and to know the men you will have to do with and the way to avail yourself of them. You may freely command my assistance in these things, who am now a veteran in soliciting and dancing attendance upon people in office." The testimonies of the remembrance of my American friends are very agreeable to me, as I have a real regard for the authors of them.

*Postscript.*—Mr. Rice, one of the Lords of Trade, and son-in-law to Lord Talbot, is my fellow lodger here, but leaves in about ten days. 3 pp.

#### GOVERNOR W. H. LYTTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1762, Dec. 30. Spanish Town, Jamaica.—Congratulating him on his appointment as agent, and thanking him for his flattering expressions of esteem. Will always be pleased to hear from him on public affairs, and if he makes no remarks in return, it will only be because, owing to his distance from the scene of action, his observations would probably be wide of the mark, and also that in the office he holds, free comments might not be prudent. Is almost tempted to think he must have been born in these warm countries (not in London, as he has been told), the climate suits him so well. 4 pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to CHARLES TOWNSHEND.

1763, Aug. 27. [Paris].—"There are so few things in this country worth notice, and of those so very few are fit to be treated of in a letter, that if I did not suppose you were by this time wearied with rural diversions I should think myself very blameable for attempting



to amuse you with an account of myself and my observations. I always thought England very happy in giving birth to Mr. Pitt and yourself, but I am now exceedingly thankful that neither of you are Frenchmen. I have travailed 200 miles thro' a cornfield in coming to this town without seeing a single acre of uncultivated ground—no rocks, no hills, no woods, nor even fences, so careful are the pesants to improve every inch of their holding, and so watchfull is the police to preserve the property of every individual from the depredations of another. The Government alone may here steal, or rather rob, with impunity. The immensity of the tillage and the neatness of the farms fully convinced me there was no want of hands in the ccuntry, and since my arrival in Paris I have had no reason to suppose money is more wanted. All transactions are carried on in specie, and there is neither public or private bank that issues a note. Moneyd men here are litteraly so, for they keep all their effects in cash. What sort of policy is it which cannot find means to make it the interest of the subjects to lend out their superabundant money? But how despicably weak must that Government be which, with such resources, could not find means to support one more campaign, the issue of which, at the worst, must have brought ruin on their enemies, had they been ever so successful. Do you imagine, had Mr. Pitt or yourself been Minister to the Grand Monarque, that England would now have enjoyd the Treaty of Paris? What then ought to be our amazement when we reflect that neither of you were then in the Cabinet of Great Britain. Exclusive of the peace, England had certainly never more reason to be satisfied with the conduct of this Court than at present. A la mode Anglois is the bon ton throughout—English horses, English dogs, English post-chaises. Their clothes are cut in the English fashion, and roast beef is brought to the politest tables at supper; all distinctions exceedingly flattering to Englishmen, and which, I think, ought to give us pleasure, as they may serve to keep up an idea of respect much longer than our conduct may intitle us to it. But of all things that I have either seen or heard since my arrival here nothing filled me with so much delight as the sight of the procession of the King going a shooting. Figure to yourself his Majesty, attended by all his Ministers and great officers of State, setting out to shoot partridges, and think if I could refrain from crying out *Vive le Roy*, and wishing him, from the bottom of my heart, ability to pursue the like diversion every day of his life. If you should be so obliging as to intend me the honour of a letter, be pleased to direct it *Chez le Chevalier Lambert, Banquier, à Paris*. This goes by a private hand to England, otherways I should have thought it too free for a man who wishes to stay here only two months longer." *Copy. 3 pp.*

GOVERNOR W. H. LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1764, July 22. Jamaica.—“I have lately had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 16th of May, which I have not only read with that satisfaction that every account of your wellfare will allways give me, but find your observations on French affairs and the particulars

in mention concerning this part of the world so interesting that I think your packet worth twenty from my other correspondents. I am not surpris'd that you shou'd have heard at the time you refer to that I was to return to England, because such reports were industriously propagated by persons who hoped to find their account in the falsehoods they published, both in Great Britain and here, concerning me and my administration of this Government, but everything now is in great tranquillity in this Island, and tho' I have no means loose sight of my native land in my reflections on my present situation, and hope to see you again there before I am grown old, I have no present purpose of quitting my American post by my own choice, or apprehensions of being obliged to quit it by the workings of popular discontents.

"What you tell me of France exactly corresponds with what I learnt was the state of the Court there when I was in that kingdom in the year 1752, I mean so far as relates to the influence of the women in the Cabinet; but there were then no projects, or at least no attempts to execute any, for the reformation of abuses in the Government, and if they now shou'd indeed seriously and vigorously prosecute it I am much affraid the natural resources of that country are so powerful that they will be in a condition to disturb the peace of Europe again, before we shall have paid off such a part of our present debt as I believe every good Englishman wou'd wish we shou'd before we engag'd again in a new contest. But yet the measures of the last session of Parliament seem to have laid some good foundations towards the effecting of this, by amplifying the British revenues (by the prevention of smuggling, &c.) without laying new British taxes, and by obliging these Colonies to bear a much larger part of the charge to be incurred for their defence and protection than they have ever hitherto done. We have not yet in this Island had any meeting of the General Assembly, since the resolution of the House of Commons concerning the proposition of a Stamp Duty to be laid on all the King's American dominions has been known here, but I think that the part you took in conjunction with your brother agents was a very judicious one; and, considering how much one American Colony differs from another in the frame of its Government, temper of the people, and capacity of bearing particular taxes, had a Stamp Duty been impos'd the last session of Parliament to take place in all alike without previous information of the local circumstances attending each, it might have prov'd in some inefficient and in others have been productive of greater discontents than the object was worth. . . ." 3½ pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to GEORGE GRENVILLE.

1764, Nov. 9.—I have taken the liberty to present you with a paper \* which contains the best information which the situations I have been in have enabled me to obtain. Such of the materials as I collected in France, when I had the honour to accompany Lord Grosvenor to that Kingdom, were intended for his lordship's use, as

\* Perhaps the paper called "Hints relative to our Commerce." See p. 286 below.

he then thought the circumstances of this country called upon him to exert his best ability in the public service. But "he is now well satisfied with the conduct of the public affairs, and has such reliance upon the ability and uprightness of your administration that he thinks anything which has a tendency to serve the nation cannot be better bestowed than by being put into your hands. No other person has been made acquainted with the matter contained in the paper, and if you think anything in it worthy your adoption, you may make it your own with confidence, for I intended the paper for your use when I began it, and to you only have I communicated it." *Draft. 2 pp.*

GOVERNOR W. H. LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1765, Jan. 10. Jamaica.—"I very sincerely condole with you upon the melancholy event which has been so just a cause of affliction to you. . . . Since I wrote to you in July, I have had but an uncomfortable time, not indeed owing to any misfortune or accident, but to a bad state of health. I have had an intermitting fever of the Carolina sort, which during three months returned frequently upon me and reduced me very much; but I am now perfectly recovered, and the birth of another boy, who came into the world on the 28th of last month, adds very much to my domestic satisfaction. On the other hand, the tranquillity which I have enjoyed for these two years past with respect to the public affairs of this island has lately been interrupted," owing to my having, Chancellor, granted writs of *habeas corpus* to, and discharged from open court two men who had been committed by the Assembly for executing a writ of *venditioni exponas* upon the coach horses of a member against whom one of the men had obtained a judgment. This so inflamed the Assembly (tho' they have right of protection from suits of law in their *persons only*), "that they voted me guilty of a *flagrant breach, contempt and violation of their privileges*, and drew the heads of an address to the King, beseeching him to restrain *my arbitrary power as Chancellor and prevent such open and manifest violations of their said privileges*. Whereupon, I first prorogued and then, with the unanimous advice of the Council, dissolved them. We shall have a new Assembly the beginning of March, but whatever temper I shall find them in, or be able to bring them to, I cannot yet judge. . . . I am glad you are improving your connexion in general, and especially your acquaintance with Mr. Grenville, whom I love and honour most cordially."

I am reading a book lately published, written, it is said, by the Abbé de Mirebeau, called *L'ami des hommes*, which has shown more of the internal state of France than any other work, I believe would have done. 4 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1765, July 14. Jamaica.—" . . . In the month of May I had the misfortune to lose my wife, an event which was a most just cause of affliction to me. . . . I may truly say I have wanted all the fortitude I could exert to support my spirits, as

lieve you did also." I have read your printed letter with great satisfaction, and communicated it to such persons as had candour enough to feel the force of its very just reasoning. There are too many on this side the tropic who are obstinately deaf to all that is counter to their old prejudices.

"The picture you draw in your letter to me of the administration of the Minister who is mentioned so honourably in the conclusion of the printed one, and who so well deserves the appellation there given him, afforded me also very sincere pleasure.\* I think, indeed, he deserves more than is said of him in that conclusion, for altho' possibly Sir Robert Walpole may have had as much knowledge, or even more, from his long experience in revenue matters than the next gentleman, it does not appear that the nation profitted much from his abilities during the many years he was as absolute at the Treasury as my Lord Godolphin or any other sole Lord Treasurer was, and you know, at the close of his ministry, but a very small part of the National Debt was paid off.

"I told you in my letter of the month of January what had then happen'd here between the Assembly and me. I have since had the honour to receive the King's most gracious approbation of my conduct, signified to me by the Lords of the Privy Council, and with this support I am going to try whether a new Assembly which I have call'd to meet in August will not have a little more temper and moderation than their predecessors have shewn; and as many new persons will be elected to serve in it, I have reason to entertain good hopes that the necessary supplies will be voted and the factious humours subside. I thank you heartily for other parts of your letter, in which what you tell me corresponds with the best accounts I have from others of my friends. I shou'd have been glad if the gentleman who now serves the Crown out of office had not hesitated in the manner he did to take what was offer'd to him. I have had long acquaintance with him, and much respect him for his great knowledge in his profession and his irreproachable moral conduct in private life. . . ." 4 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1765, Oct. 20. Jamaica.—" . . . As I am told the affairs of this island are more discours'd of in London than I shou'd have imagin'd, I suppose you will have learnt that I was obliged to dissolve an Assembly which met in August, and I have not since call'd another. You remember the difficulties I had to contend with in South Carolina, but I assure you they have been much easier here, nevertheless they have not been such as to compell me to sacrifice the essential duties of my station to factious humours. That course the new Ministry in England will think adviseable to be taken with certain provinces on the continent of America to maintain the authority, not of the Crown but indeed of the King and Parliament, I shall be the more observant of, because I receive it is a matter of the last consequence with respect to the true government of those colonies, and perhaps of all belonging

\* Probably George Grenville.



to Great Britain, for if the doctrine openly asserted by the Virginian Assembly that that colony ought not to be bound by the British Act of Parliament for imposing the Stamp Duty, and the sedition of the people of Boston, who, as you will have heard, have compelled the distributor of the stamps to take an oath that he will not execute his office, after pulling down the edifice intended for the custody of them, and committing many other acts of violence without any interposition (that we learn) of the Magistrates to restrain them, be not animadverted upon in an exemplary manner. I do not see how the Mother Country can hope for the future that her laws will be obeyed in such distant dominions. . . .

"I heard very lately of poor Governor Wright, who was then in pretty good health, but his spirits have never recovered the severe shock of that unhappy event which affected you also so deeply but I am to blame to recall your thoughts to a subject of affliction which I flatter myself business and the dissipations of the great city you live in will in some measure have relieved you from." 4 pp.

#### GOVERNOR W. H. LYTTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1766, March 30. Jamaica — "I most heartily congratulate you on your marriage, and beg you will make my compliments acceptable to your little woman. As I wrote some time since for leave to return to England, it may not be long before I shall be an eye-witness of your happiness, which I wish may be equal or superior if possible to what mine was, and of an abundantly greater duration. . . . I have lately received a copy of the King's speech and the addresses of the Parliament in January, and a very incorrect account of Mr. Pitt's speech, in which he is said to have inveigh'd against the Stamp Act as illegal upon principle, but what all this will end in we are yet ignorant here, and as an Englishman more than an American governor, I confess I am anxious to learn. That Act has been fully carried into execution here, and I suppose that no reasonable man can doubt that the Mother Country has force sufficient to compel the obedience due to it upon the Continent especially as I see the King has twice assured the Parliament, once in December and again in January, that there is no cause to apprehend any interruption of the good harmony that reigns at present between the several powers of Europe, but how far the consideration of commercial interests or other motives of policy or private interests may operate to produce a repeal I am not able to judge. Mr. Charles Townshend did me great honour, and I have reason to be vain of his good opinion, but I have such an obstinate people to deal with that all I dare hope for is to preserve myself from censure by doing what I think is my duty as a man of honour and the King's servant, but not to obtain that compliance with the instructions of the crown on the part of the people which, if they saw their true interest or could be made to see it, they would not refuse. However, I have call'd another assembly, which is to meet on the 13th of May, and then a new trial will be made whether they will do the business they are convened for or ride resty, as their predecessors have done, on the points of privilege. . . ." 2½ pp.

## VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND to WILLIAM KNOX.

1767, June 6. Addisbury.—I am sorry that circumstances have deprived me of the pleasure of seeing you here, but beg that you will still consider yourself under an engagement to me for a visit.

"I am concern'd to hear Mr. Boone has acted precipitately in his manner of making grants; but . . . I have ever held that the perfect and general establishment of a sufficient American government can be the work only of Parliament. Few men are capable of conceiving the idea; still fewer are furnished with the knowledge requisite, and I doubt if any one man living has spirit & firmness enough to undertake and maintain, upon his own personal weight, a work of such infinite delicacy, extent and difficulty. In the execution of it he would find himself by turns offending the provinces and the Mother Country, or perhaps displeasing both at once by taking a middle point of moderation and good sense, between the extremes of absolute independence and absolute supremacy. To bring such a noble plan to accomplishment it must be framed with the utmost ability and discretion; it must come from a ministry possess'd of the confidence of the public; the two houses of Parliament must receive it with entire good will; it must have the real support of an unanimous ministry, and it must be thoroughly opened and recommended to the nation. Am I right in this? If I am I am not peevish in doubting whether, at this hour and under this ministry, Mr. Boone has overturn'd any great plan for the settlement of our affairs in America." 3 pp.

## W. H. LYTTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1767, July 30. Port Eliot.—"A thousand thanks to you, my dear Knox, for your very instructive letter. . . . One of my friends says that the true cause of the rupture was Lord R[ockingham]'s insisting that Mr. C[onway] should have the conduct of the House of Commons, and that altho' what pass'd concerning America was given out to have contributed to it, it had in reality but very little. I conclude, however, it will not be very long before I hear of arrangements as to some one or two great offices at least, and nothing can seem more advantageous than the present situation of the court." Mr. Eliot presents his compliments. *Seal, Neptune with his trident.* 2 pp.

*Addressed:—*"To Will. Knox, Esqre., in New Street, Hanover Square, London."

## The SAME to the SAME.

1767, Aug. 29. Lisbon.—". . . I have now only to acquaint you with my arrival in this city on the 16th inst., since which all my time has been taken up in formal audiences and visits. . . . All that you have heard of the noble appearance which Lisbon makes as you approach it by water is true, and in going about the town you have a most singular prospect of regular new-built streets intermixed with the ruins of vast edifices, palaces, churches and convents, overturned by the earthquake, which are much more striking from

the elevation of the ground on which the city is than if it had been situated on a flat.

"I hope your little woman and my little man\* are well."

GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1767, Oct. 7. Wotton.—"I send you inclosed according to my promise a copy of the letter from S. Carolina, giving an account of the disposition of the people and of what had happen'd there on a seizure made under the Custom House laws. This letter was, I am told, sent to some of our newspapers to be printed, but was refused under the influence of those who have bought those channels of public intelligence, that the people of Great Britain may be continued in ignorance of the state of things in America, a conduct which I fear will finally turn out a great misfortune both to this country and to that. I embrace with pleasure the occasion which the transmission of this paper gives me to return my best thanks to Mr. Grosvenor and to you for your kind visit to us. I beg the favor of you to make our compliments to him and to assure him of our warmest wishes that he may find his little girl perfectly recover'd and Mrs. Grosvenor free from all anxiety."  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

W. H. LYTTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1767, Dec. 9. Lisbon.—I believe your letter had been opened before I received it, and to avoid the danger of this for the future beg you to send any you write to Mr. Brown, my agent and chief clerk at Lord Shelburne's office, who will enclose them with the government despatches. I am glad you have paid a visit "to a man [George Grenville] who will know how to do justice to your talents, and who is himself such a fund of usefull knowledge that everybody who frequents him must improve from his conversation, especially when matters of government are in question. . . . I thank you cordially for your good wishes. I have not yet been long enough here to form very mature opinions, but I may tell you that several things in my situation are not displeasing. . . .

"I rejoice that my little man and his fairy mama are well. Give her a kiss for me, and a sugar plumb to the boy."

*Postscript.*—Tell my Lord Grosvenor that I have hunted all over Lisbon in vain for a good picture. "They say they were all lost in the earthquake, which is so common a reply here to account for the want of anything desirable that one wou'd think everything, even to the maidenheads of the women, had been lost then." 3 pp.

[ROBERT NUGENT] VISCOUNT CLARE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1767, Dec. 24. Great George Street.—"We adjourned the board this day to the 15th of February, so you will have full time to travel leisurely. . . . My situation is not at all affected by the present arrangements, and if it was—you will be at no loss to fill up the blank. If the Duke of Bedford is to be the directing minister, I

\* Lyttelton was god-father to Knox's son.

believe it a secret which no one here except your correspondent knows, if your letter has not been opened at the Post-office. I am sorry to decline any service that can be of importance to you, but tho' often apply'd to, as you will easily believe must have appen'd to a Lord of the Treasury and a member for Bristol, I never in any one instance was a suitor for myself or any other, to be admitted into a loan. Were I to depart from this rule I shou'd oblige many of my constituents and be able to oblige but a few." *pp.*

GOVERNOR HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1767, Dec. 30. Bath.—Stating that he has recommended him to the notice of Lord Hillsborough, now made Secretary of State for America, and has also spoken to Lord Clare, who says that if Lord Hillsborough enlists Mr. Pownall he will take Knox in his place. *2 pp.*

W. H. LYTTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1768, March 14. Lisbon.—I am pleased to find that we have both entertained the same conjectures concerning Mr. G. G[renville], but it is probable that he may not be at liberty or may not choose to come into office unless his brother and some others are also satisfied. "I shall be curious to observe what degree of vigour the American department is exercised with. I don't expect that anything of consequence can be done untill after the meeting of the new Parliament, and yet the resolutions of the provinces of New England, and that spirit which you and I know to be so generally prevalent over the whole Continent, require the most speedy as well as the most judicious and efficacious measures to restrain their effects. . . .

"For some time past the Count d'Oeyras's illness has prevented my intercourse with him, but he is much better than he was, and I hope will soon resume the exercise of his ministerial functions."

*Postscript.*—Tell Mrs. Knox the women are not very likely to keep me from returning if the men do not. I wish Mrs. Smith and Miss Thomas would take a trip hither and enliven me with their agreeable company. *2½ pp.*

GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1768, June 27. The Grove.—I have not had time to consider your papers with the care they deserve, as I have been travelling about on visits to my friends, but they have given me much pleasure, and I perfectly agree with you "that we ought to take our materials for manufactures from our colonies, altho' we should pay higher prices for them or be obliged to reduce the price of them to our manufacturers by bounties, nor do I think it possible to prevent all manufactures entirely in our colonies, and the attempting to do it by force, notwithstanding what Lord Chatham declar'd in the House of Commons of '*filling their towns with troops and their ports with ships of war,*' would be most violent and unjust,



as well as impracticable ; but the giving to them every possible encouragement to produce raw materials for our use would, in my opinion, be the most proper as well as the most effectual means of diverting them from manufacturing themselves to a great extent. This part of the argument may be explained and developed more at large than it is now done, and I think that and every other measure of good government and encouragement to the colonies is the just retribution which we should give to them for their support and obedience. But I own I cannot think that we ought for any consideration of Revenue from thence, even if it could amount to a million a year instead of 200,000*l.*, as you propose, to give up and sell for ever the right of sovereignty and taxation in the Parliament of Great Brittain over its colonies, which would be effectually done by the declaration propos'd in page 74—that the colonies 'should undertake to raise that sum amongst themselves. and that then every tax and duty laid on them for the purpose of revenue ought to be forthwith repealed.' If Great Britain, under any conditions, gives up her right of taxation she gives up her right of sovereignty, which is inseparable from it, in all ages and in all countries. The proposition in page 78 and 79 for 'Great Britain to allow her colonies to carry directly from thence to all other parts of the world *every* production of their several climates which she has no occasion for' is an absolute repeal of one half of the Acts of Navigation, and contrary to the established principle and policy of every other European nation with respect to their colonies. It should, therefore, be thoroughly considered before it is propos'd to that extent. In some instances it has been already done perhaps in some others it may be allow'd ; but to do it universally might be dangerous, if not fatal, to Great Britain. The quit rents and the duty of 4½ per cent., which you mention in page 74 as part of the colony funds for public service, cannot be taken as such, as the former belongs immediately and certainly to the Crown, and the latter, tho' given originally for particular purposes, has for many years been disposed of and apply'd in the same manner." 3½ pp. *Seal of arms.*

VISCOUNT CLARE to WILLIAM KNOX, Little Chelsea.

1768, June 28. Newport.—When I mentioned my wish to forward your brother's pretensions at Bristol "I was informed that another person must be thought on, who is a great favourite of my best friends in that city, and is himself of that number." If, however, the emoluments of the office do not make it worth his while to quit Bristol and his friends there for a very troublesome employment, "I shall then be joined in recommending your brother to those chosen for Bristol. . . .

"I am come thus far on my way into Ireland, after having been yesterday unanimously re-elected, but not without some untoward circumstances arising from a jealousy conceived by the multitude of too much power assumed by the two societies in nominating their candidates ; some grumbled, but all voted for me." 1¼ pp. *Seal of arms.*

## GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1768, July 15. Wotton.—“I have considered your letter of the 10th of this month with great attention, and the reasons you therein assign for adopting the plan of a requisition of a certain sum to be made upon each of the colonies, and upon that sum being raised by them, a declaration that all the present taxes impos'd by the Parliament of Great Britain shall be repealed and no more imposed by them, except in case of refusal by any colony to furnish its contingent. I agree with you that it will be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, for the colonies to apportion a certain sum by a convention of deputies from each colony. They would, therefore, never do it, and the convention of deputies would quarrel, which would probably be attended with very bad consequences both to themselves and to us, besides the novelty of such an assembly. The difficulty of assessing the specific sums on each colony would then fall upon the Parliament (for God forbid that we should ever give that power to the King without Parliament), and as the various circumstances of the colonies would render it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to establish any permanent rate for the several colonies, the consequence would be that none would be establish'd, and no man would think it worth while to make a quarrel with the colonies for a sum of money when the right of taxation, and consequently that of sovereignty, from which it has ever been and ever must be inseparable, has in effect and in reality been surrender'd. To such a surrender I can never be a party, as I think it the highest species of treason against the constitution and sovereign authority of this kingdom to deprive it of one-fourth part of its subjects; but I cannot adopt nor approve of such a plan, yet I can submit to it, and having done my duty to the utmost by endeavouring to convince the King, the Parliament and the people of the unhappy consequences of such a measure, I shall wait the event till experience has given conviction one way or the other; and so far am I from thinking, if I had the power, that I have a right to carry matters to extremity, as you tell me it is suppos'd I would, in order to enforce my own opinions, in contradiction to theirs, upon a subject of such infinite importance to the whole, that if I were to see the King, the Parliament and the people ready to run into extremes on that side, which in the course of things seems to me highly probable, I would employ all the means in my power to prevent it, and to suggest moderate measures as long as they were practicable; being fully persuaded, that whatever blame there is, it is owing to those in England who have weakly or wickedly misled the subjects in America, and not to the colonies themselves, who have done no more than any other people would have done, to whom an immunity from taxes had been holden forth, and who had been encouraged to do so they have been. I agree with you in thinking that the American factors here would be greatly alarmed at the proposal to give the colonies permission to *export every production*, but I think that in my opinion the disputes between us and our colonies are already of so very serious a nature that I would on no account open a door to any farther uneasiness. I shall wish to know the contents of Lord Hillsborough's letters to America, as soon as you

hear it. If they are writ in the style you mentioned to me they cannot remain long unanswered. . . .”

*Postscript.*—“I go from home to-morrow, and shall not return till Tuesday sennight.” 4 pp.

GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1768, July 28. Wotton.—“The account which you gave to me in your letter of the 23rd of this month of the late transactions in Boston is so natural a consequence of the measures taken in Great Britain and of the state and temper of the government here, that whatever degree of concern it may give me I cannot feel the least surprise at it. If the eyes of those who are most interested in the unhappy situation had been sooner open'd to the most obvious truths many mischiefs might have been prevented. If the authentick proofs which they have now receiv'd of what has happened is not sufficient to convince them, I will venture to foretell without a spirit of prophecy greater calamities will, when it is too late, rout them and the whole kingdom from the lethargy, as to all public measures, into which they have been plung'd. I have long fear'd that the conduct holden in Great Brittain would encourage and delude the subjects of America, till they would come to extremities of one kind, which would too probably end in extremities on the other side. I may appeal to you as a private man and as a member of Parliament to my public declarations that my opinions upon this subject have ever been uniformly the same. They will still continue to be so till I see much better reasons for changing them than any which I have yet heard. What prospect there can now be that they will be attended with success I cannot pretend to answer, but as there is no plan form'd upon the sound principles of this constitution, supported both by firmness and temper, I can answer that no good success in the present difficult situation can arise from one desultory measure after another. The respect and affection of the subjects is the basis on which every wise government must be founded, but if that foundation has been once overturn'd it is not the work of a day to temper the materials so as to unite and rebuild them, especially if the workmen shall be daily chang'd, and each work by a different rule and line from that of his predecessor.” 3 pp.

W. H. LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1768, July 31. Lisbon.—Expressing his hope, from what Knox tells him, that he may soon have another godson to make up for the one he has lost.

Thinks that “a certain measure will have great consequences, how extensive it is hard to say. If the dissolutions are submitted to without tumults or insurrections, will not government grow tired after some time of defraying the charges out of English funds which used to be provided for by the assemblies, or will the American duties, as now collected, be sufficient to defray them? It may very justly be apprehended that for a long time the assemblies will be obstinate in refusing to yield obedience to the requisitions

using rather to be dissolved than to comply with it. On the other hand, if the provinces suffer many inconveniences from the want of assemblies, may not the people grow turbulent in order to compel the governors to suffer them to sit contrary to their instructions, and is there a military force there sufficient to support those governors in the execution of their duty ? " 3 pp.

GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1768, Aug. 15. Wotton.—A very long letter on the relations of taxation and representation, combating the doctrine that they must go together. 18½ pp. Printed in Knox's "*Extra Official State Papers.*"

The SAME to the SAME.

1768, Sept. 11. Wotton.—"I am very glad to hear that you have almost got through the tedious business of correcting the press, and that I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing your performance on the state of the nation complete. . . . The facts relative to Sir Jeffrey Amherst's dismissal from his government are now, indeed, pretty universally known and occasion many observations. The accounts from America continue uniformly the same, notwithstanding which it is much doubted whether any measure has been or will be formed upon that important subject till the meeting of the Parliament, upon whom the whole, I suppose, will be thrown ? Have you read Mr. Pownall's new edition of the Administration of the Colonies ? which he has addressed to me, tho', as he very truly says, we differ widely in our opinions, particularly as to the doctrine which he endeavours to establish of a different mode of obedience between the subjects within this kingdom and those without it ; a doctrine very dangerous in its consequences, and which has not the least foundation in our constitution, nor do I think that the colonies incorporated in the times of King James 1st and King Charles 1st and 2nd stand upon the same footing with the Countys Palatine of Chester and Durham, or that our Kings have a right to create such independent principalities or to exempt them from any part of the jurisdiction of the supreme legislature, whatever might be the case of a new acquir'd kingdom under William the Conqueror ; notwithstanding which it appears from the preamble to the Acts of Parliament granting the right to send members of Parliament to Chester and Durham that in fact they had been bound by all the laws passed in the English Parliament, and particularly those of taxation, altho' the contrary is asserted in the position cited to have been presented to King Henry 6th in Mr. Pownall's treatise. I do not agree with him that there has been a constitutional mode of administration thro' the establishment of an inviolable and unvaried continuance of the precedent to raise the provincial quota of taxes by making in each case a requisition to the assembly to grant subsidies"—page 152. So far from this being an inviolable precedent, there have been many Acts of Parliament, as he himself admits, for the purpose of taxation only, and there never was an



instance, I believe, where the Parliament made such a requisition nor any which I know of where the crown has required them to grant subsidies, unless the instruction to provide for their government or a general letter to exert themselves against the enemy which has been frequently done to Lord Lieutenants of English counties in time of invasion or rebellion is stil'd a requisition to grant subsidies, and this instance will, I believe, be found to have been practised chiefly during the late war and by Mr. Pitt whilst he was Secretary of State, whose authority upon this question is certainly of no weight, tho' I think that there have been some very few instances of a similar nature before. Whether it would not be just and reasonable to grant to the colonies members of Parliament upon their petition to Parliament for that purpose, in like manner as was done in the cases of Chester and Durham, is another question which whenever such an application shall be properly made will, I hope, be considered with every favourable disposition which their situation requires or will admitt of." 5 pp.

#### GEORGE GRENVILLE TO WILLIAM KNOX.

1768, Sept. 19. Wotton.—“There must certainly be some mistake in the account which you give me in your last letter. You tell me that notwithstanding the confident assertions in the newspapers of the arrival of an express with letters from Governor Barnard, ‘that the whole was false, no express being arriv’d nor any letters of a late date to administration; that you was told that there were accounts from Boston so late as August the 4 by way of Halifax, which say ‘all was quiet and the duties regularly paid.’ I know from the best authority that a schooner was sent from Halifax, that Governor Barnard’s dispatches to the Government were sent by her, that she sail’d after the 8th of August because I had myself a letter of that date from America, which came by that schooner. That letter informs me ‘that the aspect of things is not in the least mended; that a very great disorder has lately happened upon Mr. Williams, the Inspector-General of the Customs, return to Boston, from whence he had been absent during the late riots on a survey, that a vast mob beset his house that evening and insisted that he should immediately go to Liberty Tree there resign his office and take an oath never to resume it, which he refused, and assur’d them that he would defend himself to the utmost. Finding this resistance, they then insisted that he should go to the Castle to the Commissioners, where they have been prisoner at large many weeks, which he also refused. Much clamour ensued and much vengeance was threaten’d, but on assurances being given by Mr. Williams that he would meet them at the *Town House* next day at noon, they dispersed without doing much mischief. He went there, accordingly, thro’ a vast mob of many thousands, and by his resolute behaviour quite disconcerted them; but he has often since receiv’d anonymous letters threatening his life unless he resigns his office.’ Governor Barnard was very apprehensive that the Castle would be attacked, and wrote to Capt. Corner, of the *Romney*, requesting his assistance by all means in his power for the

ence and protection of it. Thus things are at present from the information I have receiv'd. On the latter end of July Mr. Barnard pressed his Council to advise him to call for troops. The whole, except *three*, oppos'd the measure. Almost the whole trade of America, my correspondent says, is more or less illicit. When you compare the account given to me by this letter, which came to me but two days before yours, from a person of the greatest credit, with the information which you received from Lord Hillsborough, that the whole was false, and that no express was arrived, *nor any letters of a late date* to administration, and what was told you in the city, 'that all was quiet and the duties regularly paid,' you will not wonder at my saying that there must certainly be some great mistake. I do not see the least appearance of any change in the dispositions of the people, or of the Assemblies in North America, nor is it indeed probable that there should be any in the present situation. Various reports are every day propagated of the intentions of Government, from whence I should think that no plan is yet settled in this kingdom, whilst a regular system is steadily pursued in the Colonies. We shall soon see whether this is true, and I heartily wish it may be found otherwise. In the meantime, to deceive ourselves, or to endeavour to deceive the publick upon this important subject, is the weakest as well as the most fatal measure which can be pursued." 4 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1768, Oct. 9. Wotton.—“I have read over the papers which you sent to me, together with your letter of the 4th of this month, with the greatest pleasure. They are written with so much temper and force, with so much knowledge and precision, that I am persuaded they will do you great honor, if ever you shall think fit to avow yourself as the author of them. The general principles laid down in them correspond so much with my declared opinions, and are so favorable to the public measures I have pursued, that to express my approbation of them to you, who are so perfectly acquainted with both, must be unnecessary. I will therefore only return you my sincere thanks, both as a public man and as a meer individual, for having put them in so clear and advantageous a light. I have not been able to examine all the particulars contain'd in them with that attention which I will give to them, and which they so well deserve. I will, however, mention one or two things which have occur'd to me in reading them over, and which you will consider of in a second edition, as the present impression is all struck off. At the bottom of page 37 you seem to recommend it to the Parliament as 'the most expedient method to assess each colony a specific sum and leave the mode of raising it to the respective assemblies.' This would, I think, be attended with great difficulties, and no advantage. It is a novelty, and I believe hitherto without example in the course of our Parliamentary proceedings, to tax bodies of men in particular sums, taxes having been allways imposed upon the several commodities produced or consum'd, or upon particular acts to be done, which it is in every man's power to

avoid in the whole, or at least in part ; but specific sums have never, as I know of, been assessed upon bodies of men, nor even upon individuals, except in the instance of poll taxes, which were allways odious from their inequality. The same objection of inequality would infallibly arise from the assessing specific sums on each of the Colonies, as it would be impossible for the Parliament to assess them in the exact proportion of their abilities ; and if they did it once, the fluctuating state of our Colonies would demand an annual change of it, and be the source of perpetual injustice and altercation. Notwithstanding what has been said about *Requisitions to the Assemblies*, which Mr. Pownal in his late treatise calls ‘the Constitutional mode of administration,’ thro’ the establishment and invaried continuance of the precedent, there is, I believe, no instance of such a requisition made by Parliament to any Assembly, except in the late Mutiny Act, which you know was as much objected to, and upon the same principle, with justice, as the other Revenue Laws. Many of those who have wish’d to exempt the Colonies from paying any taxes by authority of Parliament, have given way to this proposition from a persuasion that the Parliament *can never* carry it into execution, and tho’ I do not agree that they *never can*, yet I think it so difficult, that they *never will*, which amounts to the same thing. In page 23, you say that the Ambassador Extraordinary (to Russia), when ‘he had enjoyed the title *and emoluments* of the office for a twelvemonth, resign’d it.’ I think Mr. Stanley said in the House of Commons that he had declin’d receiving the whole or part of the emoluments of that office. If so, the words ‘and emoluments’ should, in justice to him, be left out. There are some few little inaccuracies, possibly owing to errors in the press, which I will mention to you when we meet in town. In the meantime, I rejoice to hear that a work of this national importance, and of this great extent and compass, is likely to be as universally circulated as it deserves, and I am persuaded as universally approv’d.” 4 pp.

#### LORD CLARE to WILLIAM KNOX

1768, Oct. 10. Bath.—I repeat my thanks to you and Mrs. Knox “for the confidence you repose in me by confiding the conduct and education of a young lady to my spiritual direction. I shall, for the present, trust her to her mother’s care, and a few years hence I dare say you will both think she may as safely be trusted to mine. . . .

“Your letter is the only piece of politicks I have read in manuscript since we parted. You tell me what is done, but wou’d to God you cou’d tell what can be done ! The way is so intricate and the night so dark that he who shuts his eyes has as good a chance to go right as he who opens them.

“But you have seen the King of Denmark, and possibly may have got a ticket for the masquerade without costing you thirty guineas. What pity it is that such sights cannot last for ever. I wish they were to continue at least all this winter, and draw away many of the good company from St. Stephen’s Chapel. There is,

never, one chance, which has kept this place emptier than ever knew it. Elections have cost so much that our knights and burghesses cannot afford to travel." 2 pp.

WILLIAM HENRY LYTTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1768, Nov. 19. Lisbon.—“ . . . My errand hither has not proved so useless as you once prophecied it wou'd be, but much is still to be done. The people of New England have not compell'd their governor to call an Assembly, as I told you I thought it not probable they might, but they are holding one by their own authority under the name of a *Convention*, which is as bad, worse. . . .” 1 p.

GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1769, Jan. 11. Wotton.—“ I am very glad to find by your letter of the 9th of this month, which I receiv'd last night, that you have almost finished what you are about. As to the question which you ask of me, whether it is safe to blame the proceedings of the late or any former House of Commons, it has been agitated in debate during the present Session, and it was urg'd that in the case of any *virulent* or *outrageous* abuse of the former House of Commons, the subsequent House of Commons might censure it. This was strongly denied by many, and there it was left; but I imagine that those who supported that doctrine meant to confine that censure to instances of gross and scandalous abuse, for if it be true that the proceedings of former Parliaments are not to be questioned, nor the conduct of former Kings to [be] blam'd, because there may be a libell upon a dead King as well as a living one (which, if I am not misinform'd, was the doctrine laid down by the present Lord Chancellor when Attorney-General in the case of Dr. Thelbeare), it must follow that it will be utterly impossible to write any history except a negyrick out of the Gazette. At the same time it will certainly be safer, and I think more effectual, to canvass the conduct and character of a late Parliament or King in decent and temperate language, at the same time that the facts and inferences are stated and drawn with the utmost freedom. This right is essential in the most limited idea of the liberty of the press, and I imagine will scarcely be questioned at present. The other question which you ask is whether a man may without offence express the just expectations of the subject from the present House of Commons; that they will by their conduct restore the sinking authority of Parliament, enquire into past misconduct, and punish those who dispute their right, and foment resistance to the laws? This question seems to me to admit of no doubt, for I take it for granted that it cannot be a crime to write that, which every subject has a right in decent and respectfull terms to petition the Parliament to do, and no man, I think, can deny that all these are real and serious grievances both upon the King and his people. . . . All my letters from London agree in the same representation of the unsettled, unhappy state of things and of the divisions which prevail.” 4 pp.



## WILLIAM HENRY LYTTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1769, Aug. 5. Lisbon.—I am charmed to find that two works—one of which I think is the best upon Finance since Sir Robert Walpole's answers to Pultenay, and the other a most candid, learned and cogent exhortation to the colonies to return to their duty—are your own. "I did, indeed, as you suspected I should, attribute a considerable share in them to you when I read them, but the very great extent and variety of knowledge displayed in them made me suppose them the joint labour of different hands. . . . Now that I am assured the works are yours, I will read them again, and shall have double pleasure in receiving instruction from them. . . . I cordially join with you in lamenting evils which may, perhaps, have worse consequences than any man who is the most active in inflaming our ill humours can foresee, or the wisest and best-intentioned among us suggest a remedy for."

I have appointed Sneyd my agent in place of Brown. The payment of my arrears is very welcome, for since I came here I have been obliged from time to time to sell out of the funds to enable my banker to answer my drafts. 4 pp.

## GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1769, Sept. 24. Wotton.—". . . I am much obliged to you for your kind wishes and good opinion of my son, who, I hope, will deserve both the one and the other. I return my thanks to you for the information which you have given to me about our American Colonies. The consequences which have happened I have allways foreseen, and those which will happen inevitably, I fear, from the conduct of our government, and, let me add, of our people." 1½ pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1769, Oct. 22. Wotton.—Expressing his astonishment at receiving a printed copy of his speech on the expulsion of Wilkes from the House. Begs Knox to see Mr. Almon, the publisher, and if possible stop the publication, or if too late for this, to insist upon the affixing of a statement that it is published "without the approbation, consent or knowledge of the right honourable gentleman who made it." 3½ pp. *Seal of arms.*

*Printed in the "Grenville Correspondence," Vol. IV., p. 471.*

## The SAME to the SAME.

1769, Oct. 29. Wotton.—"As I find by your letter that your application to Mr. Almon to stop the publication of my speech in the House of Commons was too late, and that too many had been dispers'd to prevent its going further, I think the alteration of the advertisement to shew that it was done without my consent is the only step which can be taken. There are some mistakes in the printed copy which you sent to me; two or three of the most obvious which struck me in reading it I have marked in the enclos'd paper. They may be corrected in the errata, particularly those in page 10 and 11, relating to Mr. Wilke's imprisonment. but you must by

means give my paper to the printer ; if you do, it will be said to be corrected *by me*. I wish that you were in the right in your opinion that the publication of the truth is the sure means of stopping these. I am afraid that the experience of these times has not corresponded with that observation, which has made me so averse to all publications relating immediately to myself. By a letter which I received lately from America, I am informed that the demands of our Colonists rise in proportion to the accounts which they receive from hence. . . . God grant that the difficulties which daily augment and incompass us on every side may not become too great not only for the administration, but for the King and Kingdom, to surmount." 2 pp.

WILLIAM HENRY LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1770, Jan. 5. Lisbon.—“I wish you and your little woman, your *good* little woman—which, according to the description you give of the present female world in England, is an epithet that grows every day less applicable to the greatest part of them—all joy of the birth of your son, and return you many thanks for allowing me to take a particular interest in him. I shall desire Mr. Sneyd to pay a little matter for me as the nurse’s due on such occasions.” Other letters received with yours seem to promise better success to administration than you think possible. “I am inclined to think that if the Closet does not give way to anything but a real necessity yielding, it will carry its point.” 2 pp.

WILLIAM KNOX to [J. POWNALL ?]

[1770, Feb. 5 ?].—The violent disease from which I have been suffering has prevented my expressing my gratitude for the kind things you have said of me, “though, in your manner of saying them, you sufficiently abate the vanity they otherwise would excite by showing me how far the utmost exertion of my poor abilities must ever fall short of even the sportive gambols of yours.” The reflections of a sick-bed have made me anxious about the future of my wife and little ones, as most of my income would expire with me ; but I have some hopes that my office of Provost Marshal of Georgia might, by Lord Hillsborough’s goodness and humanity, be continued to my little boy. The Assembly of Georgia talk of abolishing the office, which strengthens my wish that it should be in my family when that time comes. May I beg your good offices with his lordship in the business ? 3 pp.

J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1770, Feb. 9.—In reply to Mr. Knox’s kind letter of the 5th inst., states that he has taken the first opportunity of mentioning the wish contained in it to Lord Hillsborough, who expressed the warmest esteem and regard, but only said that he wished to see Mr. Knox as soon as he could venture out, and would then talk with him on the subject. 1 p.

## GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1770, July 19. Charleton.—I am here on a visit to Lord Suffolk and your letter has had to be sent after me, or I should not have delayed till now wishing you joy of the situation in which you have engaged. “I am very sensible of the obliging expressions contained in it with regard to myself, and should have been truly sorry if any consideration relative to me alone had prevented you from accepting an offer which you thought advantageous and honourable to you and which I am persuaded no man is more able or more willing to discharge with industry and fidelity towards the King and his people in the present distracted state of affairs in America. I shall see with real pleasure any measure taken which may contribute to that great object, the importance and consequences of which are, I fear, not yet sufficiently felt, and therefore, as I told you when I saw you, I despaired of anything being done, in which opinion I am still more confirmed by the accounts which I have lately received from London. I am much obliged to Lord Hillsborough for the justice which you say he does to me, and which I shall allways be ready and desirous to return. . . . I very sincerely wish you more comfort and satisfaction than my own mind can promise to any man who is to sail in the present stormy weather without a compass to guide him over the troubled sea on which you are embarked.” 2 pp.

## HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1770, Aug. 7. Naples.—“It is with singular pleasure I learn that you are appointed joint secretary with Mr. Pownall in the American department. This is an event, I should think, not very favourable to him, but what I have long and very earnestly wished for, as well on your own account as on that of your friends, the publick, and my Lord Hillsborough, whose great kindness must ever interest me in his happiness.” After congratulating you, you will allow to recommend to you my old rough, but honest, friend, Mr. Ellis. His former intemperate behaviour towards you leaves him no just title to expect your protection, but I know your humane and liberal turn of mind will overlook his past folly, and I trust you will honour him with your countenance and advice.

“I have just now received a letter from poor Price, intreating me to write a line to Lord Hillsborough which may give some weight to a memorial which he intends to present to his lordship, praying for a five years’ leave of absence from Georgia. I think the petition improper, and what can hardly be granted, but I presume he might obtain a general leave of absence for the recovery of his health such as I had, without limitation of time. . . . A thousand things occur to me upon your new situation. . . . Your station will, as you know, subject you to many difficulties, as well of a private as publick nature; but I really think you need have no apprehension on that account, as your prudence and abilities are equal to them and without meaning to say even a civil thing to you upon this occasion, I can truly assure you that I conceive better hopes now of our colony differences being happily accommodated than I ever once entertain’d since they began.” 3½ pp.

## LORD CLIVE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1770, Dec. 8. Bath.—“ I have received the honor of your letter the 6th instant, enclosing one from Mr. Ellis in favour of a relation of his who is going a cadet to the East Indies. His wish that I should obtain a commission for the young gentleman. Were this in my power I should not hesitate a moment, but the rule, and I believe the invariable rule, of the Company is not to appoint ensigns in England unless the persons applying have already held that rank in the King's service. All I can do is to furnish the gentleman with a letter to somebody in power abroad, requesting a commission for him as soon as possible after his arrival. But it is necessary I should be informed of his name and to what part of India he is going, both which circumstances the Governor has omitted to mention. If you can supply me with the information I shall have great pleasure in writing the proper letter of recommendation.”  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

## J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1772, Aug. 1.—“ The business that has been so long in agitation and uncertainty is at last decided, the Report is to be made before Lord Hillsborough goes to Ireland, and the offer of the American seals is now with Lord W[eymouth]. If he refuses (which I am most sure he will), Lord D[artmouth] is the next upon the list, who will, I think, also decline, and then I foresee the Administration of the affairs of the Colonys will undergo some new arrangement. “ Lord Hillsborough says you wish to have your office in Georgia for life. If so, there must be a new Commission by letters patent under the Great Seal, and if you think the alteration of the tenure worth the expense, the business is done. . . .”

P.S.—“ I think it not impossible that the office of Secretary of State may discontinue, and that powers and patronage may revert to a first Lord of Trade. If this should be the case, will our friend Lord Clare have any objection to come amongst us again, if he should be thought of, as is I think most natural to expect? It is of no small consequence to me to have a guess about this, for if he mounts the box I get up behind directly.”  $2\frac{1}{4}$  pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1772, Sept. 19. London.—“ Our lord and master [Dartmouth] was in town on Thursday, but went back to Sandwell as soon as the drawing-room was over, and probably will not return before the first week in October, so that there will be no manner of occasion for your coming to town sooner than you intended. . . . It will certainly be proposed to you to be Under-Secretary of State in the Southern Department in the room of Mr. Sutton, who has fallen into a fortune of 4,000*l.* per annum. I am pretty certain of what I say, and therefore you will do well to prepare your mind upon it. I beg my best respects to Mrs. Knox, to whose goodness to me I stand indebted for so much happiness at Tunbridge Wells.”  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pp.



## J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1772, Sept. 21. Whitehall.—“ . . . The Duke of Gloucester has formally announced to the Court his marriage with Lady Waldegrave, and I presume it will be followed by the same interdiction that confines the Duke of Cumberland to the situation of a private gentleman.

“ The India Company, disappointed in raising money from the sales of the immense quantity of goods on hand, have attempted to borrow a large sum of the Bank, but the Bank not choosing to lend, an alarm has been spread, and the stock has fallen prodigiously within these few days.

“ A letter from Leyborne received to-day gives a very unfavorable state of the expedition against the Charibs. Nothing of hostility has yet passed, but the Charibs have declared their resolution to resist to the last extremity, and the business appears to me to be at present in a state of great doubt and delay. . . .” 1½ pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1772, Sept. 26.—Stating that as Lord Dartmouth is about setting out for a tour in Yorkshire, he has had to take the King's pleasure through Lord Rochford, and having written the necessary letters, has sent them to Sandwell for Lord Dartmouth to sign. Has heard nothing more about the vacancy in the other department, and begins to think that “ some other person may have been thought of.” 1 p.

## LORD HILLSBOROUGH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1772, Sept. 29. Hillsborough.—I enclose Mr. Smith's deed and bond duly executed, and presume that when you get the patent under the seal of Georgia you will send it to him. I do not send the letter you wished for to Lord North, because Wheelock urges that he is to hold the agency so long as you hold the Under-Secretaryship, and I rather incline to his opinion. “ I know your justice and moderation, and I am sure you will not let the poor man lose anything he is entitled to. . . .”

“ I hope I shall hear from you that everything goes on well and pleasantly in the American department. For my part, I have totally forgotten that I was ever concerned in public business, and am so employed in church-building, road-making, farming, and every rural occupation that belongs to an estate and a country gentleman, that I go to bed every night very much tired, and find little time for anything else. I did not, you know, wish to resign, but am not now at all sorry it was necessary I should.” I hope Mrs. Knox and her little ones are well. Her father is so lively and well that he thinks of paying me a visit. 2 pp.

## J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1772, Oct. 3. Saturday.—“ Mr. Wills, second son to the Bishop of Bath and Wells (you know him), succeeds our friend Sutton in Lord Rochford's office. If I feel any regret on this occasion you will place it I am sure to the account of the love and esteem I have

er you ; in every other light your appointment to that office would have been a misfortune to your faithfull friend.

“ Lord Dartmouth set out from Sandwell for Yorkshire on Thursday, and I am to know nothing about him till he returns, which will be this day sennight. . . .

“ I believe I mentioned to you in a former letter that the letters from St. Vincent, lately received, give but an unfavourable account of the state of the expedition against the Charibs. It meets with many obstacles ; those savages are desperate and determined, and the issue of our war against them is become doubtfull ; and in this state of it Leyborne has assumed the *Generalissimo* more than was necessary. This has given offence, and a resolution being taken in Lord Dartmouth’s absence that the Governor should have nothing to do in the business of military operation, it was signified to me that I should propose such orders as would be necessary and settle all the arrangements with the other Secretarys of State (think, my dear friend, of my difficultys and distress). I immediately dispatched a messenger to Sandwell, and inclosed I send you in the confidence of friendship the letter I received in answer. From the general view I had of this business it seemed to be big with mischief and difficulty, and I am afraid you will think me too vain in saying that I was not sorry therefore that the arrangement of it was left to me. I had, however, soon cause to repent of my presumption, for in my first conversation with Lord Barrington, I found that an arrangement had been made respecting the changes and relief of the troops in the West Indies without the least communication to our office, that a regiment was upon the point of embarking from hence, and that all the orders had been issued by the other Secretarys ; happily those orders were so imperfect that the business was not half done, and therefore I took upon myself all the directions that were further necessary, and took care in preparing the draft that the orders should be expressed to be given by the other Secretarys in the absence of Lord Dartmouth. This was (as I imagined it would be) objected to, and Lord Rochford insisted that it did not belong to the Secretary of State for America to give any orders to the Admiralty or Secretary at War respecting troops or ships. I stuck, however, to my point ; I produced my precedent, and having, as I have reason to believe, the King with me in opinion, Rochford soon gave way. He left, however, the business before it was finished, and I had the ground to fight over again with Lord Suffolk, who took up the same pretence in a much higher tone ; but I persevered, and having the same support, prevailed, and everything has been done in point of office form as it ought to be. As to the more essential part, it was left entirely to myself, and I trust I have so conducted the whole of this business as to please the King, to avoid the appearance of disgrace or injustice to Leyborne, to give more efficacy to the operations of the troops, and to defend our office against unwarrantable encroachment. . . .” 6½ pp.

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1772, Oct. 17. Bath.—Applauds Lord Hillsborough’s retiring from Administration “ upon the motives he did, which were honour-

able, and have been generally approved," and rejoices that Knox still keeps the Under-Secretaryship, and that his merit is appreciated by Lord Dartmouth. 4 pp

J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1772, Dec. 21. Bath.—Thanking him for his very kind letter and begging him to "continue a correspondence that gives so much comfort to a friend living here in total ignorance and oppressed with infirmity." 1 p.

The SAME to the SAME.

1772, Dec. 26. Bath.—Is beginning to amend, and hopes soon to return "with health and cheerfulness." 1 p.

The SAME to the SAME.

1773, July 23. [London].—" . . . No one rejoices more than myself to find that the Spa waters have had so good an effect. It is my entreaty and Lord Dartmouth's command that you stay where you are so long as you continue to profit by it.

"Our business has hitherto been as light as you could wish, and I think it is likely to continue so, for what can Lord Dartmouth have to do whilst Bamber Gascoigne is minister for America at the Board of Trade and Lord Suffolk at the Council Office, where they will not let us have anything to say, all Councils for American business being in Lord Gower's absence held by Lord Suffolk. . . .

"If Cressener does not know more than he writes, you will not get a great deal out of him, and I think from your account of the Nuncio, he has not the infallibility of his master. Don't you wish, for many reasons, that the great powers who are making so free with what does not belong to them, would in some of their partition Treatys include North America? I believe they wou'd soon be sick of their acquisition.

"My dear Knox, Lord North's blindness, or rather indolence, in respect to the arts that are practised to ruin and disgrace our department, and ultimately himself, is astonishing and unpardonable." 2½ pp.

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX, at Whitehall.

1773, Nov. 10. Dublin.—Concerning his own private affairs. Before his father's death, he had near seven thousand pounds in Ireland, yet out of all this and his father's fortune, "which is so considerable in debts and landed property," he has not yet been able to collect 300*l.*, owing to legacies and donations and removing of encumbrances. These have absorbed all he had in England, "save a qualification to vote at the India House," which he has reserved for a particular purpose, and he has often wished he had been disinherited, "rather than made heir to such a load of vexation." He has, however, at last wound up his affairs to his own and, apparently, to other people's satisfaction, and hopes next day to

t away from Ireland, "where the poverty and distresses of the people surpass all description. If something is not speedily done for their relief, 'tis hard to say what may be the consequences." *pp.*

J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1773, Dec. 3. Friday.—I am rejoiced to hear you are so much better. When you can think of business without being disturbed by it, I have got some for you that, whilst it amuses you, will greatly lighten the burthens of your faithfull servant. After so many years neglect of the business of Quebec, everything now is to be done in a hurry. Lord North has begg'd that he may have from us a précis of the affairs of Quebec from the first establishment of it, so far as regards the claims and complaints of the new subjects, and what has passed thereupon, &c., &c.

"You know how little able I am to sit down to such a work, and you know that nobody but you or I can do it. And in this you will see the wishes of, &c." *1½ pp.*

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1773, Dec. 8. Paris.—Was exceedingly grieved on calling at Knox's house to learn how ill he was. Urges him to take more care of himself, as he hears he "got this illness in a cold church." Is now well again himself, but being attacked in London with a sore throat, deafness and sciatic pains, was obliged to fly from that city with precipitation and regret. *1¾ pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1774, March 23. Marseilles. L'Hotel Dauphin.—American affairs are doubtless in a state truly critical, "but still I by no means think the case so desperate or irremediable as many people imagine. We know the real inability of the Americans to make any effectual resistance to any coercive method which might be employed to compel their obedience. They are conscious of it themselves, but they will give a scope to their insolent licentiousness when they have long been suffered to practice it with impunity. What is decided upon appears judicious, and I hope what may be farther resolved upon will be equally so. . . .

I am glad to hear Mr. Cressener is to be so early at Spa, and I hope you will be so too, as I think it most agreeable when thinnest company. We are to have several folks of condition there from this country this season, amongst others Lord Ely and his family, Attorney-General and his, &c." As to the good Archbishop [of Am] and his family, Lady Rider is strongly disposed to revisit Spa, but the fatigue and inconveniences of the journey incline Grace and Mrs. Hamilton to go to Switzerland instead. Mr. Ville is in that country at present. *3 pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1774, June 27. Spa.—Both Mr. Cressener and I are much disappointed that we shall not see you here, but we rejoice to hear that you are so well recovered,



"I wish the Bostonians were at the d——l, for they are likely to be a continual plague to us. I have, however, no apprehensions from their power, nor yet from their courage; we know their weakness as well as their want of bravery. I think no measures could be better calculated to bring them to reason than those adopted by Government. I dare say they will have a good, tho' I am afraid but a temporary effect, for the seeds of discontent will necessarily remain so long as the point in contest is left undecided, which it must be unless we give it up.

"We have but few company here as yet, and those what we English call foreigners; they are, however, hospitable and sociable to such a degree that we do not much miss our country folks. The houses of Prince Guémenée, of Marshall Lacy, and the Archbishop of Narbonne, I as often dine at as at the table d'hôte."

I am now in very good health, but have not yet determined where I shall seek my winter quarters. I fear I must not encounter the severity of the English climate, but I may go from hence to England, and thence to Lisbon, Spain, and at length to Italy for the Jubilee. 3½ pp.

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX, at Whitehall.

1774, July 15. Spa.—Your letters have quieted the uneasiness felt by Mr. Cressener and others in relation to America, though for my own part I never imagined that the colonists would dare to attempt any hostile opposition to the measures of government. "Could the combination proposed by the Bostonians take place it would, I fear, compell us to yield to them the matter in contest, but the defection amongst their brethren which you mention relieves us from that cruel necessity. The ignorance of people on this continent of the inability of the Americans to make a successful effort towards acquiring independence is truly surprising. They had actually given up the Colonies as irrecoverably lost to Great Britain, and are astonished to find it is not so. The French wished it ardently, as an event alike tending to destroy our influence and to facilitate their schemes of aggrandizement. The Dutch equally wished it, in hopes that the Americans would then buy at theirs, instead of our shop, and that thence they might be enabled once more to dispute with us the empire of the ocean. . . . As to the Quebec Law, to me it appears the most judicious, as well in point of equity as policy, that could possibly have been framed, and I have not the least doubt of its producing the happiest effects. Although, from the infatuation with which wicked and designing men had found means to infect the minds of the ignorant multitude, the authors of that monument of British generosity and benevolence might not be safe from insult and abuse, yet I am persuaded there are but very few real patriots, who are competent judges of the matter, that do not cordially approve and applaud the intention and ability displayed in it. I guessed from what quarter it came, but for prudential reasons kept my conjectures from the profane." I hope I may see you before I leave this place, which will be on the 8th or 10th of next month, and at any rate I will secure you a good horse. "This

on has produced no great crowd; we have not one English man or other person of distinguished rank to maintain the t of our nation. The French take the lead of politeness and itality, and do it in a very becoming manner. Mr. Cressner his family, in which are Mr. and Mrs. Astle, desire their cordial acts to you." 4 pp.

#### LORD CLARE to WILLIAM KNOX.

74, July 17. Dungan, near Galway.—“I am extremely ed to you for your very comfortable letter of the 4th. . . . g you will be pleased to congratulate Lord Dartmouth in my e upon this prelude, which I hope will be succeeded by a perfect eciliation of our unhappy differences, and confer honor upon and happiness upon all. New converts are always most violent, the greatest persecutors of those whose cause they have for- n; I am, therefore, not at all surprized that those who wou'd nothing done are now for doing too much, but I hope and trust their advice will be equally disregarded in both extremes. an Association as was proposed by the Bostonians, and has, I been accepted by some, wou'd, if generally comply'd with, lete in one year and in one article, of lumber, the ruin of this try, already distress'd beyond the power of expression; nor d our sugar-islands fare much better. I am now at the house gentleman possess'd of a rental of seven thousand pounds a who does not receive *one*, merely from the inability of his tenants ck his lands; and I shou'd be in as bad plight if I were as in- ble as he is of stocking mine upon my own account. I am now avouring to convert a grazing country, where a plough never was yn, into tillage; and in order to people it and intercept some of nigrations into America, I have advertised large tracts of land einster, Ulster, and Munster to be let rent-free for two years, timber to build houses. . . . Such is the effect of native air, that although it hath rained y day, and almost all the day since my arrival in Ireland, I am nparably better than when I came. Dear Sir, your faithful and t. servant, Craggs-Clare.” 2 pp.

#### LORD DARTMOUTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

74, July ?].—“Bulletin de Blackheath. The people of nia will beat out their brains against the post which their e brethren at Boston seem to be taking more effectual measures remove. The accounts Governor Hutchinson has sent me of th of June do not shake the hopes I have begun to conceive.” know your mouth water'd at the contents of Sir R. Payne's rs, but you did not perceive that the turtles they announce o longer in existence. I go to-morrow to the Chief Baron's Tunbridge. 1 p. *Endorsed with year date.*

#### G. CRESSENER to WILLIAM KNOX.

74, Aug. 28. Bonn.—“I am charmed you were pleased with journey; I am sure not so much so as I was with your good

company, for the hours I passed with you are the most agreeable have spent since my residence in this town. . . .

"We have heard nothing of the quarrel between the French and Swiss guards ; had it been true, I think the news wou'd have reach'd us ere now.

"I have the joy of telling you *entre nous only* that a most prudent and spirited answer hath been given by our Royal Master to the Declaration I shewed you of the Court of Vienna. Most of the Electors are as well pleased with it as they are piqued by the Declaration of the Imperial Court, for they don't approve *le haut imperieton* with which that Court treat the Electors of the Empire, and they are alarmed at the schemes that they have formed to enlarge their territories at the expense of the neighbouring States. Since the division of Poland, they will have no difficulty in making out a title to whatever lyes convenient for them to take.

"You will be surprized to hear an army of 200,000 Turks have been surrounded and obliged to deliver up *all their cannon* (as the only hostages Marshal Romanzow would accept for the ratification of the Treaty by the Grand Seigneur) by an army of only 40,000 men ; but to explain this, it's necessary to let you know that after the several defeats the Turks had sustained, and particularly after the defeat of 28,000 men the Grand Vizier had detached to meet the 5,000 waggons loaded with provisions, the desertion was so great that the Grand Vizier had not twenty thousand men in his camp when he signed the Peace.

"I fully believe the Courts of Vienna and Berlin are by no means pleased with this peace, as it will thwart some of their schemes for Russia will now be at liberty to speak their sentiments. Amongst other things, it will hinder a further division of Poland, be of use to Dantzick, and, may be, change the face of affairs.

"I must not conceal from you my fears in regard to America. The obstinacy of those rebels, the desertion (as they say) of our troops, and the small force we have there, in regard to what the Colonies may raise, gives me many uneasy hours. Though I am fully convinced of the wisdom and necessity of the measures taken by the King and Parliament, yet I wish we had taken the resolution to secure success by numbers." 6 pp.

#### J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1774, Aug. 31. Whitehall.—". . . I have done nothing but play truant since you left us, for I found no body would do anything and I begin to have as much contempt as my betters for that solitude for the public welfare you have so often laughed at me cherishing.

"Of the peace between the Russians and Turks, either as to the motives for it, or the terms on which it has been concluded, I know nothing but what I read in those inestimable State Papers that are published every day by your friend Mr. Woodfall and his fraternity, and I am not ashamed to say that they furnish me with better and earlier intelligence of what is doing in America than I receive

through any other channel; for you will scarcely believe that we have not received a single letter of any moment from the continent of America since you left us.

"I do not wonder that the state of our Colonies is an object of speculation in other countrys. Our interests there grow more and more serious; but tho' the seeds of disunion begin to germinate, it must be our own fault if they ripen into maturity in the present generation. There is, however, discontent enough to give encouragement to our natural enemies in Europe, and in that light they have a very pernicious effect.

"I shall be curious to hear what passes in the general Congress of deputies. There are various opinions, but I esteem Dr. Franklin's the best, because they will probably do what he bids them to do, and he says that they will draw up a state of their claims in the form of a petition, or rather Bill of Rights, and annex to it a resolution of non-importation to continue untill those claims be yielded to. . . .

"I see in the *Circulation* a letter from Compeigne of the 24 of August, and therefore I conclude the flying report of a scuffle between the French and Swiss Guard is without foundation. The politicks of France, or rather the cabal and intrigue of its Court, are so fluctuating as to puzzle all speculation; but as things stood by the last advices, I think Choiseul will be the minister at last. My attention, however, is fixed to what I think more important to us—mean the war in S. America between the Spaniards and Portuguese, or if that goes on I dread the consequences." 4 pp.

EDMUND, BARON DE HAROLD, to WILLIAM KNOX.

1774, Sept. 2. Dusseldorf.—Stating that he thinks the pamphlet lent him by Mr. Knox so masterly a performance that he has translated it into French, "as it may enable many who do not understand English to admire the wisdom and lenity of the Administration and the justice of the legislature." He also sends the petition concerning his pardon, with apologies for any faults there may be in it, as he is not accustomed to write English. 1 p.

The SAME to the SAME.

1774, Sept. 13. London.—". . . General Gage had not on the 28 of July received the Act for regulating the Government, nor the appointment of the new Council, in consequence of it. He says the people at Boston were using every art to excite a more violent and open opposition to these last measures, and complains in language of vexation and disappointment that Government has no friends, and that either thro' duplicity or timidity those who were expected to be such will not stand forth. He says not a word of the desertion of the troops, tho' he sent over prisoner a man for encouraging desertion, whom we discharged, and I understand he is now in training by John Wilkes to start upon the first occasion. "Everybody's eyes and expectations attend the Congress; their proceedings and manœuvres have less of violence than I expected, and more of firmness and method than I like. I think their first resolution will be that Boston should pay for the tea.



· I think that *Maurepas*, unable to go through the task he has undertaken, will give place to *Choiseul*, and I am more and more apprehensive of the consequences of what is passing in the neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro." 2 pp.

G. CRESSENER to WILLIAM KNOX.

1774, Sept. 20. Bonn.—After the lies of the newspapers your letter was like a bright sun dissipating the fogs and mists. Last week I had a visit from Lord Shelbourne and Dr. Priestly. "His lordship displaid his eloquence in favour of the Americans, but I did not find that strong reasoning I expected from him. When the suite of the conversation informed me he was so intimately connected with Beckford and Wilkes, I held him still cheaper, tho' I presume he only served himself of them as tools to bring about what he had in view. He is going to Paris to pick up matter for opposition next session. I hear France intend a very considerable augmentation of their troops; it's said the King has increased the pay of the soldiers. This rather looks war-like; but as I am sure their navy is in very bad order, the bottoms of the ships at Toulon being destroyed by the worms, I should not judge they will break with us, besides it requires time to concert measures and make alliances; and in the present situation of affairs that is not easily brought about. By the peace made with the Turks, Russia will become very formidable. France has in every respect treated that Court very ill; they will resent it when opportunity offers. The Court of Vienna have not behaved better to the Empress of Russia, and she now is convinced she has been the dupe of the King of Prussia. England has effectually assisted her by opening her ports to her ships, both at Port Mahon and Portsmouth, &c.; so as far as gratitude can influence States, we may expect a proper return. I believe the peace has prevented a further division of Poland; that dont please the King of Prussia. I think there is no harmony between us and the Court of Vienna, from which I conclude we are better with the King of Prussia than for some time past, but how can we trust a monarch that is tied by nothing but his interest? . . ." 4 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1774, Nov. 10. Bonn.—". . . The dissolution of the Parliament at a time no one expected it was a master-piece of politicks the surprize is how the secret could be so well kept; it gives me the highest opinion of the Cabinet Council, and I dare say it will produce the best effects, both at home and abroad. I am sorry to see the contagion spread in America. I fear the force employed is not near sufficient to answer the end proposed if the Bostonians should prefer arms to negociation. . . . The Empress Queen is very angry that her daughter has no more influence on the King. She was desirous the Duke of Choiseul should have been restored to power; the Imperial Ambassador pushed that point, but he miscarried, and thereby he has made the present ministry enemy to his court and shut the door against the man he wanted to intro

duce. I know the French Ministers in the Empire have orders to oppose the Court of Vienna in everything, and I foresee those courts will hate each other very soon as cordially as they did in 1742.

"The system of France is *peace*, and it's absolutely necessary to bring about the changes they have at heart. The Pope was twice poisoned. The first worked too slowly for those who desired to put him out of the way; the second was so violent as to put it out of doubt of what he died. He had almost all the Cardinals and the whole Prelature against him, so it's no wonder they shortened his days; however, this will be of no use to the Jesuits, as the Courts of Spain, Portugal and France will exclude such Cardinals as do not engage to finish the work they have begun." 3 pp.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1775, Jan. 30. Bonn.—I confess I feared the government might have been led to temporize, and "thereby encourage the colonies to interpret what was really only humanity and tenderness into fear. . . . You can't believe how different measures would have lessened us in the esteem of every court abroad. I congratulate you on the very wise steps taken, and I rejoice that the provinces who were so forward in coming into the agreement of non-importation will feel the resentment of their Mother Country by the loss of their commerce. I am persuaded whenever General Gage advances into Boston he will be joined by many of the better sort, it being impossible that men at their ease or of common sense can be pleased with being governed by the rabble. I look on the Bostonians as men in a high fever; bleeding will bring them to their senses, and then they may be reasoned with, a new charter granted, the King's authority restored, and everything settled on a permanent equitable footing. . . .

"The King of Prussia sees with jealous eyes the acquisition the Court of Vienna have made in Moldavia and Valachia. I believe the Turks are not pleased with it. I am sure the Russians have great cause to complain of the Treaty of 1771, and I think no power will chuse to have anything to do with such a court as that of Vienna. The princes of the Empire, particularly Bavaria and Saxony, are alarmed, and, indeed, every court of the Empire has just cause to fear after what they have seen in Poland. The King of Prussia has an army equal in number to the Austrians, superior in discipline; both have greater armys than they can maintain without ruining their subjects; this proves they have something in view. It has been said the King of Prussia was ill and in so bad a way he could not live long, but I have a letter from Dr. Baylies, who was formerly a physician at Bath (and had the Middlesex Hospital), and is now physician to his Prussian Majesty as well as his Privy Counsellor, informing me that His Majesty may live *these twenty years*. In the present situation of affairs his death would be an evil, the more so if what I hear of his successor is true. The King some time ago sent an officer with a message that displeased the Prince; his R. H. drew his sword and killed him on the spot; on this the King sent a major *pour lui donner les assets*, who would have shared

the same fate with the officer if he had not been on his guard and saved himself by flight, but this is only *entre nous*; judge what a King he will make with such a fiery disposition." 4 pp.

WILLIAM KNOX to MR. BLACKBURN.

1775, Feb. 15.—A long letter on the subject of the right of Great Britain to tax the American colonies. *Copy.* 9½ pp.

J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX, at Spa.

1775, June 2.—After a long dearth of American intelligence we have been alarmed with "a strange, and in many parts unintelligible, account" of an affair between a detachment of the King's troops in Massachusetts Bay and some of the provincials, who, if their account could be believed, proved bolder than was to be expected.

The account (published by an agent of theirs sent on purpose) is, however, so evidently prepared to convey misrepresentation and create alarm that it has had little effect on public credit. It is five days since the relation arrived, and not a scrap of paper has been received from General Gage or anyone else. Something has certainly happened, but it will probably turn out to amount to no more "than that a detachment sent by General Gage to Concord to seize some cannon and destroy some stores effected their purpose, but having been fired at by partys of the provincials from behind trees and houses lost a few men. Be it however what it may, the dye is cast, and more mischief will follow." 2 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1775, June 13. [London].—"You will find in the inclosed *Gazette* the real truth of what passed on the 19th of April in North America, and I have only to add that Boston is actually invested by the rebels to the number of 15 or 20,000 men, who menace an attack, which every discerning man here holds cheap. I hope they do so there.

"The terror this event has spread over the rest of North America—I mean in those who are too easily frightened—is the worst part of the story. You will see this effect of it in the enclosed minute of the Council of New York, and you will also see the wretched situation of the King's affairs in that colony, and I dare say you will agree with me in thinking that this intelligence, which arrived soon after our advice from General Gage, is far the most serious and important. The fears of the Council, and the folly of their advice under the influence of them, ruin all our measures and disconcert our whole plan.

"Our meetings of consultation begin to-morrow evening; in a few days you shall hear again."

*Postscript*—"Governor Leyborne died at St. Vincent the 16th of April." ¾ p.

[THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH] to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1775,] July 3. Monday.—"The ruin threatened to your plantations in Carolina is the strongest reason why you should not relin-

sh the share you have in the plantations here, and I shall be  
dly brought to consent to such an idea till you are able to convince  
that you are incapable of giving any assistance to those who  
st now stand to the burden they have taken upon their shoulders.  
dont know what business you had to receive any news from  
gland while you was at Spa ; your business was only to drink  
d drown care and leave anxiety and misery to us, who could not  
from them. Your confident hopes of success have sometimes  
ot up my spirits when they were beginning to sink ; let me now  
vail upon you to believe that all will yet do well, notwithstanding  
e gloom that covers the face of the horizon. The fate of empires  
en depends upon events that are little foreseen till the moment  
their appearance." 1½ pp.

#### HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1775, July 18. Spa.—“I heartily rejoice with you upon the  
rticulars transmitted to Mr. Cressener from your Office in reference  
the state of our fleet, our successes in India, South Carolina, the  
annel, &c. The French here have had advice of the distruction  
their fleet of transports, and confess that as yet but four of them  
ve got into their ports. Last night's Paris Gazette contains an  
osition of the reasons for the conduct of the Court of Versailles  
h respect to us. This, in my opinion, is the most extraordinary  
nposition of false and impudent assertions that has ever been  
ruded upon mankind. It is mighty easy to impose upon those  
o have no personal interest to investigate the truth. No nation  
more sensible of this observation or profits more from the  
orance and indolence of others than the French. The perform-  
ce in question appears with that view, and is written with such  
usibility and art as may well deceive the multitude.

‘It greatly behoves us at present that Europe should have a  
t idea of the perfidy and ambition of our enemies, which makes  
e earnestly hope and wish they may be properly and speedily  
swered. The French and Spanish manifestos have already made  
favourable impressions of us, which would be strengthened and  
rmed by our silence.

‘Nothing is so easy as to produce a contrary effect ; a simple  
osition of notorious facts would do it. Our friends expect this  
m us ; our enemies dread it ; and our ministers abroad stand in-  
ed of it ; for how few of them, without ample instruction, have  
her sufficient knowledge or abilities to detect and refute the false  
presentations and artful reasonings in those papers. Should we  
ply to them I think a multitude of unquestionable facts may be  
lected to prove the early steps taken by the French to excite and  
ment the rebellion in America, and incontestably fix a series of  
or agressions on their side.

‘The last petition from the Americans intimated an expected aid  
m that nation. When the troubles broke out, supplies of all sorts  
re sent out by the French merchants and connived at by the  
art, who did the very same from the King's arsenals. The  
bell vessels and agents were received and protected in France.



Treatys were made with them, and avowed with menaces by the French Ambassador. A fleet was sent to America with a public minister on board, and orders to commence hostilities there; and this, I apprehend, before any hostile orders were transmitted to us to the East Indies, with which they reproach us. Hostilities in North America and the conquest of Dominica took place before the capture of Pondicherry; and all accounts agree that the first cannon fired upon the ocean hostilely were by the French. . . .

"It would be superfluous to meddle with other political subjects in this occasion, as I know Mr. Cressener will omit nothing of the sort, and that besides, he loves writing. All that I have heard of any moment here is a letter received from the Queen of France by the Comtesse Polignac, her favourite, who is at present drinking these waters, which says a force is going or gone against Jamaica. 4 pp.

VISCOUNT CLARE to WILLIAM KNOX, at Whitehall.

1775, July 19. Spa.—The Spanish fleet sail'd for the coast of Algiers on the 26th ultimo, and either is or is to be reinforced with six ships of the line, which will make the number of the line thirteen. Let Lord North know this. The letters I have received point to fairer prospects in America. I hope the storm may blow over. "If, as I am told and hope, two regiments of Canadians are to be raised, and if they are to be officered by Roman Catholics, who may not some be taken out of the French and other foreign corps who have served with reputation, and who, I dare to say, would be willing, upon very reasonable terms, to enter into the service of their country. Their religion would, I suppose, render them agreeable to the Canadians, and their long experience more useful to them than Canadian officers." Mr. Cullen, now a general in the Dutch service, and who is well acquainted with the disposition of our countrymen in foreign service, is strongly in favour of this measure. "There was not very long since a project for raising some Roman Catholic corps in which he was to be employed, and upon which he was in correspondence with General Conway and Sir Philip Yorke. . . . There is now a general discontent among the Irish in the French army, occasioned by some very hard treatment which they have lately received in the reduction of some regiments and the incorporating of others into one. A spirit of economy which has dictated this measure in France, would, I believe, easily induce the French ministry to part with the whole or a great part of what remains. . . ." 2 pp.

EARL OF DARTMOUTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1775, Aug. 6. Sandwell.—"I shall say little to you now but that I rather wish than expect a settlement of our differences upon the ground of the terms stated in the article from Philadelphia. However, I see no reason why we may not set our feet upon that or any ground that can be given, and tho' both sides will have a great way to go before they will be within the sound of each other's voice, it is not impossible that they may come near enough to shake

hands at last. If they mean to admit of duties for regulation of trade, and will add to that a revenue for the support of civil Government, and such military force as they shall themselves desire to have among them, I think we may soon be agreed. God send that day as soon as may be."  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

#### J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1775, Sept. 6.—General Gage's despatches contain literally nothing, but our information through other channels is more important.

"Lt.-Col. James of the Artillery, who brings our letter, is a sensible, intelligent man; he makes but an unfavourable report of the state of our army, diminishing every day by disease, and beginning to lose men by desertion; of the state of the rebels' army, or of their situation and designs, General Gage had no intelligence except what had been collected from a sergeant that deserted from them, and came into General Howe's camp on the 24th of July. His account was that the army besieging Boston did not exceed then altogether 14,000 men, but that four or five days before, they had sent orders for the minute men of the four New England Governments to attend, which amount to 20,000, and also for all who had leave to go home to return, so that in a very short time they would be 50,000, and that their train of artillery consisted of 92 pieces of cannon. . . . Our army also was preparing for operations, the object of which seems to be to pass Mystick River with about 5,000 men in order to draw the enemy into a general engagement in the open country on that side; but the generals did not think it would succeed, or that even if it did, and victory was the consequence, it would much mend our situation, especially if it was as dear bought as the last.

"To balance the gloomy appearance of the present hour, Providence opens to us a prospect of better things hereafter; for to you I may whisper what ought to be on many accounts, and I hope will be, a profound secret, that we have secured the assistance of 20,000 Russians; an excellent thing, my dear friend, to begin the Session with, on the 26 of October, which is the day fixed for Parliament meeting."  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

#### G. CRESSENER to WILLIAM KNOX, at Tunbridge.

1775, Sept. 25. Bonn.—". . . I am sorry your estate in Georgia is in so bad hands, but I flatter myself it will not long remain so. All this might have been prevented by more vigorous measures. . . . I should think Montcalm's letters might have convinced our ministers of the views and sentiments of our colonies I am sure their conduct ever since Mr. Grenville's time could leave no doubts of what they aimed at. . . . I rejoice to hear you are firm and united, that our stocks rise, that our manufactories flourish, that plenty once more reigns, and that the great majority of the nation are desirous of asserting and fixing the dependence of America on Great Britain.

"I am glad General Gage is recalled. I am not better pleased

with your Admiral than with your late General. General How is a very good officer ; but I should think some lieutenant-general should be nominated if the army is augmented to 50,000 men. I fear you include Canadians and such Americans as may join our troops in that number. The present French system is certainly pacifick. The King of Spain is desirous to be revenged of the Algerians, and I believe he will make use of all force next spring to bring about what he has so much at heart ; therefore, we should profit of the next year to finish our quarrel with our rebellious subjects. . . .”

“*Postscript*—It’s amazing the Northern Colonies should have kept their designs so secret for so long a time ; it proves our want of intelligence or inattention. I fear the retreat from Boston will be attended with loss and disgrace to our arms.” 4 pp.

J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX, at Tunbridge Wells.

1775, Oct. 10. [London].—“ . . . As to measures for America, I know nothing about them, for since I have been deserted by our principal, that business is got into other hands, and my friend Eden knows a great deal more and does a great deal more of the American business than your faithfull servant. In short, my dear friend, our office makes a most pitifull figure and is most thoroughly disgraced by a conduct in Lord North that I cannot understand. Whether this proceeds from any personal dislike to me or from some fascination in Lord Suffolk and his secretary I cant tell ; but so it is that I am as ignorant of what is intended, tho’ I know a great deal is in agitation, as you are at Tunbridge.” 2½ pp.

SIR GREY COOPER to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Jan. 2. Worlington.—“ Many thanks to you for your letter, bad as the news was it conveyed. The taking of the Ordnance brig is a most unfortunate and mortifying accident. My accounts say she was seen by the *Cerberus* man-of-war about the 16th of November, and that the man-of-war, after having put some men on board her, parted with her in a hard gale. If the town of Boston and the cantonments of the army should be burnt by the very carcasses and bombs which were sent for in order to burn Roxburgh and Cambridge, the saints of predestination will have it to say that the Lord hath delivered them into their hands. I see their proclamation for a fast ends with *God save the People*. The loss of the two companies of the 32nd is another instance of the ill-luck with which this business has been hitherto accompanied. God grant this new year may be more prosperous than the last.” 2 pp.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, April 9. Stoneland Lodge.—Stating that he fancies Lord Dunmore’s demands will not, or rather cannot, be immediately complied with, but that if his cruisers are as successful as he relates, it is to be wished he had the command of the fleet, “and then, perhaps, the Delaware river would not be so neglected.” Is glad to hear of the safe arrival of the *Jane* transport ship, and wishes the *Speke* hospital ship had accompanied her. 1½ pp.

## G. CRESSENER to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, April 25. Bonn.—Regrets the delay in the shipping of the Brunswick and Hessian troops from Stade and Bremen, as it gives the rebels more time to prepare for the campaign. Fears Quebec may be besieged in force before the succours can arrive, but finds this is the opinion of military men “that the rebels will not be able to resist such a number of old disciplined troops, let their numbers be what they will. The affair of Corsica and many others make this very probable.”

Hears that the King of Prussia is in a fair way of recovery, appears in publick rides, and has ordered the usual reviews. If he appears at them, it will mortify the Court of Vienna, as they had advice he could not recover, and had taken their measures in consequence. . . . It's he and only he who keeps the Imperial Court awe and preserves the liberty and privileges of the Empire. . . .”  
3 pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1776, May 27. Bonn.—Sir Robert Keith has been here on his way to Vienna. “He has in some measure removed my fears in regard to Quebec, and given me hopes means will be found of gaining some of the provinces. If we can once break the chain, I hope peace will be restored ere the year is ended.” The troops from Ireland and the Brunswickers have had a fair passage, and we may expect the Hessians to arrive at New York in June.

“The report of a treaty, offensive and defensive, between the Courts of Vienna and Petersbourg causes much speculation, and the breaking up of the visitation of the chamber of Wetzlar may produce bad consequences. I was much surprised yesterday to see our stocks fallen two per cent. without any apparent cause. This makes me apprehend a war between Spain and Portugal.” 3 pp.

## WILLIAM KNOX to LORD [DARTMOUTH.]

[1776, June 24].—Is informed by the Lieutenant of the *Lizard*, just arrived from Quebec, that the troops from Ireland arrived there the night he left, May 26, and that on his passage down the river he met the Brunswick troops at anchor at Condre. General Carleton has gone up as high as between the Grenadines and St. Ann's, and had left orders for the transports, store, ships, &c., to press up after him without stopping at Quebec. “Some of the savages who had come down from the party at the Cedres [Cedars] informed him that the whole body of the Western Indians were in motion, and within two or three days' march of the Cedres.” Nothing was expected but the total rout of the rebels, who were in the utmost confusion and consternation. 2 pp.

*Date given in endorsement only.*

## LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, July 27. Kew Lane.—Has but just received the despatches from the King. Wishes Carleton's letter to be put in the *Gazette*,



and also "the agreement of Capt. Forster about the exchange of prisoners,\* as a paper enclosed in the General's letter, as it will show the Indians have not massacred all the prisoners." 1 p.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, July 28. Kew Lane.—"I am sorry the *Gazette* could not do justice to Capt. Forster's good sense and humanity. As the agreement about the prisoners could not appear as part of Gen. Carleton's despatch, it will come awkwardly in on any other day, so that we may leave it quietly in the office. I cannot consent to the smuggling it into the public thro' the channel of any common newspaper. I thought the contents very unexceptionable, as they were the acts of an officer without any orders of his General, adopted from necessity and humanity, and refusing to treat with the rebels upon equal terms since he took hostages for securing the performance of them. I do not remember any scruple about publishing the capitulation of the garrison of St. John's, a much more exceptionable transaction than this agreement, for you may observe that Arnold does not presume to sign in any rank as an officer, tho' Montgomery did. I am sorry to hear that the rebels are driving our fleet from every part of the coast. If Massie mentions nothing of the Highland transport being taken, we may have some hopes of its being safe." 2 pp.

THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, July 29. Sandwell.—"I return you many thanks, with my hearty congratulations, and if you have always such news to send, I don't care if you have the trouble of writing to me every post. One great part of my sollicitude, now, is for sundry of my *kinsfolk* and acquaintance, who are in durance under the power of those, some of whom may, and some may not, be inclined to use them well. I wish you could give me, for the comfort of their nearer relations, some prospect of their release, and now I will keep you no longer; you have enough to read without me; and besides, my hay will be spoiled if it is not got in with all the expedition possible and my men won't work, if I don't go and look at them." 1 p.

LORD TEMPLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, July 30. Stowe.—Thanks him for sending the *Gazette*, and hopes that the good news therein contained "is a happy prelude of still more decisive success."  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Aug. 12. Marble Hill.—Understands that Lord Sandwich has gone to Lord de Despensers, and desires that the summons for the Cabinet Council may be sent to him there, as his presence will be necessary.  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

\* This agreement is printed in Force's *American Archives*. See also *Report of the MSS. of the Royal Institution*, vol. i., p. 41.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1776, Aug. 16. Kew Lane.—“ . . . By Lord Amherst's letter appears as if the Ordnance transports were not arm'd in any degree. I enquire whether that is the case; if it is, they must have forgotten the letter I sent to the Board in January last, and which I refer to in the enquiry about the loss of the *Hope*. . . .” 1 p.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1776, Aug. 19. Kew Lane.—“ The Ordnance store ships seem not slightly provided with guns, &c. They do not say whether a naval officer is to be received on board each of them.” If I remember rightly the Board omitted to insert that condition on a former occasion. I hope it is provided for now. “ Something must be said to the Admiralty upon Lord Barrington's suggestions with regard to the ships which carry the cloathing. Mention what you say to be in consequence of a representation from the War Office. The convoys, I should think, can be necessary for Gibraltar.” 1 p.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1776, Sept. 1. Kew Lane.—Desires him to send extracts of the Governor of St. Vincent's letter to the Treasury, as there are many points in it worthy of immediate attention. 1 p.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1776, Sept. 13. Kew Lane.—“ I wish you would enquire at the War Office what transports may be wanted for the business of that department before next spring. . . . I should wish to be empower'd to direct the Admiralty to discharge the transport ships as fast as they arrive. Get me the best information you can from the different offices upon this subject, that I may take the King's pleasure upon it.” 2 pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1776, Oct. 10. Kew Lane.—“ The demand of the Hessian General, as stated by Sir G. Osborne, is warranted by precedent in the last war, and I conclude must be comply'd with. Lord Sandwich desires an extract from Mr. Forster's letter to Mr. Robert Knox, relative to the ships of the Americans loading at Bordeaux”. May I trouble you to send the *Gazette* to the Duke of Dorset at Knole, and Sir John Irvine and Major-General Cuninghame in Dublin. 1 p.

## LORD HILLSBOROUGH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Oct. 11. Hill Park.—Thanking him for the *Gazette*. Is happy in the thought that this “ detestable rebellion ” will soon be crushed, and languishes for the account of New York, which event he considers as almost certain. 1 p.

## MARQUIS TOWNSHEND to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Oct. 19. Rainham.—“ . . . The suspense we were in has convinced me that I ought to yield [to] no man in real

patriotism," for the critical situation of affairs in America has superseded every private concern in my mind. I guessed that Mr. Howe would lay hold of Long Island, "but doubted whether the enemy would be sufficiently there in force to afford so capital an advantage. It has indeed been taken with great judgment, and executed with a vigor which will unquestionably be followed by the most fortunate effects for the country. When I have the pleasure of seeing you, we may, perhaps, consider ourselves as men of property once more in America." 3 pp.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Oct. 19. Kew Lane.—"I have made a little alteration in your letter to Mr. Howe, for I could not say I approved of a *cartel* with rebels, tho' I am glad the prisoners are to be exchanged. . . . Sir James Wright can be of little use at present; his ideas of military operations are most extraordinary. He gave me a plan for keeping a few oxen in an island, which would employ a fleet. I have another plan for subduing Georgia and S. Carolina, where he desires the alliance and assistance of all the Indians, and only 11,000 regular troops." 2½ pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1776, Oct. 22. Knole.—Hears from Ireland that a regimental surgeon has arrived there who says that New York was in Howe's possession the 8th of Sept., and that Capt. Gardiner was sent with the news. 1 p.

The SAME to the SAME.

1776, Oct. 23. Kew Lane.—"A thousand thanks for your news. I believe it true, and a most fortunate circumstance that the rebels will collect their force at King's Bridge, tho' I am very certain their numbers cannot amount to 40,000 men. General Lee's attack, or march towards Augustine, is only to be lamented by you and Sir James Wright." 1 p.

J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1776], Oct. 23. Saturday.—Lieut. Dacres has just arrived, and from him I collect "that Carleton is wholly uninformed of the state of Ticonderoga, or of the rebell army, which some reports make to be no more than 5,000, and others 25,000; that after his arrival at Crown Point with the Fleet and the Artillery, he sent orders to the first brigade of the army, consisting of about 3,000 men, under Burgoyne and Philips, to advance over the Lake, and when Dacres came away they were got the length of Pointe au Sable. The main body under Reidhesel remained at Pointe au Fer, St. John's, &c." Burgoyne told Dacres he should be in England as soon as he. 2 pp.

SIR JOHN BLACQUIRE to LORD HARCOURT.

1776, Oct. 28. Greenwich.—Recommending William Knox's brother as agent for the Irish Linen Board in London, on the death of Mr. Ellis, and speaking strongly in praise of Mr. Knox's exertions for Ireland, especially in the case of the Fisheries. 2 pp. Copy.

## LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Oct. 29. Thursday.—Certainly does not wish the convoy to sail without the Ordnance store ships, which he believes are in their passage to Spithead. As to the regiment from Ireland, he cannot take it upon him to delay the whole trade to the West Indies without knowing when to expect it, but imagines that it will arrive in time for the convoy. 1 p.

## J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Nov. 13.—“ . . . Our friend D'Oyley is in business a little like the dog in the manger, which, combined with the indisposition of our chief to take much trouble except in capital leading cases, creates some difficulties, more especially as I am out of the Cabinet in Pall Mall, and therefore not able to do all you wished in domestick matters. However, I shall make shift to manage matters tolerably well till you return.”

*Postscript.*—No letters except one from the Governor of Newfoundland, “who is arrived at Portsmouth, having parted from many fishing ships that came out with him. I fear they will meet with privateers in abundance on the coasts of Spain and Portugal. The rebels have not disturbed the fishing much.” 2 pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1776, Dec. 2. Tuesday.—“ . . . Upon the ground of the intelligence we have of the intention of France to send a squadron of six ships of the line and four frigates to the West Indies, I have induced the consideration of the state of defence of all our islands, which, indeed, became highly necessary, and Lord G. Germain will write a circular and secret letter to our governors on the subject of this armament, which, it it sails, *as I am almost confident it will not*, will be followed by a British squadron of equal force.”

I know not what to say about Grimaldi's resignation or dismissal. As a friend to the Choiseul faction his removal has a certain advantage; on the other hand, I fear his backwardness in some points respecting the Spanish armaments has been the occasion of it. “The packet that carried out Le Maitre is returned with him and his despatches after getting into the gulph. The *Union*, that carried out MacLean, put back to Halifax in the same situation,” and I fear the *Richmond* will do the same. 3 pp.

## CHRIS. D'OYLEY to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Dec. 3. Whitehall.—I am glad to hear you intend to stay another week at Bath, though sorry that a cold is the cause. “What business had you in a shower! 'Tis too late for you, my friend, to be playing such tricks. . . .

“Grimaldi is certainly out, but it is by no means decided that his removal will produce any advantage to us.” 2 pp.



## EARL NUGENT to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Dec. 17. Bath.—Rejoicing in the news brought by the *Active*, that the rebels have been driven from King's Bridge. *Signed*, "Craggs Nugent." 1 p.

## EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Dec. 29. Hill Park.—Concerning Knox's health. The letter ends—"Whether I shall ever be a public man again I do not know, nor do I think it of any consequence. I shall always be a well-wisher to the public, and in my private capacity, thank God, I am a very happy man." 1 p.

## LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Dec. 31. Drayton.—Sir Wm. Howe finishes his campaign honourably and advantageously; but I cannot approve of the general pardon from the Commissioners.

"It is poor encouragement for the friends of Government, who have been suffering under the tyranny of the rebels, to see their oppressors without distinction put upon the same footing with themselves. I perceive it strikes Tryon in the same light it does me. This sentimental manner of making war will, I fear, not have the desired effect. I am surprised at Clinton's coming home. Burgoyne will not be sorry to see that he is not the only General, second in command, who takes that liberty without the King's leave." 2 pp.

## G. CRESSENER to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Jan. 2. Bonn.—Stating that the physician tells him that Mrs. Cressener cannot live more than a few days. 2 pp.

## LORD NORTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1777, early in]. Monday.—"I do not much like your *Gazette*, if the paper of intelligence you have sent to me is intended for it. It gives a worse colour to Lord Cornwallis's march and retreat, and to the action between Col. Mawhood and the rebels, than they deserve. I hope this account will not [be] published in its present shape. . . ." 1 p.

*Endorsed* :—"1776, account of affairs after Trenton."

[*But Trenton was not taken until Dec. 26, 1776, and Col. Mawhood's action was in the first week of January, 1677.*]

## LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1777], March 12.—The King has been enquiring in what state the *Bute* \* armed ship is. He was informed by General Harvey that she was ready a fortnight ago, but the guards are not yet embarked. As she has the camp necessities for Howe's army on board, it is very important that she should arrive early in the spring, and his Majesty wishes a letter to be sent to the Admiralty, to know the real state of the ship, and what has occasioned the delay. 1½ pp.

\* For year date, see Report on the MSS. of the Royal Institution, vol. i., p. 90.

## G. CRESSENER to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1777, March].—Concerning the loss of his wife, “the best wife, the best friend, and the most cheerfull, agreeable companion. God rest her soul.”

“The loss of the Hessians had very near destroyed me. It was lamented in all the Empire (where the generality are good Americans); they said the rest of the corps had laid down their arms and deserted. Though I know this was false, it still made an impression on a mind ill at ease. . . .

“On this occasion, the Dutch have done us more harm than the French, for they have furnished the rebels with everything necessary for carrying on the war; we had better treated them as enemies than as friends. France, I believe, waits to see the event of this campaign before they declare themselves; the *Vox populi* at Paris is *War*, but the sentiments of the King and his ministers are, I believe, pacifick for the present. Spain has enough to do with Portugal and the rebels in their provinces in America. . . . The Turks are dissuaded to quarrel with Russia sooner than comply with the conditions of the last Peace in regard to the Crim Tartary. I hear France blows the fire. However, I think the Russians are in a condition to give the law to the Grand Seigneur. The Courts of Vienna and Berlin are armed, as the French say, *jusqu’ aux dents*; one sword keeps the other in the scabbard. Many events may unsheath them, but as the troops of Prussia exceed those of Austria in number and discipline, and as the confusion and discontent in Bohemia rather increases, I think the Empress Queen will avoid a war as much as she can and as long as she lives.” 4 pp.

## LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1777, April 2. Stoneland Lodge.—“I am sorry Burgoyne cannot avail himself of this fine wind. . . . I didn’t know two winds were necessary at Plymouth before they could put to sea. . . .

“Sir Robert Fletcher’s letter is the strongest attack upon Lord Pigot I have yet seen, and his lordship’s behaviour to the Nabob gives the Council full right to represent and protest against that sort of his conduct. But I am yet to learn how the Council at Bengal can approve of the deposing and imprisoning a Governor upon the accusations laid against Lord Pigot. I hope the Directors will immediately send Mr. Rumbold to Madrass to prevent this new sort of rebellion.

“Your news from Portugal is most pleasing, and I should hope Spain will now renew their negotiations, and that a war in Europe may be prevented. If that should be the case, we shall soon see whether France means to break with us on account of America. If her naval armaments continue, I shall have no doubt of her bad intentions. At present the strange conduct of Portugal may give a fair pretext for having a formidable fleet ready to act upon any emergency.” 3 pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

[1777, May 22. Drayton.—“I am sorry the *Bristol* is not yet ready, but I suspect she will be hurried as soon as the transport with the

Guards arrives at Spithead. "I have always observed that the Admiralty can be expeditious when the King is inquisitive or anxious about their preparations." Capt. Sinclair may certainly go in the packet, and I should think with more convenience to himself than to be the unwelcome guest in a man-of-war. You had better write a line to Sir Wm. Howe in his favour.

"I shall rejoice to hear that Lord North explains the rum contract to the satisfaction of the House, but as I am already persuaded that Mr. Atkinson made a bad bargain for himself, I shall not lament my being absent upon that occasion." 2½ pp.

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, June 11. Stoneland Lodge.—"I conclude you have by this time settled what will be the consequence of the success of the Spaniards in the Brasils. Had M. de Pombal continued minister, every advantage would have been taken by Spain, and the Portuguese must have been demolished before England could have interpos'd. As it is, the King of Spain, with appearance of family affection, will dictate his own terms to his niece, and we shall have the satisfaction of seeing Portugal accede to the family compact."

I hope that Balfour will have convinced Sir Wm. Howe that he distresses us "by not communicating his ideas more frequently and more explicitly." 2 pp.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1777, June 13. Stoneland Lodge.—As regards the Admiralty and the Letters of Marque, "Lord Sandwich will have one more battle in Cabinet before he agrees to the delegating his powers to the Governors. He disputed as long as possible about the legality of the act, and when the other lords said that might easily be put out of doubt by sending for the opinion of the Attorney, &c., and all inclined that the power should be granted, he ended by saying that, if it was legal, much might be said as to the policy of the measure which could only come under consideration when the point of law was settled. I think, however, that the next conversation we hold upon this subject, the affair will be put upon the right footing; in the meanwhile, I wish you would apprise Lord North that the Attorney and Solicitor have given their opinion in the manner I suspected they would."

The share the captors have had granted to them should be made public by inserting it in the newspapers, "and foreign papers might be desired to copy that article as they do many others of much less importance." 3 pp.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1777, June 15. Stoneland Lodge.—". . . I hope Lord Suffolk guesses right about the effect the Attorney and Solicitor-General's opinion will have in the Islands; I mean as far as encouraging the inhabitants to make prize of the ships of the rebels whenever they can sieze them. My motive for publishing that law opinion was to convince the King's loyal subjects that the Admiral had been too

precipitate in treating them as pirates. . . . I perceived there was no haste in granting any effectual relief; I was resolved to give them some hopes that their situation would be considered; and I am certain the letter was sufficiently guarded, and directly pointed out to the Governors that they were not authoriz'd to grant Letters of Marque. The Solicitor-General proved sufficiently that Letters of Marque would be much more desirable than the present mode of seizing ships for the disposal of the Crown. I hope Lord North will soon settle what ought to be done. . . . Lord Sandwich may not think himself call'd upon to remind him of it, tho' I flatter myself the letter I wrote to the Governors may induce the Admiralty to give some instructions to Admiral Young.

"Lord Howe is the most disinterested man I know, in permitting the trade of Charlestown to be carry'd on without interruption, when he might avail himself of so many rich prizes." 4 pp.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1777, June 23. Stoneland Lodge.—"If the Board of Ordnance think Mr. Cleveland's demand necessary, they will, of course, apply for the order. . . . If the ship is not immediately taken up, no stores will arrive at New Yorke till next spring. If this additional demand is necessary, the detaining of the present store ships will have ruined the campaign.

"The permitting Cunninghame to arm another privateer at Dunkirk is such an insolence (if true) that I do not see how the Ministry can avoid taking serious notice of it." 1 p.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1777, June 24. Stoneland Lodge.—"I cannot guess by Sir Wm. Howe's letter when he will begin his operations, or where he proposes carrying them on. His saying that Lord Cornwallis is obliged to leave the old camp equipage, the new not being yet arrived, inclines me to think that he may wait for the *Isis* before he takes the field in force. Sir G. Osborn's letter is very alarming, such a sickness among the best of the Hessian troops is dreadful, as we cannot repair the loss of those that die. I hope the *New York Gazette* gives us in general true accounts, but I am sorry to see such falshoods inserted with regard to the expected reinforcements. I wonder those who inspect the paper do not prevent such notorious blunders, as it must bring discredit upon the rest of the intelligence. I do not understand why Sir G. Carleton sends a part of his force to Crown Point so early in the beginning of May if Sir Wm. Howe's intelligence is right, that he does not propose being upon the Lakes himself till the beginning of June. I incline to hope that his preparations are in greater forwardness; if they are not, Burgoyne's arrival may cause him to change his dispositions and create a delay. The New Yorke paper mentions the alarm at Ticonderoga upon the supposition of Carleton's arrival. If it is only an advanced party it is giving the rebels time to prepare for his reception. I shall be glad of an opportunity of applauding the General's conduct this campaign."

pp.



## LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, June 24. Stoneland Lodge.—Be so good as to lay the enclosed papers before Lord Weymouth and the Admiralty.

"I hope this fair wind will carry out the powers of granting Letters of Marque to the respective Governors; that will be the best remedy to these complaints. . . . Lord Stormont will have frequent occasion to trouble Mr. Vergennes with our complaints, and he will, I fear, get nothing but fair words instead of redress." 1½ pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1777, June 27.—The Comte Grabowski [Gaborowsky], a Polish Colonel, aide de camp to the King, is going to America. Will you write a line in my name to Lord Howe, to say he has his Majesty's leave to serve as a volunteer?

"The King wishes to know if there can, from enquiry, be any distinction made between Mr. Petrie, Mr. Lincoln and Mr. P. Campbell, for Lieut.-Governor of Tobago. He inclines to give it to Campbell, as senior, but is open to give it either of the others."

*Postscript.*—No orders relative to the Percy letters. 1 p.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1777, July 1. Stoneland Lodge.—". . . As Burgoyne went up towards the Lakes in May, I flatter myself that he will be in action by the middle of June. I shall wait with impatience for Carleton's despatches. I do not wonder he is displeased at receiving such particular directions from hence, as he must see they proceed from the inactivity of the last campaign. I do not see why you might not say something civil to Tryon, as he commanded a successful expedition, and as Sir William Howe returned thanks to the officers, &c., for their behaviour. The General's silence in his last letter is remarkable, but I should hope he is not dissatisfied with Governor Tryon's conduct. . . ." 2 pp.

## LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to [SIR GUY CARLETON].

1777, July 10.—"The very extraordinary manner in which you express yourself upon the measures which his Majesty thought proper to adopt with regard to the different operations in Canada must have arisen from your supposing that such measures had been taken upon no better authority than my advice and suggestion.

"Affairs of such importance receive the fullest consideration from his Majesty's principal servants, and they are then submitted, with their humble opinion, to the King, who, after mature deliberation, gives such commands upon them as his Majesty judges most proper. The executing such orders belongs to my department, and if the manner of conveying them is improper, I stand alone responsible for it. The last letter, however, relating to General Burgoyne's taking the command of the troops, and to the disposition of the forces in Canada, however displeasing it may have been to you, was particularly directed by the King, after his Majesty had taken into consideration every information which could be furnished from the

Secretary's office, or from the report of Gen. Burgoyne, so that all my business consisted in putting his Majesty's commands into the form of a dispatch ; but I must add that there was not a part of it which I did not think most wisely calculated for the publick service.

" Since I have had the honor of being in office, his Majesty has uniformly declared his intentions that as he had appointed two commanders in chief by commission under the Great Seal for different provinces, that they should not interfere with each other. Had that not been originally his Majesty's pleasure it would have been impossible you could have commanded the army in which Sir William Howe served from the time it was judged necessary to appoint only my Lord and Sir William Howe his Majesty's Commissioners.

" It would ill become my situation to enter into an ill-humoured altercation with you upon various parts of your letters relating to the operations of the last campaign ; all I shall say is, that every possible exertion was made here to supply you with such a force as we flatter'd ourselves would have been sufficient not only for recovering the province of Canada, but for enabling you to assist Sir William Howe in his operations by sending part of your army to penetrate as far as Albany. The expectation of such success was not the result of idle conjecture, but was encouraged by the opinion of many officers who had served in that country ; and, indeed, if the intelligence we have since received be true, the rebels intended to have abandoned their post at Ticonderoga had you marched your army towards it.

" I must now assure you that whatever reports you may have heard of my having any personal dislike to you are without the least foundation. I never had any disobligation to you, and if I had look'd upon you as my greatest enemy I should, in the situation you stood in, have given you every assistance in my power which could have contributed to your honor and success ; a contrary conduct would be repugnant to those principles upon which I shall ever act, but could I have been so mean as to have been influenced by private pique or resentment, my duty to the King and the interest I must feel in the suppression of this rebellion, ought to have convinced you that your suspicions were unjust and ill-grounded. I cannot finish this subject without expressing my astonishment at your supposing that I could descend so low as to encourage faction and cabal in your Government. I trust that you did not so lightly give credit to intelligence when you were to decide upon measures relating to the publick service." *Draft.* 4 pp.

*Endorsed with date, and also :—*" This was shewed to the King and approved by H.M."

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, July 27. Stoneland Lodge.—" I thank you for the embarkation returns ; if that army is not able to defeat any force the rebels can oppose to it we must give up the contest. If I had not been so often mistaken in my conjectures about the military operations in America, I should say that the transports going to

Rhode Island were to be employed in carrying on some expedition in that part of the world. As the best troops of New England are sent to Ticonderoga, what should prevent the attack of some of the ports adjacent to Rhode Island ? ”

I think it will be better to send out the clothing in the early spring than to begin preparations now, and I hope Gen. Harvey will let us know what is wanted, that the Admiralty may have timely notice from my office for providing the ships early in February. 2 pp.

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 2. Kew Lane.—The safe arrival of so many ships gives me great satisfaction ; I feared that some of the victualling ones at least would have been intercepted. If the news from Ticonderoga proves true, we may expect a glorious campaign there. “ I wish the merchant who mentions the surrounding the Fort may mean the investing it in such a manner as may prevent the garrison from evacuating it when it can be no longer defended.” 2 pp.

#### HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 4. Spa.—“ . . . I wish for my own sake, for yours, and for the sake of the public that you had had something more comfortable to communicate ; but still I am not discouraged with the present appearances, unfavourable as they seem ; for I think I can account for and even justify General How’s measures, provided my information is founded. I had heard, from pretty good authority, that his intention was always to transport his army by sea to Pensilvenia, and to land it on the shore of Chesapic Bay, in order to avoid a long march by land, which could not but be extremely hazardous in the face of an army, at least in numbers equal to his own. We have also been told that a body of our troops have been sent southward, probably to land where the General himself intends to carry the grand army. Should these facts be true, the motives of General How’s conduct are evident. By seeming determined to march thro’ the Jerseys, he has obliged Washington to collect and retain the principal part of the rebel army there, whereby no considerable body of troops could be detached either to obstruct the landing of the troops sent southward or the army from Canada, which must have surmounted the principal difficulties before How changed the direction of his operations. . . . We have many politicians here at present whose eyes are turned towards us. I have many a battle to fight with prejudice and ignorance, which altho’ I often silence and confound, I cannot conquer. I have much discussion, too, with Messrs. Stanley and Jenkinson, with whom I am upon the most friendly terms imaginable, but I find neither of them know so much or judge so well as yourself. . . . ” 4 pp.

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 8. Kew Lane.—I see no objection to the list of store if the Treasury will advance the money for such as the troops will repay. I spoke to Lord North about it, who said the practice was

new, but he would have it taken into consideration. Tell Gen. Harvey this, and that I have also given a memorandum to Lord Suffolk about the Hessian clothing, &c. "I think your letter to Morris is too strong, and I have left out a part of it, which I hope you will not disapprove." 1½ pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, Aug. 12. Kew Lane.—"I thank you for your invitation to the turtle, but as I do not care to be robb'd in returning hither at night I hope you will excuse my being of the party."

I think the island of St. John's, if not taken more care of, had better be given up entirely; "the precarious protection of a cruiser can be no encouragement to the inhabitants to improve that country."

I know nothing of Sir Basil Keith's death; when I know the fact I shall hear what the King thinks about a successor, but in your state of health I should not wish to see you the object of his choice. "What you could mean by offering yourself to be one of the commissioners to go to Madras I never could understand. Such climates must be immediate destruction to you." 2 pp.

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 13. Spa.—Your good news is very acceptable; I have imparted it to Mr. Cressener and Mr. Tisdall. This place is excessively crowded. "You would think all Ireland had flown from their country to drink the waters. The English are but few; but we expect an after crop of them soon." I have had much pleasant intercourse with Mr. Rice, Mr. Jenkinson, and Mr. Stanley. This last leaves to-morrow, but I shall be here until the end of the month. Before that time I hope we shall see the extraordinary *Gazette* you predict, but dare not depend upon it, "for nothing is more true than what Voltaire so frequently repeats in his works, that '*le probable n'arrive presque jamais.*'" 3 pp.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 16.—". . . The intelligence from the Mississippi is very disagreeable, but no representations can be made officially till we hear from Governor Chester. But if we write to Pensacola, he should be directed to enquire into this report, and, if true, make the strongest representation for satisfaction to the Spanish Governor." 1 p.

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, Aug. 17. Kew Lane.—Col. Ogilvie has been here, and I sent him to the King. He hopes Sir Wm. Howe is going to Boston, and not to the southward, but everything is kept a profound secret. Ticonderoga, he hears, from one who saw Burgoyne's express to Howe, is taken, and Burgoyne pushing forward. "Prescot is again prisoner, surprised in his bed at Rhode Island. Pigot sent to take the command there. Clinton arrived and commands at New York.



Capt. Finch of the Guards kill'd in an attack upon one of Washington's posts, in which the rebels were beaten and lost three pieces of brass cannon." 1½ pp.

LORD WESTCOTE \* to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 17. Hagley.—Regretting that he will not be able to partake of the turtle and malmsey, and hoping that when Knox has time to play truant he will come down and taste the lampreys and venison of their country. 2 pp.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 19.—“All I know of the hospitals of the foreign troops is that they are separate from ours, because the officers commanding those troops insisted upon their own surgeons having the care of them. Sir Wm. Howe has always assigned them the most convenient houses for their sick, and as to the Anspach troops, those that were wounded (in the skirmish where Capt. Finch was killed) were order'd to the English hospital, their own not being then ready. I am persuaded there will be no objection to take all the sick of the Anspach troops into our hospital if the Margrave approves of it. Capt. Loftus does not believe Capt. Loring's history of Ticonderoga, as he, Capt. Loftus, was in New York since Loring saw his brother, the Commissary.”

*Postscript.*—“The exchange of prisoners seems to depend on Lee's release. I wish the rebels had him, provided we had Col. Campbell, &c., &c., &c.” 2 pp.

EARL OF DARTMOUTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 20. Sandwell.—I am heartily obliged to you for your intelligence, though the joy it gives me is much alloyed by the death of Capt. Finch and the capture of Gen. Prescott, whose sufferings, I am afraid, will not be light.

“What have you been about that you have suffered the Treasury to overlook a claimant whose pretensions have been fully laid before them? If they do not include you in the herd of sufferers it must be because they mean to distinguish you in a way that others are not entitled to expect.” 1 p.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 22. Stoneland Lodge.—I think we should relate what Sir William Howe says of his intelligence from the Canada army, and Burgoyne's letter to him should also be in the *Gazette*. If we are silent concerning Ticonderoga it will alarm, as Capt. Loring has given so particular a detail of what he believes passed there, and as Sir William Howe believes it to be in Burgoyne's hands, it will give some satisfaction to the public.

I hoped our letters would have given us some reason why the campaign began so late, but we are to remain in ignorance.

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\* William Henry Lyttelton. Created Baron Westcote (Ireland) in 1776 and Lord Lyttelton in 1794.

The King's letters, dated 55 *m.* past 4, have only just come at 10 *m.* past 7. "I wish the messengers for the future would take places in the stage coach when they are too fat to ride above five miles an hour." 2 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, Aug. 22. Kew Lane.—It occurs to me that it will have a bad effect if we say nothing of the taking of General Prescott. The fact is too well known to be concealed, and the account given by Brigadier Smith has nothing in it improper for publication. "If there is anybody in town you can advise with, I wish you would ask what their opinion is; as for me, I am always for telling as much as can be done with propriety." 1 *p.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, Aug. 29. Kew Lane.—General Haldimand readily accepts the government of Quebec, &c., and hopes to be here the first week of September. Will you be so good as to order what is necessary for his appointment that we may send him out this year if any ship goes to Canada, or he might go to New York, trusting to the Hudson River and Lakes being free for his passage. 1 *p.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, Sept. 1. Kew Lane.—As regards the French contracts, I fear nothing can be done without a general embargo. "As long as the merchants can clear out for England they will certainly carry their provisions to the best market. I am not surprised that the Virginia ships know nothing of Sir William Howe's army. I hope their intelligence about Burgoyne has no foundation. If they were not to date their reports they would gain more credit. . . . You perceive how disinterested Lord Howe's cruisers are, since they permit such rich prizes to pass unmolested." 1½ *pp.*

*Endorsed* :—"Irish provisions."

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Sept. 4. Spa.—Your intelligence is always the earliest and most circumstantial of any received here. Mr. Jenkinson's was generally a post later, which I think touched his pride a little, "for if I mistake him not he is not displeased to be thought a principal mover, or at least to be in the inmost secrets of government." I always imparted first to him what information you sent me, telling him I had your particular direction to do so. "This flattered him, and was useful in supporting the idea he seemed to wish should be entertained of him." He leaves Spa to-morrow. Mr. Tisdall is still here. I doubt much of his complete recovery, and he certainly ought to pass the winter in the South, but he is determined to reach Dublin by a certain day. I am much pleased with the activity of Gen. Burgoyne and with the ardour and intrepidity of the troops under his command. We regret the escape of the Ticonderoga garrison, but perhaps they may be reserved to grace another triumph.

People here are greatly puzzled by General Howe's conduct, but if he can get between Washington and his magazines, by possessing himself of Philadelphia, his last motion will have decisive consequences. Washington "cannot then move northward to obstruct Gen. Burgoyne, and in going south he must meet the Royal Army under great disadvantages. Meanwhile, it were much to be wished that some attempts were made to destroy Boston and the other nests of privateers on the New England coast, which annoy our commerce so prodigiously." 4 pp.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Sept. 6. Stoneland Lodge.—"I wish you would enquire at the Admiralty whether any ship of force is to be or can be sent to Quebec this year, as the King is very desirous that General Haldimand should, if possible, take possession of that Government immediately. I must also beg the favour of you to inform the General of the state of that country and of its civil constitution. He has had no experience of the Canadians since the passing of the Quebec Bill; he lived and commanded some years among them before they were taught to be bad subjects."  $\frac{3}{4}$  p.

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, Sept. 19. Kew Lane.—". . . I understood a convoy was now ready to sail for New York. . . . The number of guns and seamen, with the assistance of the soldiers, may make a good defence against a privateer; but there is a little article at the bottom of the paper which I do not like—that the desertion of seamen may occasion some little variation in the numbers mentioned. That circumstance may serve for an excuse of sending the ships out very short of men. It is certainly to be wished that they should all sail with convoy; if that cannot be done, their safety must depend upon the character of the person who commands, for, indeed, I think the force sufficient if properly conducted. I like the letter to Sir G. Carleton very well in general. I had rather not have said that the information which Haldimand was to receive could not fail of being of the greatest use in the conduct of his Administration. As I do not believe a word of that sentence, you must absolve me from the crime of signing what I do not think true." 3 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, Sept. 20. Kew Lane.—"You will see the King's orders about the ship bringing Haldimand back to England if he should fail in his attempt of reaching Quebec. Pray hurry the Ordnance ships if possible, that they may not miss this very fair wind. It is impossible for me to order the stores to Chesapeak Bay, as most people differ with you and me about Sir William Howe's destination. I am still persuaded he will attack Philadelphia from that side." 1 p.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1777, Sept. 25. Kew Lane.—“The King has read the despatches, and approves highly of Burgoyne's conduct.” Sir Guy Carleton wants the power of issuing Letters of Marque; perhaps Haldimand may carry them out with him. Burgoyne's letter will do well for *the Gazette*. 1 p.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1777, Sept. 29. Kew Lane.—“ . . . The story of Sir William Howe is so strange, and comes in so extraordinary a way, that little credit can be given to it, yet I should think Philadelphia must be in possession of our army by the 26th of August if the General had not changed his plan of operations. . . .

“I am sorry the Canada army will be disappointed in the junction they expect with Sir William Howe, but the more honour for Burgoyne if he does the business without any assistance from New York.” 2½ pp.

## LORD NORTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Oct. 7. Bushy Park.—“I return you my best thanks for your intelligence; it is good in itself, and, I hope, promises better. By all the attacks of the rebels on Staten and Long Island, they seem to shew a degree of activity, upon which I hope we shall improve with better success, as, I dare say, what our troops attempt will be executed with more resolution. Your conjecture about Sir William Howe's army is verified. It has appear'd, as you expected, in Chesapeake Bay. I am neither soldier enough or well enough acquainted with the country to reason upon the situation of the army, but it seems to me that if Sir Henry Clinton and General Burgoyne make themselves masters of the North River, and Sir William Howe cuts off Washington from the Southern Provinces, Washington must, after a little time, be reduced to fight or disband his army. In either case I flatter myself that the war seems to be taking a more decisive turn than I thought a little while ago.” 2 pp.

## LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Oct. 7. Kew Lane.—“The King has seen Mr. Watson's letter, and is pleased with the contents, but he cannot believe that Burgoyne is advanced so far. I differ with his Majesty, for I think Clinton's preparing to march gives authenticity to that part of the report. If the repulse of the rebels from Staten Island should prove true, and that their loss was as great as represented, I should hope another body of troops would not easily be collected, and then Clinton may act offensively. The landing at Baltimore will create a terrible alarm in that part of the continent, I believe. Maryland has never felt the miseries of war. . . .” 1½ pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1777, Oct. 9. Kew Lane.—“I am sorry for Haldimand's disappointment, but I could not expect he would reach Quebec this year.



I fear Sir G. Carleton will do nothing but scold all the winter. . . . Washington's army cannot exceed the number you mention, but you may depend upon it he will not fight with the King's troops." 1 p.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Oct. 31. Drayton.—“I am sorry to find that Burgoyne's campaign is so totally ruined; the best wish I can form is that he may have returned to Ticonderoga without much loss. His private letter to me, being dated the 20th of August, contains nothing material about the affair near Bennington but military reasoning about the propriety of that attack; but what alarms me most is that he thinks his orders to go to Albany to force a junction with Sir William Howe are so positive that he must attempt at all events the obeying them, tho' at the same time he acquaints me that Sir William Howe has sent him word that he was gone to Philadelphia, and indeed nothing that Sir William says could give him reason to hope that any effort would be made in his favor. This action of the 19th of September, as McClean represents it, can have no material consequences farther than it may enable General Burgoyne to retreat to the Lakes; had he lost the field of battle, his whole army would have been destroyed. The communication between this country and Canada being now shut, we can neither send instructions nor reinforcements. I conclude nothing will be put into the *Gazette* tomorrow relating to this business unless Lord North should think it necessary. . . .” 3 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, Nov. 3. Thursday night.—“The King approves of the drafts to Gen. Burgoyne. He started at the foreign being mentioned before the British, so I have alter'd it as he liked it, according to his own words. He said hearty would not have done, highest approbation was the proper expression from him. He spoke to me about the packet boats; he order'd me to represent the bad state of them to the Post Office. . . . You will be so good as to prepare a proper letter to the Post Masters.” 1 p.

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, Nov. 5. Pall Mall.—Lord Stormont has made repeated complaints of the protection given to the rebel privateers. The two Jamaica ships are to be restored to the owners. Admiral Montagu has taken three rich Carolina ships, and the ship of the line, sent to Newfoundland, in her passage took a rebel privateer of 24 guns. 1½ pp.

VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Nov. 5. Rainham.—“I thank you for your last *Gazette*. It left me, however, in some pain for Burgoigne, and wishing he had had something on the Connecticut to have restrain'd those bandetti from inquieting his left and his communications.

“A retrograde motion for want of this, at a late season, may be

very delicate ; however, the decisive stroke I hear Sir William Howe has struck will, I hope, be followed by so general a dismay that Burgoyne's progress will be clear. . . . If this general and decisive action has taken place, it may require some ingenuity to prove that General Washington was a Fabius, either cunctando or restituendo, or that Lord Sandwich told a lie when he said the Americans would never meet our people in fair conflict. . . . I will pay you no compliments on all this, but you shall have some pheasants." 3 pp.

J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1777], Nov. 11. Monday. —Nothing material has come into this office but a short letter from Arbuthnot, of Oct. 8, saying that during the absence of the King's ships the rebels' privateers infested that coast, and did a great deal of mischief, but they all disappeared upon Sir G. Collier's arrival. Also letters from Lord Maccartney, "representing the defenceless state of his Government, which indeed is a lamentable one." 3 pp.

VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Dec. 29. Rainham.—Though your news has not answered my hopes, yet I can feel for the sufferings of those in office, and "instead of cursing them and immediately imputing all our misfortunes to them (as the ignorant do with witches, whenever their crops are bad, or they have the rheumatism, or their children the worms), three of the fattest pheasants killed this day are to be delivered at your office. Partridge we have none. Would it had been a day of carousal. For such I hoped by this time at Rainham. . . . If bad news should come from Sir William Howe or New York, a strait waistcoat will suit me better than my robes.

"My son may think himself a patriot, but he may find himself an antient peer in a little Kingdom." 3 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

[1777].—" . . . The marches I see by the *New York Gazette* backwards and forwards of Sullivan across the Jerseys must be very severe on his people, but the resolutions of the Congress of recalling all their generals in their army against Burgoyne, and their recalling that order and leaving them to fight with halters round their necks, is very amusing, and must speak very plainly their situation to their own people as well as the whole world. . . ." 2½ pp.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Jan. 16. Knoles.\*—"There was no great hurry for the messenger ; I only had a desire of writing to Lord Suffolk, hoping that if my necessary absence from the Office or Parliament should be prejudicial to publick business, that no personal consideration for me should prevent the Seals being put into other hands ; for I

\* Written the day after the death of his wife. Lord Suffolk's letter, refusing to accept his resignation, will be found in the Report on the Stopford-Sackville Papers, 8vo edition, vol. ii., under date Jan. 20, 1779.

really feel so little able to return to the business with the activity that our present situation requires that I should act unfairly by those with whom I have served if I did not wish and advise their adopting the best measures for the publick service. I do foresee there may be difficulties in prevailing upon any proper person to undertake so responsible an office in such times ; all I can say to that is, that when I came in there was as little appearance of success, and as I never had any view but the giving every assistance in my power, so that if my being permitted to retire answers any publick end I shall rejoice in having proposed it. A man at my time of life, depress'd by misfortunes, will make but a bad figure in an office that requires full vigor of mind, activity and diligence. I can not expect anything good from New York ; if Sir William Howe had met with success, it would have found a shorter road to us. I hope Lord Suffolk will want no explanation of the papers which you will not be able to give him." 2½ pp.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL [THURLOW] to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Jan. 20.—Asking if he may be allowed to see the two précis of the operations of 1776 and 1777, which Mr. Knox mentioned, drawn up by himself, "as he can expect nowhere else so clear a view of the whole subject." 1 p.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Jan. 23. Knoles.—"I am obliged to you for the care you take of the office without sending any papers to me. I am glad the Attorney-General informs himself so fully of the Canada business ; as to the measure of carrying on the war from that quarter, it was the opinion of every officer and of every American I ever convers'd with that an attack from Canada was the only method of crushing the Rebellion and of bringing the New England Provinces to their senses. Whether the force was adequate, or that force properly conducted, were, I thought, the great objects of enquiry. What papers may be asked for, or what Lord North may give, I know not ; but for my own part I should wish to come soon to a decision, for nothing is so disagreeable as to have enquiries of this sort hanging over the heads of Administration. I see no use in my being in town till I can act in business, and I really cannot hitherto bring myself to undertake it. I propose being in town on Tuesday, and I will then do the best I can. If I find myself unequal to the duties of my office, I trust I shall be relieved from it, for I shall be hurt to the greatest degree if the publick business suffers by my being in a state of mind which renders me too inactive and unfit for the office I now hold." 2 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1778, Jan. 25.—I shall be in town to-morrow, Monday, instead of Tuesday, as Sir John Irvine tells me that "Lord North did not chuse to consent to the papers from my office being laid before the House till I had been acquainted with the particulars of the motion." 1 p.

## LORD TEMPLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Feb. 12. Pall Mall.—Stating that Lady Mary Duncan is unwilling to accept Mr. Knox's plan, but that, when the division is made, it may be adopted for "the Grenville shares."  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

## LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Feb. 18. Pall Mall.—"The Cabinet thinks no time should be lost in sending the dispatches to New Yorke by the *Andromeda*, and you will desire the directions of the Admiralty to Commodore Bontham to forward the letters as soon as possible to Lord Howe and Sir William Howe. Sir William Howe will have one of the regulars as Commander-in-Chief; I suppose that directed to the commissioners will be sent to Lord Howe. Tryon and Sir Henry Clinton will likewise have copies of the Bills sent to them. . . .

"The lords have advised some little alterations in the two drafts, and they think that some general intimation of the plan of the campaign should be given to Sir William Howe. I think it might come in at the end of the draft to him, by saying that as we may not be able to send early in the spring any large reinforcement of troops, to enable him to act offensively at any distance from the coast, yet his Majesty wishes that such a detachment may be made from his army which, in conjunction with the fleet, might be able to attack the ports of the rebels in the Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, or New Hampshire, and destroy the ships of war and privateers which have so greatly annoyed the trade of this Kingdom. I do not mean to confine you to my words; I only mention the purport of what the lords wished might be added."  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1778, April 19. Stoneland Lodge.—Is happy that there is "nothing bad" from Philadelphia. Has long been without hopes of hearing good news from America.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

## HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, May 15. Spa.—I have been very ill with fever and dysentery, and called in three physicians "to avoid the reproach of having died to save the fees. They were contradictory and apparently ignorant; I knew my own case, prescribed, and cured myself in a few days." I am very miserable about public affairs. "I cannot blame the intentions of our ministers, nor excuse their measures, which appear to me to have been extremely unwise and improvident." I could never, when in the south of France, learn certainly the destination of the Toulon fleet, but the general idea was that it was bound to the Delaware, to block up or destroy our ships there, and thus reduce General Howe to General Burgoyne's condition. We here can form no favourable opinion of the event of the embassy to America. Could no abler men be found to conduct a business of such moment? I could question a multitude of ministerial proceedings, which seem to pass all understanding. 4 pp.



## LORD CHANCELLOR BATHURST to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1778, May 30 ?] Saturday, 12 o'clock.—Requesting Mr. Knox to lend him the letter from Sir William Howe of October 22, wherein he desires his Majesty's permission to quit his command.  $\frac{1}{2}$  p. *Seal, with monogram and coronet.*

*Noted by Knox* :—"The day Lord Bathurst notified his intention to quit the Cabinet." \*

## LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, June 29. Stoneland Lodge.—"I see no alteration necessary in the letter to Sir H. Clinton. You have given proper credit to the conduct of the officers and troops employed in destroying the ships of the rebels, and I hope they will perceive that we have the power of distressing them, whenever our commanders please to exert the force which is under their command. . . .

"You are very severe upon the poor Ministers who are breathing the country air to enable them to eat a good dinner on Thursday, and to consult upon the momentous affairs of State." 2 pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1778, July 5. Stoneland Lodge.—"I cannot say I have much fear about Halifax till after Mr. D'Estaing has been at Boston, and if Admiral Byron should arrive at New Yorke in a short time, after the junction of the French with the rebel fleet, I shall not despair of an engagement at sea to our advantage. I long to hear of Mr. Keppel's return to Brest, and if ever I am concern'd in drawing instructions for Naval operations I will strike St. Helens out of my Dictionary.

"Cressener's news seems so probable that I give full credit to it, and when war once begins upon the Continent we may hope France can not keep out of the scrape. . . . If your weather is as hot in London as it is here, the Lord have mercy upon you." 2½ pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1778, July 23. Stoneland Lodge.—"The Commissioners' letter and Mr. Johnston's protest are a melancholy beginning of our negotiations with America. I can not say I expected much good from that quarter, but the Commissioners begin by taking care of themselves in laying the blame upon Administration, and will soon declare that peace would have been settled had Philadelphia been held by our troops. What their opinion will be upon the appearance of the Toulon Squadron is still to be learned. I think the orders sent by Drummond were discretionary, tho' even at that time the keeping of Philadelphia was thought unadvisable unless it could be done by a small force. The delegates to Parliament from the States of America is a new idea, and by no means any part of the Instructions, as I can recollect, and I think the whole of the proposal is rather premature, but as the Congress will not treat with them unless Independance is acknowledg'd, we shall have nothing to trust

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\* Bathurst resigned on Wednesday, June 13.

to but the sense of the people at large, should they be tired of their connection with France, and I still believe if we have any success in the opening of the war that it will have a great effect upon the minds of the Americans.

"Tonyn's dispatches are not pleasing; as there is no harmony between him and Prevot there must be bad consequences arising from their squabbles and jealousys. . . . I do not believe any invasion will happen, as there are no number of troops in S. Carolina, and I should hope Sir H. Clinton will soon send the reinforcement order'd for that country, which will secure it from any attack." 3½ pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1778, July 26. Stoneland Lodge.—I return you the draft of the letter to the Commissioners and the letter signed for the Admiralty. You have done very right in speaking to Lord North, "and if he and the other Ministers approve of the answer I had rather it should be convey'd in the gentlest manner possible that they have acted not quite within their instructions. . . . Is it improper to take any notice of d'Estaing's squadron being probably destined for N. America, which might make the collecting our force necessary? I should wish Lord Suffolk, Lord Sandwich, and in short all the Cabinet if possible to see the draft before I sign it." 1½ pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1778, July 27. Stoneland Lodge.—I doubt whether we are wise (in our letter to the Commissioners) to give so many reasons for evacuating Philadelphia, as it is acquainting our enemies with our defence. Perhaps if we said in general that the certainty of a French war made it necessary to alter our measures it would be more prudent. It would prevent a laboured reply, and if possible, "I had rather have something new to say in debate than to enter into a paper war before the meeting of Parliament." I wish you would speak to Lord North about this. I suppose Keppel's letter to Lord Sandwich must relate to the Brest squadron. Probably a junction with the ships from Toulon is the object of France; but I do not see how it can be effected unless the Brest squadron ventures nearer to the Straights of Gibraltar than is prudent.

"There is intelligence from Paris that several pilots, &c., were ordered from thence to Cadiz, from which it was conjectur'd that Spain was to join with France. Now I think it more probable that those pilots are to wait at Cadiz for the Toulon fleet, as the Mediterranean seamen are not the most proper for the ocean. We are still pursued by ill-fortune in Byron's fleet being so little advanced, and in having one of his ships disabled. There is a great deal due to us from fortune, and I hope our luck will turn before we are quite ruin'd." 4 pp.

LORD NORTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Aug. 8. Bushy Park.—"I do not see anything in your letter to the Commissioners that will prevent them from treating

with any province that may be inclined to treat upon the footing of their Proclamation, and, in that respect, I approve of it, but think that the alterations [which] are made (except that which left out our reasons for evacuating Philadelphia) were rather for the worse.

"Great care must be taken now in everything we say and write not to give our enemies in America the least pretence to say that we do not mean sincerely, and that, when we have brought the Colonies to treat, conjointly or distinctly, we mean to disavow our Commissioners.

"The news you heard from France has not, I believe, been since confirm'd, and is, therefore, not at all to be depended upon. What is true, I am afraid, is that part or all the French fleet have sail'd by this time, by which, exclusive of the mischief they may do, they will persuade all Europe that the advantage of the last action was with them.

"I shall be in town to-morrow, and hope soon to see you and to talk with you upon some method of permanently providing for the American sufferers, who will soon be too numerous to be provided for as they have hitherto been. Cannot a practicable and advantageous plan be devised of settling them in the provinces which still remain connected with England, and of granting them lands with other encouragements to induce them to settle there? This is the first and most obvious idea that suggests itself. Nobody knows better than you do what difficulties are in the way, or is better able to point out the proper methods of surmounting them." 3½ pp.

#### LORD NORTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Aug. 15. Bushy.—"I am much obliged to you for your intelligence and early communication of the advices from America, which I received at Windsor, and sent immediately to the King. I own that I am in pain for Gen. Sir H. Clinton, and shall think him in great peril unless we soon hear that he is arrived at New York. If his present situation should terminate in a battle, it may end prosperously for him, and in that case the liberal offers of the Commissioners may yet have some effect. I mention this to you for your consideration, for perhaps you may agree with me that care should be taken, that nothing in any letter written in these times to America should look like an intention to disavow the Commissioners. The use that would be made by our enemies of any circumstance of that kind would be to raise an opinion in America of our intending to deceive them, in which they have been too successful on former occasions, and which they consider as one of their principal means of preventing any reconciliation with Great Britain. The letters from hence (though it is impossible to deny that the Commissioners have exceeded their instructions) should not give the least ground to suspect that we will not confirm any agreement they may make. I am more of this opinion, since I do not expect that any treaty will take place as yet. As the Commissioners will, probably, come away, *re infectâ*, it is right that the Colonists should suppose that the whole extent of the Commissioners' offer would have been granted, which, indeed, would be supposing no

ore than the truth, for, as little pleased as many people are with the arms, I do not [think] the Nation would refuse them, if they should produce an immediate peace. Should matters turn out less favourably for the Americans hereafter, the remembrance of what they have lost will operate strongly for us and against France; it is, therefore, of great importance that they should not consider the offer as merely captious and insidious." 3½ pp.

#### HENRY WHITE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Aug. 17. New York.—On my arrival from England, finding that inconveniences and loss of fees would arise from the office lying dormant, I appointed Mr. Moore to act in it, the rebellion having put an end to your agreement with Mr. Bayard. I have paid Mr. Moore at the rate of 50*l.* out of the moneys he has received. Mr. Bayard has been obliged to deliver up the Records to the new rulers, and I hear he is expected to be in New York very shortly.

"I have as little inclination to touch upon our publick affairs as yourself, still I have not patience to refrain from giving vent to what I feel; the series of blunders and mismanagement will be better known to the world when the transactions on this side come to be more generally understood. That there has been a determined resolution in some body not to enforce unconditional submission, I have no doubt; their conduct cannot be accounted for by us on the spot on any other principal (*sic*). We had a great deal said about the Canada expedition, most certainly it was badly conducted, but the expedition to Chesapeake Bay is the real occasion of all the mischief that has happen'd; had it been left to the Congress, they cou'd not have plan'd a more destructive measure to the King's affairs; and it was foreseen and foretold by every man of sense who was well acquainted with the country. This unaccountable movement is well deserving a national enquiry, and also the reason why so much time was wasted, to the middle of July, without making any effort, without that ridiculous Parade on the Jersees can be call'd one, I mean the going to look at Washington, and returning again as they went. There was time enough to have opened Hudsons River, fixt the Canadian army at Albany, and taken possession of Philadelphia as soon as they did, notwithstanding your Red Banks and Mud Islands; had the former event only taken place, you wou'd not heard much of the Rebellion existing now. This Province, you have had an opportunity of securing, and so you have still, and I still insist upon it, a great majority of the people wish to return to their alleigeance. This idea is, I know, laugh'd at by those whose misconduct makes it necessary for them to exaggerate the numbers of Washington's army, as well as magnify their prowess. If you were to recall all your Generals, and let your army with their officers remain, and leave it to them with the people of the country, who will assist, and go their own way to work, you wou'd soon see a surprizing alteration for the better. The Commissioners are humble suitors to Congress; the latter wou'd not condescend to answer the last overtures, they have not yet been offer'd the estates of those who wou'd not joyn in taking arms against



the King, nor to exonerate those who owe money in England from paying it, nor exchange the continental money for real specie. When these things are engaged for, perhaps the Commissioners may be more attended to by their high mightinesses. Timidity in politicks on your side has done much harm ; you'l know before the receipt of this that the French fleet has been rangeing along this coast for more than a month ; had you sent one after them, D'Estaing and all his ships must [have] been yours, which wou'd [have] been a decisive affair ; but it seems everything must goe wrong. After laying a long while before Sandy Hook they went to Rhod Island, which induced Lord Howe to goe their with his inferior force to draw D'Estaing off, and thereby raise the siege, which he has affected by the last account. Since his lordship sail'd, the weather has been very stormy, very uncommonly so at this season ; I fear his ship has suffer'd, and I have no doubt that the French fleet are much damaged, they are very large ships, not well man'd nor well acquainted with the coast ; its supposed they have made for Boston if the wind wou'd let them go their. What great national advantages wou'd been acquir'd had Lord Howe received a reinforcement only ten days ago ! The French had a very long passage, and its a very luckey circumstance, or they had fallen in with our transports from Philadelphia or taken them in the Delaware ; then they wou'd come here where no force was collected to oppose them, so that all your shiping and stores at both places wou'd have fallen into the enemies hands. Happily D'Estaing did not make his appearance on the American coast before all our force was collected to defeat the destructive vews of his expedition.

"Butler, you'l hear, is going on very rapidly on the frontiers ; he strickes more terror and occasions more distress to the rebels than all your other military operations put together ; if that man had a few thousand men with him that is now here adoino nothing, he wou'd give a mortel blow to the Rebellion in a very short time, but instead of being assisted, I shou'd not wonder if he was ordered to desist, least his going on shou'd give such offence to Congress as occasion that *virtuous and magnanimous body* (as one of the worthy Commissioners stile them) from even reading the next application to them. You know they did answer one, and deigned to reade the second. Had you put these Colonies on the footing they were on in 1763, and passed the law you have now done with regard to Taxation, and persisted with firmness in not going further in the way of concession, you wou'd have found this a more likely method to bring these people to reason than any other way. You have offered everything but the Name of Independance, in substance you give it to them in the fullest extent, and equally in my humble opinion destruction to Great Britain ; future ages will produce factious and ambitious men as well as the present, and such a Naval power will grow out of this country as will conquer your West India Islands before you can prevent it. . . . I fear I have gone on so long as to tire your patience. Not knowing whose hands this may fall in before you receive it is the reason why I don't sign my name."

7 pp.

Noted by Knox—"Henry White, one of the Council."

## LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Aug. 17. Kew Lane.—“I hope Sir H. Palliser is in the night, and that Keppel's fleet will sail on Wednesday; probably the French ships may be longer in repairing than they expected, but whoever is first at sea may fairly claim the advantage in the late engagement.” I hope the Treasury will send some provisions to Antigua, or a famine may be the consequence. Burt's extracts relating to provisions should be submitted to their lordships on Wednesday.

“The Quebec letters are curious. I did not know a Governor could dismiss a Chief Justice. I thought he could only suspend.” I am sorry the Dutch Admiral and Burt disagree. *2½ pp.*

## The SAME to the SAME.

1778, Aug. 21. Pall Mall.—What Admiral Montagu means “by being surprised at having no orders I do not understand; as I recollect, he was to defend the Island with those troops and attack St. Pierre and Miquelan when hostilities commenc'd. He says in his private letter that a master of a ship from Hallifax saw off Isleable twelve large ships steering westward on the 9th of July. Surely that must be d'Estaing's squadron.” *1½ pp.*

## MARQUIS TOWNSHEND to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Aug. 22. Portman Square.—I wish in God your intelligence were of another sort. “I needed not this testimony of the hazard, nay impracticability, of all land enterprises without an indisputable superior naval force at the proper stations. The consequence of 30,000 veteran troops and as many excellent seamen captur'd at this crisis is certainly as decisive as immeasurable to the British Empire. I fear Mons. d'Estaing has force enough to leave off N. York at the same time he detaches for Rood Island.” *2 pp.*

## JOHN ROBINSON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Aug. 22. Parliament Street.—Lord North wishes Lord George Germain to be informed that Mr. Carmichael (who has been with the Congress) is expected to arrive by the Ostend or Helvetiays packet either to-morrow or next day, at the house of Mr. Samuel Wharton, 8 Craven Street, Strand. [Description of his appearance.] There is also a Mr. Parsons, an Irishman, lodging at the baker's in Fleet Lane, who has been with Dr. Franklin, offering his services to him, and is lately returned from France. His wife is shortly expected from France by Dover, and it is believed that she will bring many letters with her. *2 pp.*

## LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Aug. 30. Kew Lane.—I have made some alteration in the drafts to the Commissioners and Sir H. Clinton. “That to the Commissioners is certainly necessary, because the King say'd he could not refuse them leave absolutely, but wished it should be given

to them in a manner that would show he expected they would exert themselves to the utmost before they avail'd themselves of it." The alteration in Clinton's is because the King told me on Friday not to forget "to mention the judgment the General showed in making the rebels recall their detachments which were sent to attack the baggage, by his bringing on an action with the main body." 1½ pp.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Aug. 31. Kew Lane.—I have waited with impatience for news from Keppel. "Brereton's being dismissed for drunkenness convinces me that Keppel did not wish to have a ninety gun ship under his command in the next action, and yet I suppose he could not be broke for any misconduct in the late affair." 1 p.

The SAME to the SAME.

1778, Sept. 14. Drayton.—". . . The French fleet being off Cape Finisterre must be either to invite the Spaniards from Cadiz or to secure their junction with the Toulon squadron. If the latter, and Keppel has had intelligence of it, he may more eagerly desire a re-inforcement. Lord Howe, having been re-inforced by the *Cornwall*, may look after Mr. D'Estaing with more security, but I hope he will have no occasion to risk an engagement till some more of Byron's squadron have joined him. . . . I do not like Clinton's dispatch so well as I expected; he is magnifying the force of the rebels and diminishing his own by the new-fashioned way of computing his army by the number of rank and file fit for duty, and even in that manner of stating his strength he has a formidable body of troops, capable, I should think, of withstanding any attack of Mr. Washington, &c. He surely cannot think seriously of evacuating New Yorke; but my comfort is, he will not have the transports for effecting it after all the other supposed services are comply'd with." I suppose I shall see Sir Guy Carleton at the Levée, "for I conclude he will not do me the honor of reporting to me the state of his late Government before he has related all his grievances to his Majesty." 4 pp.

LORD NORTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Sept. 20. Bushy Park.—"Though affairs are in a ticklish situation in America, yet I still think they are not without hope unless Sir Henry Clinton hastily determines to evacuate New York. His letter alarm'd me till I read Lord George's secret instructions which are so clearly written and so cautiously guarded that I think it impossible that he can think himself justified in abandoning New York unless the forces of the rebels are vastly increased and his own very much diminish'd from their present numbers. . . . If Sir Henry Clinton determines upon that measure, he must see our circumstances upon the spot in a very different light from what they appear to me. By his letter, it appears to be his opinion that if he does not evacuate the place before the end of this month, it will be too late; I think, therefore, that he must continue in his post al

the winter." I do not find that General Haldimand has made any requisition for troops, so the best support Sir Henry can afford to Canada is to keep his army at New York, ready to make a diversion to the southward in case of any attack on the province of Quebec. ½ pp.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1778], Sept. 21. Kew Lane.—"Lord North's letter is very satisfactory. . . . I still flatter myself that if no requisition is made from Haldimand, that Sir H. Clinton cannot take a measure so contrary to the interests of this country, but all will depend upon Lord Howe's success. If Clinton should go to Halifax towards winter the army will be ruin'd, for the troops which went with McLean are encamp'd, and no barracks could be provided for them in less than two months. . . ." 2 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1778, Oct. 4. Kew Lane.—I am as unhappy as you can be about the Brest fleet getting safe into Brest, but as to the return of D'Estaing's fleet to Europe, Admiral Arbuthnot is now convinced that what he saw was d'Orvillier's, not D'Estaing's.

"What you say of America is indeed alarming, but I still hope that Sir H. Clinton will remain at New York. . . . I have nothing to say to Haldimand; he must do the best he can with the forces he has, and with the re-inforcement he may receive from Clinton should he apprehend an attack. As to Massey, the King approves his diligence in putting Nova Scotia in a proper state of defence, in his successful attack, in conjunction with Capt. Fielding, upon the ships of the rebels, &c." In compliance with his request, the King gives him leave to come home, and has therefore sent Col. McLean, an officer of experience and abilities, to take over his command, to whom he is to give all the information in his power. 3½ pp.

LORD DARTMOUTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Oct. 16. Sandwell.—"I am bound to thank you for your news, such as it is; it might have been worse; I wish it had been better. I have lately been what I have hardly ever been in my life before, an invalid. I am going immediately to Bath, and if you should have any very good news to send me . . . it will do me more good than the water." 1 p.

WILLIAM KNOX to LORD [GEORGE GERMAIN].

1778, Oct. 26. Bath.—Lord Dartmouth came here two days ago, and from him I have had particulars of the Spanish Declaration. Spain has seen that France, notwithstanding all her boastings of having a marine superior to England, is likely to be worsted. It is not her interest that France should be depressed by us, nor that we should increase our possessions and strength in the West Indies. She has seen the change in our plan of carrying on the war, and from that and the failure, and, perhaps, discomfiture of D'Estang's fleet, she may easily conclude that the French Islands



will become our object. Before the French power is too much broken, therefore, she thinks it prudent to step in, determined that if she can't save France by negotiation, to assist her. The American business is the pretext, but the saving France is her object. The demand of having our claims stated is, I think, favourable for us. We have no claim to make upon France but the fulfilment of the Treaty of Paris, and of that Spain is a guarantee; for by that Treaty the Treaty of 1667 is renewed, which gives an exclusive right to each European State to its dominions in America, and the Treaty of Paris describes our possessions in America. We then want no more than to have our right to those possessions acknowledged, which, of course, will oblige the French to abrogate their Treaty with the Colonies. So simple a state of our case must place us in a dignified light in the eyes of all Europe, and embarrass France and Spain to evade acknowledgement[ing] the justice of our demand. I do not conceive it will be right to hold back or wait the motions of France; there is, I think, more dignity in openly avowing our demands at once, adding a reserve in case they are not complied with, than that we are not bound to adhere to them. I feel much concern on account of our Minister at Madrid; a great deal will depend upon his management, and I am afraid Lord Grantham is not sufficiently painstaking. The British fleet will no more come out, while there is any risk of meeting the French fleet at Keppel, but I hope we shall have some other accounts that will give spirits to Parliament. . . ." *Copy. 3 pp.*

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Oct. 29. Pall Mall.—“Your opinion upon the situation of this country with regard to Spain strikes me to be perfectly just. If Treaties and the most solemn assurances could bind a Court, that of Spain is pledg'd to take no part in this war; but an armistice, mediation, and its family compact with France, must create the strongest suspicions in our minds that its intentions are hostile towards us. Our business is to endeavour to delay the evil if it cannot be totally avoided, and to put ourselves as much in the right as possible. Every prudent step is taken for attaining those ends, and I trust we cannot go to war with Spain without wasting some time in negotiation. The letters from Clinton and the Commissioners you will have an account of. . . .

“Governor Johnstone is seemingly in good humour with the Ministry, at least he makes no complaints, and is very communicative. He says peace may still be had if we shew ourselves in a situation to make war, and if the opinion can be destroyed that we mean to grant Independence to America as soon as the Parliament meets. Dr. Franklyn has assured the Congress that Mr. Hartley acquainted him that such was Lord North's resolution, and therefore it would be folly in them to treat upon any other terms, and above all, that they should put no trust in whatever Mr. Johnstone might say to them. You may imagine Lord North is much displeas'd at such a misrepresentation of his intentions, and I hope he will for the future not permit such negotiators as Mr. Hartley to have access to him. Clinton's troops are in motion to endeavour

attack Washington's army, as the Militia have left it, and the regulars are divided. Washington was at Fishkill with about 10 men, and La Fayette at the White Plains with between two and three thousand. Lord Cornwallis with 6,000 marches into the Jerseys, another party goes up the Hudson's River, and the Hessians advancing towards the White Plains. This account comes to me by message from Sir H. Clinton by Captain Omanny of the *Tartar*. The arrival of the India men is another piece of good fortune we were not entitled to, and the Jamaica fleet, with so small a convoy, being safe, is beyond all computation. Lord Howe has not yet made his appearance. He is reposing himself after his fatigues, and is probably consulting upon the language he is to hold in the Closet, &c. 5 pp.

WILLIAM KNOX to [LORD GEORGE GERMAIN].

1778, Oct. 31. Bath.—“I am very happy that your lordship thinks my reasoning upon the state of affairs just. Lord Suffolk has communicated to Lord Dartmouth the resolution of the Cabinet, and I draw very comfortable conclusions from the line taken. What proof is the Bedford enterprize of the propriety of the orders so repeatedly given for attacking the rebel sea ports, and what a reflection is it upon Lord Howe's character that Gambeir, in his short absence, has done more to subdue the Rebellion than his lordship during the whole of his command. It was always clear in speculation that the Militia would never stay with Washington or quit their homes if the coast was kept in alarm, but the experiment having now been made the effect is reduced to a certainty. Surely somebody will ask Lord Howe why he has never attempted anything of the kind, and if your lordship's orders for making use of the Provincials and the garrison of Rhode Island in this manner comes before the public, as I hope they will, is Burgoyne so weak as not to avail himself of the information and to charge at least some part of his misfortune upon Lord Howe's refusal to execute what is there hinted out? The destruction of the French stores at Shrewsbury I suppose, the object of Lord Cornwallis's expedition; that stroke would complete D'Estang's disgrace. I much fear he will go to the West Indies, as our expedition has been so long delay'd and its object so generally known in America, and the defeat or prevention of it is certainly the best service he now can do France; but perhaps Byron's enterprizing turn may discover the practicality of burning his fleet and the town of Boston together, and then everything will succeed with us. The Commissioners appear to write to Parliament rather than to your lordship, but their state of affairs is by no means a desperate one. I do not suppose you will send out any other reinforcement than recruits, but if the garrison of Rhode Island was withdrawn, Sir Henry Clinton would have a sufficient force to maintain New York, and carry on a destructive war upon the coast, and also to take possession of Carolina. I submit it therefore to your lordship, whether it would not be proper to propose this to his consideration, for the importance of Rhode Island is, I think, greatly diminished, since all our batteries and an army of near 6,000 men could not prevent the French fleet going

in and going out of the harbour without mischief, or give protection to our frigates stationed there. . . .

"Poor Nutting and the Penobscott orders have missed their way for this year, and I fear something will happen to prevent our taking possession of that country in the spring. We muster very strong here in great folks—the Dukes of Montagu and Northumberland have increased the list of dignified personages, and Lord Shelburne, Col. Barri and Hartly have reinforced faction, and Lord Camden. *Copy. 5 pp.*

#### LORD NORTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1778, Nov. 25.]—"I thank you much for your good news and return your manifesto. By this time I suppose that the Commissioners are upon the sea, and I expect to have them here during the Christmas recess. Their return will please those who were afraid of agreement with America, but, in no other respect will it relieve me from the difficulty I shall be in to-morrow; but the arrival of the victuallers gives me spirits at this impatient juncture." 1 p.

*Endorsed with above date.*

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Dec. 4. Pall Mall.—". . . The House of Lords intend calling for the state of Dominica, &c., from 1775. I told Lord Suffolk they must begin from an earlier period; you will be so good as to send him the date when the first applications were made and the orders issued in consequence of them. I said I thought the commencement was in 1769 or 70. If you will, in a note, write him what you told me upon the subject, and then if the Lords give any papers they will know to what date they are to go back. The motion will probably be made on Monday by the Duke of Grafton." 1½ pp.

#### LORD THURLOW to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Dec. 5.—Stating that he should be extremely obliged for any papers which would throw light on the business of the convention with Prescott or Preston, which was broken off by the rebels. 1 p.

*With note by Knox :—*"Sent him Forster's agreement with Arnold."

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Dec. 13. Pall Mall.—Is Lord Weymouth's office or mine to send the order for embarking Picton's corps, &c., for the expedition to the West Indies? Whichever it belongs to, it would be done at once. "As to Governor Roberts, Lord North consents to advance the 1,700*l.*, and the ship may go its voyage.

"The embargo matter of doubt, but agreed to have a Council on Monday to take it off. Lord President says it cannot be done without the King. I quoted the butter, which Mr. Cottrell and I settled without thinking of his Majesty, but Lord Gower says it must have been afterwards reported. I believe it was not, but I was satisfy'd if the thing was to be done, not to dispute about the mode." 2 pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1778, end of ?\*]—Thinks that what Lord Macartney says, in his ar and able despatches concerning the stationing of ships of war, ould be communicated to the Admiralty, but fears that, “as the oposal comes from a landman, it will not be attended to.” It ms absurd to leave Grenada, &c., so exposed, when a few cruisers ould give security to those islands, and at the same time be of eat service to the trade from Africa. 1½ pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1779, Jan. 2. Drayton.—I wish you could send me more agreee- le news for the opening of this year. If this country can triumph er its enemies, what becomes of a few individuals is of little nsequence, “and I should be happy to see the administration in ose hands which could most effectually relieve us from our present stresses, but if I was to be asked where the men were capable of ch exertion I must confess I knew no such. I fear the Senegal spatches contained apprehensions of attack, or at least of dis- ess for provisions. This last stroke must be attended with fatal nsequences, as it will stop all supplies to the West Indies, besides e mischief done to the shipping. . . .” 3 pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1779, Jan. 7. Pall Mall.—Lord Gower, Lord Weymouth and ord Sandwich will be out of town, as well as Lord Carlisle, on turday, but Lord North wishes that we may have some conversa- n on that day with Messrs. Eden and Johnstone, so be so good to summon these two and also Lord Amherst to be at Lord orth’s at twelve o’clock on that day. 1 p.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1779, Jan. 12. Pall Mall.—I understood it was agreed in Cabinet at a regiment should be sent to Jamaica, and, in consequence, ld Mr. Fuller that the petition from the Council, &c. there would e complied with. “I must now tell them that what was resolved e recommended by his Majesty’s servants is not agreed to by s Majesty.” I did not understand that the King objected to it en I spoke to Mr. Fuller, and must now explain the whole tran- sition or he will think I have deceived him.

*Postscript.*—“I hope Lord North understands the paper I sent n as design’d for his information, not as propositions from me e the Cabinet. If he adopts them they may be of use; if they e only from me, I know their fate.” 2 pp.

## JOHN SCOTT to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, Jan. 20. Harcourt Street [Dublin].—“. . . I trust you l not think it inattention if I omit to write to you as often as

*See* Lord Macartney’s letter to Lord George, dated Oct. 31, 1778, in the Report the Stopford-Sackville Papers, vol. ii. (8vo edition).



I am bribed away by two guineas, or by a client that looks as if he would give them were they in his power, for he too must have a preference. I now write to you to say that your very disinterested conduct deserves from this country, and especially from the present Government, much more than you ask for Mr. Smith, and much more than from the bounty of his uncle he has occasion to be solicitous about, for I am told that his part of the residue amounts to 20,000*l*. However, if that should not be the case, or if, as it happens, men's wants multiply with their wealth, and that Sir Richard Heron should not be able to spare you anything out of the Dean of Cork's livings, Doctor Chinnery, promoted to the bishopric of Killaloe, . . . desire Lord G. Germain, or write boldly yourself to the Archbishop of Dublin, whom you have made, and ask for the next thing his Grace can spare, worth not less than 500*l*. *per annum*, for your brother-in-law and the nephew of his Grace's predecessor. . . .

"The deanery of Cork is, I understand, given to Sir Richard Heron's nephew, Mr. Ractal, which, with the living given him by Cloyne upon his arrival here, makes him a young candidate for a bishopric and may smooth your approaches to the Castle."

*Postscript*.—Thanks for your ridding us of the embargo. . . . What delays Heron amongst you? 2 *pp*.

*Noted by Knox* :—"Now Lord Earlsfort."

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, March 12.—"The drafts are approved, the warrants are signed, &c., but it is to be understood that Mr. Charles Pryce will not be permitted to act or continue in office should he return to Savannah, if he has taken the oaths to the Rebel States.

"Sir James Wright's queries are very minute, and many of them must be decided upon as his own judgment shall direct. If one of his opinions proves true, that he cannot trust the loyalty of the first Assembly when chosen, it argues against the putting the Colony at the peace of the King, and it must continue under military government. That opinion of his I trust is erroneous, and, among other things, makes me doubt much whether he is equal to the undertaking of governing a province under the circumstances of Georgia."

*Postscript*.—"I have heard of such jobbing about the provincial clothing that I wish some enquiry was made about it, both as to price and quality. Some military inspection should be made, that the Government may not be imposed upon and the soldiers discouraged by such usage." 2½ *pp*.

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1779, March 15. Pall Mall.—Stating that he little imagined that private correspondence would have been wanted for parliamentary inspection, but that what he has kept Sir Wm. Howe may have the use of. ½ *p*.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1779, March 27. Pall Mall.—Lord Sandwich wishes to keep all the troops where they are, but this must not be. We meet on Monday to decide the matter. “About the Miquelon prize money Lord North thinks I may signify the King’s pleasure about it. If it could go through him officially he is ready to do what is proposed.” *pp.*

## The SAME to the SAME.

1779, March 31. Pall Mall.—The Scotch regiments will probably be at Spithead to-morrow morning, and the fleet will sail as soon as the Chatham recruits join, without waiting for the Germans. The Memorial from the Dominica proprietors deserves consideration. I wish you could send it to Lord North and ask him whether the Attorney-General’s opinion ought to be asked. The King permits me to do it if it is thought expedient. *2 pp.*

## The SAME to the SAME.

1779, April 4. Stoneland Lodge.—“ . . . I hope the fleet will sail before the Hessians can arrive. Sir H. Clinton will not lament their delay. Your account about Spain is just what I could wish, and if our proposals are comply’d with, this campaign in America will not be interrupted, and if France begins a treaty with us the provinces will be too wise not to close with England upon the best terms they can get. If France does not shew a sincere desire for peace it must be owing to the dependance she has that Spain will soon assist her, for she cannot risk immediate distress for the uncertain profit of the American alliance.” *1½ pp.*

## The SAME to the SAME.

1779, April 6. Stoneland Lodge.—Concerning Admiral Arbuthnot’s intended voyage. If he “is in a puzzle,” Knox is prayed to set him right.  
“The post is so obliging as to come every day to Tunbridge Wells, which it did not do formerly till after the 27th of June. We have charming weather, but we farmers are never contented; the wheat wants rain, and we shall be all undone.” *2 pp.*

## The SAME to the SAME.

1779, April 7. Stoneland Lodge.—Stating that the Chancellor has returned the Dominica Memorial, and agrees that the request cannot be complied with. *1 p.*

## The SAME to the SAME.

1779, April 9. Stoneland Lodge.—“Lord Cornwallis now offers his service, when he knew everything was settled. I suspected his intention some time ago. I did not understand the delay. Vaughan’s commission may be recalled, but I cannot advise doing so slighting an act to an officer who has behaved so well, and who has the merit of remaining steady whilst others were so ready to resign. If the King and Lord Amherst like this new arrangement must be their measure not mine. . . .” *2 pp.*

## HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, May 5. Brussels.—I congratulate you on our late successes, especially in Georgia, where I hope you will be re-instated in your property. In France they had great hopes that that province would be a trap *à la Burgoyne*, and I confess I was not exempt from fears. G. Provost's success has relieved them, but there is still much at hazard in the West Indies. Present appearances are good, but I see the possibility of disaster there.

I arrived here two days ago from Marseilles, where I passed the winter very agreeably, "particularly as none of my own country-folks were there, who are the most restless and discontented people upon earth. From the general order to exclude every English subject from the sea ports in France, Princess Guimenée obtained an exception of the King in my favour. . . . So singular a mark of confidence from that jealous government laid me under the strongest obligation to an exact conduct, which I rigidly observed." I, nevertheless, associated pretty freely with the French, who treated me with uncommon attention. "The winter in Provence was the finest imaginable, four months passed without the appearance of a cloud," but the unseasonable mildness relaxed me so much that I am on my way to the Spa to brace up again.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pp. *Seal with crest.*

## GOVERNOR GEO. JOHNSTONE to LORD GEO. GERMAIN.

[1779], June 19.—Private. "Mr. Eden desired me to put upon paper some measures which I think expedient to be adopted in case that an attack on New Orleans should be determined upon.

"I apprehend 1,500 men to those already in the Province of West Florida will be necessary. They should be sent in the men of war destined for the expedition, with the necessary stores, provisions and artillery which may be deemed necessary. They should pass by the Windward Islands and Jamaica, or if sent from the forces under General Grant, they should call off Jamaica and pick up what they can.

"The success will depend on a judicious negotiation with the inhabitants of New Orleans, who are disgusted to a degree of irritation hardly to be believed, from the government of the Spaniards and the cruelty practised by Oreilly when he reduced the revolt in that colony. They are also dissatisfied with the French for leaving them a sacrifice to Spanish cruelties on their appeal to that court. Not less than fifteen of the principal families fell victims on that revolution, with all their property and effects. Several were put to death, and some lost their lives in iron cages. Your lordship will see how ticklish this must be, for fear of giving the alarm before the force arrives, and yet it would be better done before the force arrives than afterwards, in order that the inhabitants may be assured that there is no design against their effects or estates.

"The Chickasaw, Creeks and Chactaw Indians must be secured by presents and good management; this is absolutely necessary. Pensacola must be guarded against hostilities as well as Mobile, and the inhabitants regimented and armed. A number of canoes and flatt boats, drawing little water, must be provided. They

be got in the country. The island on the mouth of Lake Michartrain must be seized and fortified by redoubts.

The attack by the river is very difficult, tho' a diversion should be made that way also. If the fort at the Balize could be seized *a coup de main* it would be well, and facilitate all future operations on the river and prevent supplies. Not less than two forty gun ships and three frigates and two sloops should be employed on the service of the expedition. But the matter of all others the most to be attended to is fortifying Egmont Island and securing the harbor of Espiritu Sancto, which is of more consequence in annoying the commerce of Spain than the Havannah, or of Gibraltar for the Mediterranean trade. I consider this as an object not to be neglected an hour, and the means certain and easy, while the advantages are innumerable in this contest.

Provisions necessary for the forces by sea and land should be provided in time, but I know no place where they could lie in perfect safety against an enterprize from the Havannah, as we are now fortified; and therefore the necessity of fortifying Egmont Island appears more essential on that account also, as well as being the rendez-vous for all the privateers which may be fitted out and sent to that part of the world, where the riches of all the Spanish galleons are passing afloat." 3½ pp.

#### HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, July 13. Spa.—“ . . . You are the most pleasing correspondent in the world, as you always present the brightest sides of all objects, and have the talent of reviving expiring hopes.” Your letter had a prodigious effect upon Mr. Cressener, who was in the most desponding disposition, and seems to have collected new strength from it.

Spa is but very thin of company, and likely to continue so by the war, and the shutting up the passage from Calais to Dover, or rather from Dover to Calais. This was certainly a right measure; I greatly approve of it, although it is to be highly inconvenient to . . . Had it not taken place, I should have been in England ere now. . . . Of the French nation who are at this place, the most distinguished are the Dutchess of Bourbon and her suite, the Duke de Coigny, Count Polignac, le Marquis Vaudreuil, their ladies, &c. These latter are of the Queen's partie and consequently not well with Madame de Bourbon, but both sides court the English with as much zeal and assiduity as if they liked them. The Spencers, the Dutchess of Devonshire, Lady Clermont and the Archbishop of Cambray and his family are the whole of our country of any note who are here, tho' it is said Lord Northington is daily expected. There are, besides, a considerable number of persons of condition from other parts, but principally Russians, who are neither the most opulent or the most animated people, and consequently the conversations are more languid than usual. A general intercourse, however, is maintained, and were it not for the newspapers and the puffing letters now and then from Paris, such is the tranquillity that reigns at private and publick resorts, that one might almost imagine there were no wars in the world. . . .” 3½ pp.



## LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, July 27. Stoneland Lodge.—“ I cannot believe the rebels will make any serious attack upon Canada unless the French send some ships up the River St. Lawrence ; indeed, the proclamation which alarms General Haldimand gives the Canadians no assurance of such a support. It is unlucky that Governor Hamilton should be taken at this time, as it will give spirits to the Americans, and when the declaration of Spain reaches them, they will think we shall not be able to resist such powerful enemies as are now united against us. I fear much the supplies of provisions will be so late sent out from Cork that the ships will again lose their passage ; in that case Haldimand cannot support his out-posts. . . .

“ Sir Charles Hardy’s fleet will have a powerfull squadron to contend with, if the enclos’d intelligence be true. I think confusion must be the consequence of such a number of large ships attempting to manœuvre together, especially when not composed of the ships of one nation. . . .”  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1779, Aug. 1. Stoneland Lodge.—“ . . . The arrival of the Leeward Island fleet must give spirits to the city. When I heard of the number that passed Bregthelmstone yesterday I was in hopes the Jamaica fleet had joined them ; possibly Hardy may have resumed his station, so as to protect those which are expected from Jamaica and the East Indies, but I think we have more reason to trust in Providence than in our Admirals. By a letter I have seen from Cadiz, the 25th of June, everything was then preparing and embarking for a siege, and by their being ordered to Algerias, they must be intended for Gibraltar, which I think the best thing that can happen to us. . . .”  $2\frac{1}{4}$  pp.

## THOS. FALKNER to PETER POOL.

1779, Aug. 23. Plowden.—I give you my hearty thanks for so many notices of my old cronies, and send you some information concerning Thomas Brown from the dispenser in the College where he was bred, and who, from Brown, had information of me and my missions. I have had no correspondence with the province since you came away, and so know not who lives nor who dies. I am not of opinion that Buenos Ayres is an object worthy of our arms, nor would it be teneble without great expense. It is a wide, open town, and though I have as little opinion as you of the Spanish valour, the governors of the provinces round might harass us with incursions, and the people cannot be depended on, even when it might suit their own interests—lazy, idle, faint-hearted wretches. And to keep Buenos Ayres, those provinces must be conquered, and all the places to the foot of the Andes must fall. They are mostly, I confess, defenceless villages, but the long marches through mostly barren countries, “ sometimes over vast sandy plains, others through hundreds of miles of thick woods, and at others over vast high

mountains and precipices," would dishearten our men more than to meet with a well-disciplined enemy. I should imagine a blow might be better directed against some other of the Spanish settlements. "I have been credibly informed that the city of La Vera Cruz is but sorrily fortified by the land side, and that the only defence of the haven is the island and strong Castle of Don Juan de Ulloa, which might not cost us a week to take. This is the key and only port to the rich Kingdom of Mexico, whence comes the greatest part of the Spanish treasures, and if this was taken I believe that upon good treatment and promise of protection and making 'em independent, those countries might be tempted to revolt." They are heartily tired of the Spanish Government, and if they had courage to fight for their liberty much might be done, but they are accustomed to peace and luxury, and are no soldiers. But they will not, thus, give us much trouble, and we should only have to do with the troops from Spain. The black vomit, which rages upon those coasts, is a great obstacle, but it lasts only the summer months, so if the expedition was undertaken in September, that difficulty would cease. Three or four thousand men might be sufficient if the object was kept a secret and the enemy taken unawares. This place is much nearer than Buenos Ayres, and might be succoured from our Colonies.

"I have likewise heard our missionaries talk much of the new Kingdom of Leon, its great fertility and abounding with rich silver mines, lying near to our Colony at Pensacola. The Spaniards are there at war with a nation called Seres, formerly our neophytes, whom the avarice and barbarity of a Spanish governour drew upon 'em by seizing their lands and making a butchery upon 'em in cold blood in time of peace, and being Christian converts, and carrying off their wives and children to slavery, which they have since dearly pay'd for. The missionaries early made strong remonstrances to the Governor and Viceroy, but in vain. Farewell . . . *Jube et ora pro me.*" 2 pp.

Addressed to Mr. Peter Pool, 5 Great Castle Street, Oxford Market, London.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to —.

1779, Aug. 29. Stoneland Lodge.—"I am glad Hutchins is taken. As to the keeping his confinement a secret, it is too ridiculous to found any proceeding upon, or that Mr. Wharton can be induced to give intelligence thro' Mr. Hutchins is not possible. There may be difficulties in convicting him, and the only use that can be made of the fright he is in will be to convince him that the only way he can have any chance for mercy will be to give usefull information to Government, and that it will be improper that he should see either Lord North or me till he can shew that he can be of real service. He is too sensible to imagine that anything can atone for his conduct, but the most open and unreserved communication of all he knows. . . . Encourage him to be honest, but make him no absolute promise of pardon." Let Lord Weymouth know of this proceeding. Knox will be in town to-morrow. 3 pp.

## LORD DARTMOUTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, Sept. 4. Sandwell.—I see from the papers that Governor Browne is superceded. If this is the case, his wife, who is my near relative, will be reduced almost to a state of absolute want. "I don't say that this is any reason for sparing a man who is convicted of misconduct, and I have no doubt that there is sufficient ground and good occasion for so summary a proceeding. I know that complaints have been made of him, and I know the character of his accusers, and therefore I don't suppose he is dismissed without an opportunity of clearing himself." ; but I shall be much obliged if you will tell me what the grounds are. 2 pp.

## LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, Sept. 20.—"We must now determine whether the war in America is the first object of our attention, or whether the defence of the remainder of the Leeward Islands is to be preferred to the expected acquisitions in North America. Admiral Barrington's whole information is so desponding that I flatter myself he is only diverting our attention from enquiring into the reasons of his quitting his post instead of assuming the command as he was ordered. The Cabinet dinner is on Wednesday at Lord North's." I want the papers relating to the bombardment of Havre, "for I will not let that idea be treated as one that was improper to be pursued. Admiral Mann professes knowing nothing of that coast, so that his opinion is no better than mine, and Admiral Rodney's account confirms the propriety of the attack proposed." If we do not finish on Wednesday I shall propose a meeting on Thursday morning, when we shall be less sleepy than after dinner. 2½ pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1779, Sept. 26.—I am sorry there is a doubt about D'Estaing's arrival in Europe. It must be distressing to Sir H. Clinton to be left in such uncertainty. I shall think Jamaica in the utmost danger if D'Estaing is gone to St. Domingo. "I cannot understand why the merchants, &c., disagree with the Governor about the Mullatoe regiments. I should imagine he was the best judge of that proposal. It will be impossible for Lord Amherst to give all the recruits to the service of Jamaica whilst the regiments in the Leeward Islands and in North America want so many men to compleat them. The capitulation of St. Vincent's ought to be mention'd in the Gazette, with as little of the Governor's performances as may be."

Tobago must fall whenever the French please. "If Paul Jones escapes he is in luck, for the Admiralty have sent more than one squadron after him, and, as the wind has been, I do not see how he can avoid them, but our sea expeditions, except under Sir G. Collier, are not fortunate." 3 pp.

## LORD DARTMOUTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, Oct. 4. Sandwell.—Mrs. Brown has been in correspondence with Lord G. Germain, but does not know whether she is to continue

receive her husband's salary or part of it for her subsistence during the pendency of the affair. . . . I can hardly persuade myself that the governor is to receive a temporary punishment before he is found to have deserved it." 1½ pp.

CAPT. THOS. HUTCHINS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, Oct. 11.—Praying for an interview. 1 p.

The SAME to the SAME.

1779, Oct. 14.—Declaring that his confinement prevents his getting into practice his sincere wishes to promote the King's service, and begging Knox to obtain his enlargement. 1 p. *Seal arms.*

R. ATKINSON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, Oct. 28.—“Never was any absence more unfortunate than our's. What think you of Lord Amherst disavowing the directions given by Mr. Morse last Saturday concerning the recruits, and branding the whole fire of the Cabinet in persisting to refuse a man more than some trifling quantity under two hundred. The ships are all engaged, the provisions laid in, and the whole expence incurred; nothing will move him.

“He has also refused Campbell's rank, who, under the advice (I believe) of a friend of your's, has written him or was to write him to-day declining the battalion and giving his reasons. In short, the devil has set in (*sic*) foot in everything since you left us, and in spite of my having devoted myself day and night to this object, I see it will end probably in our having one of the worst men in the whole world sent instead of one of the best, and instead of the West India interest being conciliated by the measure adopted, this disappointment will occasion a clamour that will be not only unpleasant, but really pernicious.

“Since writing what precedes I have (near midnight) received Lord Amherst's letter in answer to one we wrote him to-day as a last effort, in which he maintains his character, and all the recruits we are to get are a hundred and twenty-five. A thought strikes me by which I think the shame of this transaction may be hid. I will see Lord North upon it in the morning if he is not gone (as Lord George is) into the country. In the meantime I wish you would commit to writing what you recollect of the declarations on which the orders to the Admiralty were grounded, and favour me with any other hints that occur to you. The Canada victuallers are returned to Cork. The *Howe* is arrived there. A failure of their crop of corn, and the price almost as high as ever. No publick news that I hear of, but this infernal blunder has prevented my having time to look into Day's returns farther than in general to see that they are eating at a great rate.” 3 pp.

LORD HILLSBOROUGH to [WILLIAM KNOX ?].

1779, Oct. 29. Hillsborough.—I have every hour been expecting a summons to your side of the water, but have yet no direct infor-



mation that the measure of making me secretary is resolved on. I cannot enter into the affairs of this distracted country, "but I cannot refrain from saying that our ministers are mad if they do not instantly seriously go into our measure." 1 p.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, Nov. 24. Pall Mall.—"Surely you must have dealings with the d——, or how could you be so positive that Lord Hillsborough would not have the seals this day. It is put off, as they say, for a few days. I am told Wedderburn will not consent, tho' he was yesterday with the King, and all then was good humour." ½ p.

The SAME to the SAME.

1779, Nov. 28.—". . . I have a thousand letters from the Havannah, all in Spanish. What am I to do with them? They contain, as Arbuthnot writes and Stuart says, the plan of D'Estaing's campaign. The Admiral fears the *Experiment* is taken. It is sea news, and Capt. Chinnery says the man who brought it varied in his story." 1 p.

LORD DARTMOUTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, Dec. 7. Sandwell.—". . . Things certainly look well in some quarters of the globe. There are two spots, however, in which they don't appear with quite so good an aspect; I mean the West Indies and the House of Commons. If a squadron of French ships of the line should be got thither, which I hope is not true, they will have time to frighten our planters a good deal before they can be checked. In the House of Commons I read of nothing but very unjust attacks upon Lord George Germain and those who act with him from the men who have had the most respect and attention paid to them. Such, alas, is human nature.

"I have had less of my nervous sensations since I returned from Bath, but intend to indulge myself until after Christmas. Then, well or ill, I must launch out into the troubled sea, and take my share of the storm." 2 pp.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Jan. 1.—Your letter to Vaughan is very right. I hope it will be ready for signing before twelve o'clock to-night, as I set out at seven to-morrow morning.

"Dalling's drafts I suppose must be accepted, but the island should be required to find funds for repaying, or if the provisions are not issued the governor will sell them and account for the profit. This is my opinion. If you have a better I am ready to subscribe to it." 2½ pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1779-80 (*sic*), Jan. 8. Drayton.—". . . I cannot imagine that Jamaica is in danger at present, nor will it be till Spain prefers the conquest of that island to the attack of Gibraltar or the defence of its possessions in South America.

"The Dutch Admiral has behaved with proper discretion, and the States General are put under no difficulties by his conduct; they wish war we have given them sufficient cause for declaring it, and so indeed has every other power concerned in the present contest; they must soon determine whether they will be governed by France or make common cause with us, for I think they will not be driven out of an impracticable neutrality. . . .

"I wish Lord Hillsborough would not strive so hard for popularity. That business had he to write to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, as if it is Majesty's Lieutenant could not have more properly notified that report thro' his own secretary? How my Lord Buckingham feels upon that slight I know not; had I been in his place the King would have been troubled with very loud complaints." 3 pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to LORD NORTH.

1780, Feb. 8.—Stating that his long intimacy with the Grosvenor family gives him the opportunity of knowing their wishes and dispositions, and that he lamented to find that Lord Grosvenor felt himself slighted by not being made lieutenant for Cheshire, and so had held back from supporting Lord North's government, although his chagrin did not lead him to take part with Opposition, "for the family principles are too strongly monarchical to allow of a combination with republicans; and, besides, his lordship does not forget, as some others have done, that he owes his peerage to the grace of his present Majesty." His lordship has lately come up to town, and states that Lord Cholmondeley has been stirring up mischief in Cheshire, which he withstood upon principle, but he feels awkward in opposing a Lord Lieutenant in what has the appearance of being for the good of the people. He candidly avows that the lieutenancy is his great object, and (if Lord North feels that he has made a wrong choice and thinks of removing the present man) "should consider the appointment as a band of reconciliation and friendship." Knox is aware of Lord Grosvenor's inattention and neglect, but ventures to say that "both him and Mr. Grosvenor and all their connexion will feel exceedingly obliged by the appointment, and the public cannot think the change unwise." Copy. 2 pp.

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Feb. 24. Pall Mall.—Stating that nothing had been said in the House the day before about Boyd, but that all were surprised to hear Mr. Pulteney arraign ministers for their timidity in not employing Sir H. Palliser. "By the cry of the House" it was perceived that he had many friends. The King gave an audience of an hour to the Margrave of Anspach. 1 p.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1780, March 12.—"The Cabinet in general inclined to Halifax. But, as Lord Sandwich was so strongly of a contrary opinion they

would not give any directions about it till he was present. When that will be I know not. I wrote to him last night to show him the distress his absence occasioned."  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, March 20. Stoneland Lodge.—Thinks Lord Sandwich might have empowered Rodney to have ordered Walsingham to return to him from Jamaica, as he does not believe M. de Guichen will attack any of the British islands unless he fights and beats Rodney. 1 p.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, March 24.—I have had much conversation with Lord Sandwich on the state of the Leeward Island squadron. He had given Stephens directions to write the strongest letter he could draw to Admiral Rhodney not to dismantle the three ships of the line, but to send them home if unfit for service; and on my suggesting that, upon the arrival of the *Intrpid* with such part of the regiments as have kept with her, Vaughan would be able to spare some troops to assist in manning the squadron, his lordship wrote himself to Rodney, pressing him not to dismantle the three ships, but if he wanted men to apply to Vaughan or use some other means to procure them. He "thinks the troops cannot be trusted from the Leeward Islands to Jamaica with fewer than two ships of the line and a frigate; three of Walsingham's will therefore remain with Rhodney, and the other two go on to Jamaica."

He does not fear anything being sent out of Brest to intercept the fleet (for I hinted it might be prudent to order Graves to see him into the sea), and he imagines if De Guichen has blocked up Rodney he cannot detach force enough to overpower Walsingham. "The convoy will therefore probably arrive safe at Barbados, but if Rhodney be obliged to shelter himself in St. Lucie we may expect to hear of attacks on Tobago and Barbados, for I do not think De Guichen will venture to send a detachment to Leeward." 3 pp.

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, March 24. Pall Mall.—Your letter surprises me, as Lord Sandwich said nothing about the bad state of the Leeward Island fleet, and Capt. Byron assured me the squadron was complete. I know no remedy unless Arbuthnot joins, for Walsingham will arrive too late to prevent the effect of Guichen's superiority. It is a very serious business.

As to the Brest fleet, I have no doubt its destination is N. America; it is less forward than I imagined, "and it is impossible the French should fit out a squadron for the West Indies which cannot get thither before June, and they will hardly keep so great a naval force in those seas during the hurricane months." Our preventing them from quitting Brest is more to be wished than expected.

Lord Amherst wished to wait to settle the recruits for N. America

ed the Leeward Islands till he saw more of the intentions of France, at I represented to him that unless we could now order the transports we should have no use of the troops this campaign. I understand he will have near 3,000 men. They cannot embark till France's intentions concerning invasion are known, but I see no convenience in making preparations. 4½ pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1780, March 29. Stoneland Lodge.—You have done all possible to prevent surprise in N. America, and I hope Arbuthnot will be able to withstand M. de Chaffaud. I am more uneasy about the Leeward Islands, for if the three ships of the line from St. Domingo have joined La Motte Piquet's squadron, we shall be very inferior indeed to the enemy there, and much stronger than necessary in Jamaica.

"The Spaniards may order 10,000 troops from Cadiz, but the transports cannot be soon prepared or victualled for such an expedition. The whole weight of the war will fall upon America and the West Indies. If nobody was wiser than I, four ships more would do with Walsingham and two with Greaves, for I think we have little to fear at home, but Lord Sandwich will not risk this country upon any account, so that I apprehend we shall have some misfortunes abroad . . . unless Rodney's abilities and good fortune save us." 3 pp.

JOHN ROBINSON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, April 21, 7.20 a.m.—"I hear that we are to be very much attacked in the Committee on the extraordinaries upon the provincial corps, as a great job. The Secretary at War knows nothing about them, and cant answer any attacks; at the Treasury we are as ignorant, and can only say that all the stores and necessities we send out are on the requisition of the Secretary of State." If Lord George wishes Lord North to be able to answer any questions, will you send us the necessary information. It you would add a short precis relative to Indian presents it would be useful. 2 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1780, May 3.—Thinks it better, in the letter to Knyphausen, to say nothing about his possible junction with Clinton, as it might perhaps "give jealousy to Clinton to enter into his future intentions with the Hessian general." 2 pp.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, May 27. Pall Mall.—I am glad to hear of your safe arrival in Dublin. I sincerely wish that the Mutiny Bill may be so changed as to make it admissible here, and that then we shall be wise enough to adopt it, and avoid a discussion which cannot end to our advantage.

"You will see what Rodney has done. What he might have



done is a melancholy consideration. About four of his captains are particularly mark'd. He writes me word that his success would have been decisive had his orders been obeyed. No news yet from Clinton. I begin to fear some misfortune. . . . The French squadron from Brest and the Spanish squadron from Cadiz having sailed, and our fleet under Walsingham still at Torbay, leaves room for many apprehensions."

Our House of Commons business goes on prosperously. When you have settled Ireland pray return and take care of us. 4 pp.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, July 13. Drayton.—"I am glad to hear everything remains quiet in London. Taylor's information about the threatenings of the mob gives me but little uneasiness,\* and I believe neither Lord North or Lord Sandwich will attend to it. I am apt to believe that Mr. Grenville's information may be so far true as that we shall hear the Congress are removed from Philadelphia to Hertford, and that change of residence may be productive of much good. I wonder the Court of Spain had received no accounts from Pensacola. Had Sir G. Rodney commanded at Jamaica he would not only have saved the Floridas, but have made the expedition fatal to Spain. How miserably we have been served this war! . . . By your account Sir G. Rodney will look in vain for the Spanish fleet. I doubt much whether ten ships of the line will be sent to the Havannah, as they have so many other ports to attend to, but if the ships and transports are so ill-provided we may hope their forces will not be so formidable as we apprehended. . . . I am glad the poor Americans will be at last attended to. I hope the list will be revised, or many deserving sufferers will not be included." 3 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1780, July 15. Drayton.—I am glad to hear of Geary's success. I fear you need not have desired the Admiralty to delay the sailing of the recruits till his return. "I trusted to the natural sloath of sea operations . . . and all I pray is that your precaution may not be better attended to than you desired."

Taylor's intelligence about the state of Guychen's fleet is very comfortable, but if Tearnay is to join him so soon, "he can only touch at N. America, land his troops, and then reach Martinico about the season the hurricanes prevail. The French commonly quit the Leeward Island station before that period, as they have no port of safety for a large fleet. However, if Mons. de Ternay does not remain in America I trust . . . that Graves will join Rodney, and give him such a force as may enable him to face and defeat his enemy." 2½ pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1780, July 30. Stoneland Lodge.—Thinks it must be left to the

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\* The Special Commission for trying the Gordon rioters had begun its sitting on July 10.

rd of Ordnance to judge whether the very large demands of New  
x and Charlestown shall be complied with. Wonders that such  
quantity of artillery should be needed at the latter place, "after  
ing in the *Gazette* how many were captured." 1½ pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1780, Aug. 7. Stoneland Lodge.—I hope there may be no need  
ending General Haldimand's letter before I have shown the draft  
he King. I think Mr. Haldimand's conduct so blameable that it  
ld be improper to say less, "but as the reprimand must be so  
ctly in his Majesty's name, it would be more satisfactory to me  
have his approbation of it." That province will never be  
perly govern'd till Mr. Cramahé is recalled. The more I think of  
ver for governor of New Ireland the more I like it, but to find the  
per system of government for that immense continent will be  
fficult task. I wish you could come here for two or three days,  
t we might prepare some plan for the consideration of the Cabinet.  
dread nothing so much as the hurrying out of this war before  
are prepared for peace." 3 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1780, Aug. 11.—Stating that the King "likes Oliver for governor,  
it may be offer'd to him." He also approves of Leonard for  
ief Justice. His Majesty comes to town again on Friday, and  
Cabinet dinner will be on that day. 1 p.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to [MR. IRWINE ? \*].

1780, Aug. 19. Pall Mall.—"The King has not declared his  
entions of appointing any person to the government of South  
rolina, nor do I suppose his Majesty will do it till the province is  
ore settled. If you desire to know my opinion with regard to your  
etensions, I should imagine a military officer will more probably be  
pointed . . . than the Attorney-General of the province." 1 p.

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Aug. 20. Brussels.—"A very particular friend of mine,  
rst President of the Parliament of Aix, in Province, has written to  
e in the most pressing terms to engage my interest towards bringing  
out a speedy exchange of three persons taken on board a French  
t. Dominique ship by Admiral Geary's squadron." Having no  
terest at the Admiralty, I apply to you, hoping that the thing will  
ot be difficult or very embarrassing to you. Mr. Cressener has also  
ritten to Lord Sandwich, but I must say I expect more effect from  
few words of yours to Mr. Stephens. The parties are M. Michel,  
aptain; M. Bassiley, second lieutenant, and M. Alari, secretary of  
a *Courière*, taken by the *Royal Sovereign*, and now at Oakhampton,  
pon their parole. As they have large families at Marseilles, where  
spend so much of my life, it would be of great use to me, as well as

\* See letter of Aug. 27, below.

an act of humanity in itself to obtain their liberty, and I pray you to employ your kind endeavours as soon as you can.

I left Spa in its full splendour. "The presence of the King of Sweden had brought a prodigious crowd there from all parts and of all ranks. . . . But few English appeared there this season, and those single people of no great condition or distinction; but multitudes of French, who seemed to rule triumphantly. I had the tiresome and oppressive honour of being much distinguished by the great of all countries, but more particularly by his Majesty, who is one of the most amiable and captivating persons I ever met with. I had declined being presented to him, but some of my friends had raised his curiosity to be acquainted with me, and it then became unavoidable. Our first conference, for it seemed to be such, was before a hundred and fifty people of rank in the publick salle. A variety of topics were then started and discussed; among others, the revolution in Sweden, with the circumstances of which I happened to be well acquainted, and, of course, took occasion to say some things which he seemed to like; others, that were rather too bold and plain for that audience. However, as I used a language apparently new to him, he was pleased with it. In mentioning the virtues and qualities of my own sovereign, one of the lords of his suit said, 'What, the King of England?' 'Yes,' said the King, 'I know what the Governor says is strictly true; he is a most worthy and well-informed Prince.' Our subsequent discourses he chose should be *tête-à-tête*.

"The evening before I left Spa I had a full hour of private conversation with him, wherein the subjects of war and peace, the northern confederacy, the accident which befell his frigate, the actual situation of affairs throughout the world, &c., &c., were seriously talk'd of, and I thought to his satisfaction. Our discourses ended by his saying, 'I have a great friendship for the King of England, and shall never forget *le bien qu'il m'a faite*, and I wish you would make this known to him when you go to England,' which I promised to do, and which I believe Mr. Cressener has done. . . . I am ignorant what good our court has done to the King of Sweden, but it seems to have made a deep impression on his mind. He was continually beset and watched by the French, and, if I mistake not, was impatient of it, from some words which escaped him. He seems to know much, and to have a strong passion to know more; is very mild, sensible and candid; very easy in his manners, which are simple and elegant, and absolutely destitute of all pretension or affectation, as far as I could discern. . . . Upon the whole, he seemed pleased with the energy and firmness of the British nation, and said, 'I should like to be King of such a people,' which drew a compliment from me in return. . . ." 5½ pp.

SIR GREY COOPER to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Aug. 23. Worlington, near Newmarket.—I am at my cottage here for the recovery of my health, and have left all business behind, "but I carry with me all my anxiety for the present fearful and wonderful situation of public affairs. We are fighting a good

but we are sorely beset and surrounded on all sides. The old is standing at bay, and I hope will beat off the whole pack and last saved to be hunted another day." If you will send me the I will send you my thanks and some Suffolk partridges when shooting begins. 2 pp.

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

30, Aug. 27. Stoneland Lodge.—Explaining that the Mr. who solicited Knox about his office in Carolina is not the Lord George took him for—a member of the Council at Boston in affluent circumstances, who spells his name Erwing. 1 p.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

30, Sept. 3.—"I brought Vaughan's letter with me by mistake. I did not have believed our loss had been so very great. The might well return to Cadiz with such a capture. Drummond's intelligence from Paris says that Ternay, on the 21st of July, was taken up by Arbuthnot in Rhode Island. This is too good to be but the date makes it possible." 1 p.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

30, Sept. 5. Stoneland Lodge.—". . . I am fully persuaded Knyphausen's march into the Jerseys was a right measure, from accident it did not fully answer. Sir H. Clinton is of all the most jealous, and when he has not the whole credit of a success is apt to dislike the plan, however well concerted. In this case, he is not sorry to attribute the disappointment to the disposition of the inhabitants, as an argument to support his opinion against civil government." I am not surprised at his silence concerning Ethan Allen, as "he is not apt to communicate reports, never favourable." I only kept your messenger till I could read and sign the despatches and kill the partridges for you. 2 pp.

#### HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

730, Sept. 6. Brussels.—Concerning his health and the capture of the merchant ship. Does not dare to look across the Atlantic, in spite of the gleam of sunshine Knox throws upon it. Explains his financial position at length as a reason for not complying with Knox's request for a loan. His rents in Ireland are paid very ill, not at all; it is three years since he received anything out of his estates in the West Indies, which were much in arrears when the French war began; his little pension from Government "is in the same state"; he has been obliged to give his brother Bob a thousand pounds to save him from ruin, has paid 960*l.* towards Major Ellis's commission, and Lord Bellamont and Mr. Montgomery owe him 100*l.* Consequently, although Knox's terms and security are perfectly satisfactory, he has not the money at command. 5½ pp.



## LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Sept. 18. Stoneland Lodge.—I sincerely pity poor Cunningham, and hope the Assembly will never obtain the repeal of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duty which Lord North last year seemed to intend if possible. I hope the Treasury will help the poor Governor, and a rigorous exaction of the duty complained of may afford a revenue for him.

"I am sorry the New Ireland business is in so bad a train. Lord Stormont's expedient I should have no objection to adopt, if we were not to apply to Parliament for money, but as the House of Commons will certainly start the difficulty, we shall make but a poor figure in not having the support of the law servants of the Crown. Can we not take possession of it as a conquered country, and establish a government in it . . . and leave the discussion of the rights of the charter to the final settlement of the Colonies or till we can legally annul it?  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

## THE SAME to the SAME.

1780, Sept. 28. Pall Mall.—Stating that as the letters from America plainly show the disagreement between the Admiral and the General [Arbuthnot and Clinton], it is thought better not to print extracts, but merely to relate the facts which they contain.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

## SIR GREY COOPER to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Sept. 29. Worlingham Cottage.—"I fear the golden dreams we had after the taking of Charlestown are all over. There was a period of the French history under their Kings whom they called *Les Faineans*. The whole war in America has been conducted by such generals. What is all this mighty fleet riding for at Torbay. I trust Darby has orders to relieve Gibraltar and to support the Queen of Portugal. If not, Parliament will meet in thunder, lightning, and in rain. What does this *emeûte* in Chili amount to? Our conduct with respect to our Colonies was perhaps founded in error, but that of the Spanish councils is absolute dementation. Swift says, how shou'd a man take advice when he will not take warning." Would that we could give General Lee his pardon, send him to head the Indians and steal a march through Paraguay, and so redeem the crime of one rebellion by the merit of another. I think Cumberland ought to be told to acquaint the Spanish ministry that it is contrary to the principles of the King's Government, as well as of the law of nations, to abet or aid rebellious subjects; that we should never do so but in self-defence and case of absolute necessity; that peace alone can prevent such necessity, "and that such peace ought to be cemented by the execution of Lord Rochford's admirable plan; a treaty of mutual guaranty of colonies against all the world." 4 pp.

## LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Oct. 3. Stoneland Lodge.—Stating that if the Ministers have no better place to dine on Thursday, his house is at their

service. Considers Mr. Lawrence's papers a most valuable prize, and hopes there will be no difficulty in committing him for high reason in America, to prevent his being admitted to bail. The Amsterdam project for a treaty of commerce may be of infinite service. Trusts that they have negotiated the affair without the knowledge of the Prince of Orange or the other provinces. 2 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1780, Oct. 8. Stoneland Lodge.—Thanking Mrs. Knox for her goodness "in permitting the girls to wait upon her to the ball," and enclosing "the answer of a ready acceptance on their part." 1½ pp.

VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Oct. 11. Rainham.—"I was just ordering some game to be pack'd up for you, for the late Charles Town success, when your *Gazette* from Lord Cornwallis arrived, and hath filled us all with joy. The very masterly, decided, and persevering conduct of my noble relation has made this family compleatly happy. Would to God it did everyone in this country. We should no longer contend about preservation or loss of territory we can never abandon without being perfectly insignificant.

"Accept, dear Sir, my usual small tribute whenever favorable events occur, and allow them to contribute to a chearful glass to our worthy friend in Carolina. Lady Townshend joins me in sincere congratulations and wishes."

*P.S.*—4 brace of pheasants, 1 brace of hares, by the Fakenham coach, will arrive at the Green Dragon, Bishop Gate Street. 1½ pp.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Oct. 28.—General Clarke is still at Cork. Lord Amherst says it is to be left to him whether he waits there till spring, comes to London, or takes passage to New York, by which last plan however, he would probably not reach Quebec much the sooner. 1 p.  
*Seal of arms.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1780, Dec. 17. Pall Mall.—I wish you could call here before dinner, as the Dutch business presses. There will be another Cabinet to-morrow if the Chancellor can attend. "The mediation from Russia is not absolutely offered, but held out in a manner that the not accepting of it would be an affront." 1 p.

JAMES ROBERTSON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Dec. 19. New York.—Has consulted Chief Justice Smith and Superintendent Elliot about the propriety and practicability of collecting the usual duty, formerly payable at the Custom House, on goods imported, meaning, when he gets their report, to lay a clear statement before Sir H. Clinton and learn his pleasure. The only alteration he has made about letters of mark is to drop a great

part of the fees, which were complained of as too high. Mr. Tryon paid a clerk out of this fund, but that is not now possible. If the campaign has ended with less eclat than was hoped, he trusts Lord Amherst will not blame him, as he "proposed and took every measure to make it active, of importance here and popular at home."  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Dec. 29. Pall Mall.—I suppose you will publish in the *Gazette* on Saturday our accounts from Barbadoes. Cuninghame wishes the address of the Council to the King to be taken notice of: probably he is the more anxious as it ends with a compliment to himself. Dalrymple may perhaps throw some fresh light on Clinton's intentions, but I expect little exertion from that quarter. I feel more disappointed and less sanguine about the success of the war in America than I have ever yet done. I must beg you to correct with attention what I wrote hurriedly last night to enforce the establishing a port in the Chesapeake. "When we are to act with such a man as Clinton we must be cautious not to give him an opportunity of doing a rash action under the sanction of what he may call a positive order. We can only state our wishes and our expectations in the strongest light for carrying so favourite an object into execution when the other services he is engaged in will render it practicable."  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

*Enclosing :—*

Rough draft of letter to GENERAL CLINTON.

I cannot sufficiently lament the loss of Col. Ferguson and the detachment under his command, especially as it obliges Lord Cornwallis to retreat and to recall General Leslie from the Chesapeake. It is very unfortunate that Portsmouth should be abandoned after being possessed a second time, as a port established there would be of the utmost consequence, "by annoying the trade of the enemy, securing a safe port for our ships, and by giving the friends of Government an opportunity of effectually exerting themselves for the restoring his Majesty's authority. . . . I am much concerned that you could not spare any detachment from New York for so important an object, as Mr. Washington's army must be diminished considerably by the discharge of the three months men in October, and of those of six months whose time of service expires in January. . . . Whenever the service will permit it, his Majesty trusts that you will take the earliest opportunity of establishing a permanent port in the Chesapeake, that the people may see that effectual protection will be held out to them"; but it is not to be wondered at if they are backward in declaring themselves when they see ports abandoned, and loyalists left to the resentment of the enemy. 3 pp.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, Jan. 1. Drayton.—Those who read the correspondence with Clinton must see that we have never altered our opinion

settlement on the Chesapeake. "He has always adopted the plan, but is never steady when the most favourable circumstances invite him to pursue it. I should think he will feel hurt at seeing his conduct set in its true light, and that, if the jealousy of Lord Cornwallis does not outweigh, he will take the opportunity of quitting his command. . . . What Haldimand says about his force is very fair. I wish we could reinforce him with 3,000 men. . . . I fear Lord Amherst will not be prepared for complying with his demand, but the sooner his ship receives extracts of his letters upon that subject the better. I believe the old Swisse is not now governed by Cramh , for he has not taken the least notice of him since they differed in Council about fixing the price of corn. One of the judges, whose name I forget, has his chief confidence. . . ." 4 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1781, Jan. 4. Drayton.—I am much concerned at the dismal accounts from Jamaica, and fear that the *Thunderer* and the other sailing ship are lost. Capt. Walsingham's family must feel greatly distressed by the letter of Sir P. Parker, published in the *Gazette*. The dispatch from Haldimand is very satisfactory, but "I doubt whether it might not be better to leave out of the returns the particulars of the houses, mills, barns, &c., that were destroyed. The returns would stand very well without them, and there are only three or four short sentences in the letter which relate to the burning and the plundering. What he says of the Indians will please everybody, as that force might be most usefully employed if any degree of discipline could be established among them, and Major Carleton seems to have succeeded in a point which others have represented as impracticable. . . ." 3 pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1781, April 16. Stoneland Lodge.—I am more in hopes that the Spaniards mean to engage our fleet than I was. While such an event is depending we can only pray for success; but "I will not suppose such a fleet as Darby's can be defeated by the navy of Spain."

"The accounts of Lord Cornwallis' progress are most promising; he drives the enemy before him. . . . I dare say Arnold knows that his detachment can safely join Lord Cornwallis, and sending it is a fresh proof of his zeal and activity. . . . If Arnold is ignorant of the destination of the Rhode Island fleet, and has not attempted to destroy the ships in the Chesapeake which we have taken the *Romulus*, he will have afforded sufficient matter of triumph to those who state him as unequal to his command. . . . The extract of Rodney's letter to Mr. Stephens should be communicated to the Council Office before the Committee takes the London and Bristol petitions into consideration. You will see by Lord Lisburne's letter that we shall probably have disagreeable disputes between the navy and army. I do not think that we can



as yet do more than has been done from my office, relative to the distribution of the prizes. I do not like Ramsay's letters, as I feel if half what he says be true, that the love of plunder has too much engrossed the attention of the army." 4 pp.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, April 17. Stoneland Lodge.—Thinks the news from the East Indies less alarming than he expected, and hopes Sir Eyre Coote will collect such a force at Madras as will set things right again. Cannot conceive "what Rumbold can say for leaving the Government in such a state, for he must have known of the war that was impending." 2 pp.

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, May 10. Spa.—"Whilst I continued in the enemies country it would have been equally useless and improper to have written to an English Under-Secretary of State; extremely improper for my own security, and certainly useless, as I could neither impart, or receive, any interesting intelligence. As soon, however, as I arrived at this friendly asylum, one of my first thoughts was to make a direct enquiry about you and your's. . . . Placed as I have been for six months past, at the southern extremity of France, I was not in the way of acquiring the knowledge of any important secrets, much less of transmitting them. It was with difficulty even, that I could know with tolerable accuracy any particular event that happened, or the shadow of any political truth, disagreeable to the character, or prejudicial to the interests of a people so warmly attached to their Prince and to the honor of their country, and amongst whom faction dares not shew its head a moment. All that I could discover was that our conduct embarrassed and astonished them; and that, altho' the effects of the war were generally and pretty severely felt, yet there was no appearance of discontent, or hardly any open murmuring abroad. The state of the French Finances, published by Mr. Neckar, produced a very great sensation at first, not only in France, but in other parts of Europe, and gave a high idea of the resources of that Kingdom, and of the candour and ability of its Minister. But the sentiments of the publick in these respects are mightily changed since it has been known that he prohibited the publication of a review of his performance, after having appealed to those in office to confirm or refute it. A very enlightened friend of mine, who was in the Bureau of Monsieur de Turgot, has assured me that he could point out above 160 millions of debt, in one shape or other, concealed from the publick.

"If you are not already possessed of M. Neckar's paper, and desire to have it, I can easily procure and convey it to you. I have had frequent occasions of late to hear the British Nation spoken of with respect, and even admiration, for its firmness and magnanimity, as well as its ministers, who, in every country but their own, are regarded as wise, active and able statesmen. Foreigners were particular

struck with the boldness and good policy of resenting the conduct of the Dutch ; and a gentleman of much consideration and veracity, who passed the last winter at Vienna, told me that before that measure took place, the Emperor often expressed his surprize that we did not attack them, adding, that Mr. Pitt would not have had so long patience ; and that when the Declaration of Hostility appeared, the marks of satisfaction he shew'd and the things he said upon the occasion, were almost beyond the bounds of decency and prudence. . . .” 4 pp.

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, June 7. Drayton.—On behalf of a “poor woman”\* who wishes to remain in England. “What Lord Dunmore could mean by ordering her to Virginia in the present circumstances of that province,” Lord George cannot conceive. 1½ pp.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1781, June 9. Drayton.—“Governor Martin must naturally despond when he is disappointed in his expectations of immediate assistance from the inhabitants of N. Carolina. Those poor people have suffered sufficiently from the cruelty of the rebels, and those who have been induced to declare in our favour have not been protected, so that I cannot suppose many will expose themselves to be murdered till they see the King’s troops able to drive Mr. Greene out of their province, and proceed to punishment and not to proclamations of pardon in consequence of victory.” If Martin sees the case desperate, he is right to inform the King’s ministers, but I hope he will not proclaim it to the public. If his health is the cause of his resigning, it may lead him to see things in an unfavourable light. Lord Sandwich was very averse from sending any of his fleet to meet the Jamaica trade. I thought he risked much by withstanding the merchants, but I conclude he is alarmed by some fresh intelligence or fears the clamour which would follow a second capture.

I rely little upon Mr. Jenkinson’s Virginia intelligence, unless we knew how the person was able to find out the sentiments of so many people ; the prisoners in general being confined on parole within very narrow limits, and quartered where the inhabitants were not friends to our Government. But I am not sorry for Lord Dunmore to delay his departure, as we may be able to enquire further about his influence in the back settlements.

“I hope Rodney will not remain too long at St. Eustatius. His stay there may be fatal, for I suppose Le Grass’s squadron will arrive at Martinico before the end of May, and I should be sorry indeed if he trusted an engagement of such consequence to any other admiral. Sir George Rodney and Vaughan certainly judged wrong in not attacking Curasoa at the same time they took Eustatius.

\* Probably the Mrs. Thornton mentioned in Lord George’s letter of July 22, below.

. . . They gave more credit to the false intelligence about the French fleet than it deserved, for Sir S. Hood, in a letter I saw from him, doubted much of its authenticity." 5½ pp.

#### HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, June 17. Spa.—“ . . . Our company is not much augmented, since my last, by any persons of consequence, if I except the Prince and Princess Leichtenstein, whom, as you know, are the greatest subjects of his Imperial Majesty; and the most amiable persons in the world. They expect to meet their Master here and are much attached to the English, whom they distinguish on all occasions by marked preferences. I have the honor to be the first favourite with them. . . . With these great people, we have some of high rank in the Republick of Letters, the most remarkable of whom is the expatriated, ingenious, and most imprudent Abt Raynall. I have much connection and many discussions with him in which he frequently is candid enough to avow that an unjustifiable partiality for the Americans has led him into many errors. He lived at Lord Shelburne's house whilst he was in England, and from that factious chief and his satellites imbibed those American doctrines which he has so injuriously employed against us; and those dangerous principles which threaten a general subversion of every system, religious or civil, hitherto respected by mankind. He confesses he fell into bad hands, and attributes to their reasoning the wrong he has done, and the misfortunes that menace him. I am persuaded if he writes, and which he certainly will do very soon, he will endeavour to disabuse mankind in reference to the charges he directed against us.

“ You see the fate of M. Necker; the circumstances which produce his disgrace I suppose you are not ignorant of, otherwise I might in few words, suggest them to you; the principal, indeed, were his designs against the Parliaments and the Intendents of the Province, whom he looked upon as in the way to obstruct the operation of his new system of Finance; and his ambition to force himself into the Council.”

Your letter gave me great pleasure. You are the most interesting, instructive and encouraging of all my correspondents; and though the events you predict do not always happen, the expectation of them is no less agreeable. 4 pp.

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, July 7. Pall Mall.—Lord Stormont will lay Comte Byland's application before the King. Had the Comte applied only for himself there would have been little difficulty, but he desires the same indulgence for so many others that there may be objections raised to sending such a number of officers home upon parole. 1½ pp.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1781, July 13. Pall Mall.—Is not pleased with the dispatches and wishes to talk them over with Knox before seeing the King.

any of the ministers. Has not been feeling well, and these dispatches have done him no good ; therefore he dares not trust himself at a turtle feast, and hopes there will be time to supply his place with some one more worthy of a good dinner. 1½ pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1781, July 22. Stoneland Lodge.—You will see by Lord Bathurst's letter that Mrs. Thornton's request has not been complied with. "I wish you would speak to the Treasury about it, for it certainly was not the intention of Lord North to strike from the list any persons who could not be of the least use in Virginia, or who could not have a chance of living upon their property ; at least I did not understand the order I issued to extend to that length." I have written to his lordship as civilly as I could, and hope the poor woman may not be distressed. 2 pp.

GENERAL ROBERT CUNINGHAM to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, Aug. 23. Mount Kennedy.—Is anxious about his brother, who seems to have been intemperate and injudicious at setting out, but, since he began to recollect himself, has done better. Is thankful to hear that none of his actions are censurable, and prays Knox to prompt Lord North on his behalf, as he must be distressed for money. 2 pp.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, Sept. 21. Pall Mall.—"Rodney is arrived at Plymouth in the *Gibraltar*. Sir S. Hood had not sailed for America when he left Eustatius ; he waited for the return of the six ships sent with Drake off Martinico by a false intelligence of Sir Thos. Rich. As soon as they join him, he steers for the Chesapeake, where he will arrive too late, unless De Grasse convoys the trade from the Cape till they are in safety."

The merchants say the Dutch fleet is sailed, but the Admiralty have a letter saying they were still in Texel on the 12th. "Ireland is all zeal and loyalty, and the volunteers are ready to fight and obey the King's Generals. The embarkation is going on at Brest, the destination only guessed at. The letters from New York all complain of the inactivity of our army ; the refugees are now supported and are doing real service." Lord Sandwich is still ill. 3¼ pp.

SIR GREY COOPER to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, Oct. 16. Worlington.—"I received your budget with very great pleasure. . . . It made me sleep better and sigh seldomer, but still I cannot sleep well, and still I ingeminate the sigh of Falkland. It cannot, however, be said that the providence of God fights against us by the operation of second causes. The King may have the line of Claudian quoted for him as appositely as King William or Queen Elizabeth : 'Oh nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat



æther.' . . . The 4th of September did as much for us as any day in the autumn of 1588 did for Elizabeth."

We have a formidable league against us, "but the conduct of those powers who planned the ruin of the State of Venice was great and magnificent . . . in comparison to the paltry ambition and impotent exertions of the Family Compact, and the Dutch faction grafted on the original stock of American rebellion, and yet it has well nigh ruined Great Britain and the Colonies by the mere wear and tear of an indecisive war. . . . Nevertheless, I am inclined to hope we shall get through the plunge though half drowned and a proper object for the care of the Humane Society. . . . Shall we ever have another victory on that element where we used to command?" 5 pp.

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, Nov. 1. Drayton.—". . . It is in vain to argue upon the operations or destinations of fleets when it is impossible to know the true situation of our naval force. If Lord Sandwich proposes or fully approves of any plan, we seldom want resources; on the other hand, if he does not heartily adopt what other ministers think right, official difficulties occur, and the state of our fleet is such that no new measure can be pursued. . . . We cannot possibly save Jamaica or the Leeward Islands unless eight ships are immediately dispatched to re-inforce our squadron in those seas, and if we cannot have ten or twelve ships cruising in the bay, we must fairly declare we are unable to continue the war. . . . I will write a few lines to Lord Stormont, tho' my opinion or his will signify little if the Admiralty do not seriously adopt it.

"Many thanks for your congratulations. We have every reason to be pleased, and I trust that this marriage will be productive of all possible happiness to Mr. Herbert and my daughter." 4 pp.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1781, Nov. 4. Drayton.—Your news is indeed very alarming. "Lord Cornwallis's situation is most critical; but I should not fear so much for him if there was a prospect of his being relieved by the fleet; but I confess, after Mr. Greaves' ill-success, I cannot be over sanguine about his forcing his way into the Chesapeake against so superior a force. . . . If our fleet should be repulsed, Lord Cornwallis will then have no resource but attempting, at all events, to retreat into Carolina, in which I cannot conceive he will succeed.

. . . I cannot say what ought to be in the *Gazette*. As little as possible should be published. The preparations making for the sailing of the fleet and the sending a re-inforcement by it of troops ought, in my opinion, to be mentioned, as Washington is marching to Virginia." 4 pp.

#### GENERAL JAMES CUNINGHAM to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, Nov. 17. Barbados.—"You will see by the answer of the Assembly to my speech, that they afforded me, at the close of it, an opportunity of making the proposition to commute the fees for the

full salary, which, they declining, I now send you home my defence to the charges exhibited by the Assembly and Mr. Estwick against me." When you and Lord Geo. Germain have read it, you will send it to the Board of Trade. Our Assembly has at last brought in a bill for distributing the Parliamentary donation, but possibly our Council may amend or reject it. I wish a part of the money could have been applied to the fortifications of the island. The *Fortune*, Capt. Christian, is arrived from New York, having taken three prizes on his way. "He informs me that upon Admiral Digby's joining our fleet they had determined to proceed, on the 15th October, with Sir Henry Clinton and 6,500 on board the ships of war, to attack the French fleet in the Chesapeake and relieve Lord Cornwallis. We expect daily an account of this important event, upon which the safety of these islands so much depends." 3 pp.

THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND TO WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, Nov. 23. Northumberland House.—Informing Knox that he has been placed on the New Commission of the Peace for Middlesex.  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, Jan. 10. Drayton.—If the French fleet should be effectually dispersed, the whole plan of the campaign may be changed. I have no apprehensions for Charlestown; but Georgia will be exposed to inroads if Green's army should be re-inforced from Virginia.

"We go on here with our usual amusements, as if all were peace and quiet. Lord North perhaps is doing the same at Bushey; but if he intends to make any change among us, it is almost time to let us into the secret." 1 p.

GEORGE III.

1782, Jan. 14.—The covering sheet of a draft, endorsed with the note in Knox's hand: "Lord Sandwich having shown Mr. Knox the minute of Cabinet of the 10th inst., he prepared a letter in consequence and sent it down to Lord George Germain, who has returned it signed, with orders to send it to the Admiralty if your Majesty approves of the draft." *Underneath, the King has written:—* "Approved, 10 aft. 8 a.m., 15th."

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, Jan. 27 —"You will see Lord Sandwich wishes to keep clear of ordering an inquiry or a Court Martial upon Admiral Graves. You will be so good as to prepare what materials we have, and send them to the Admiralty, but I shall certainly not signify the King's pleasure upon this subject until the papers have been considered by the Cabinet." 1 p.

*Enclosing:—*

1. *Lord Sandwich to Lord Geo. Germain.*

"Upon considering the subject of our conversation yesterday, and

looking into the papers we have in our possession at this office, it is clear to me that we have not any materials that can serve as a sufficient ground for ordering a Court Martial to enquire into Admiral Grave's conduct. We have his letter containing his own account of the action off the Chesapeake, but I do not think there is anything in its contents that conveys any idea of criminality on his part; for want of success I can never allow to come under that description.

"We have another letter from him after his return from New York, an extract of which I enclose; it is all that he says about the Council of War, of which he does not send us a copy.

"I cannot, therefore, see how we can proceed to order an enquiry without materials and directions from your lordship's office, and I think we should not only have the Council of War sent to us, but Sir Henry Clinton's letters, or any others you may have received from America, complaining of a dilatoriness on the part of the Admiral in the equipment of his fleet; and that at the same time you should signify the King's pleasure that an enquiry should be ordered with as little delay as possible.

"Your lordship will observe that in affairs of magnitude, the King's pleasure has been usually so signified. Mr. Matthews and his officers were ordered to be tried in consequence of his Majesty's pleasure signified to the Admiralty by the Secretary of State; there was the same proceeding with regard to Admiral Byng, and, in the latter case, there was no Parliamentary interposition; that, therefore, is a case exactly in point, and, indeed, I think the other is so likewise, for it appears that the order to this Board came directly from the Crown. . . ." Admiralty, Jan. 27, 1782. 3½ pp.

## 2. Rear Admiral Graves to Philip Stephens.

Stating that it had been decided at a council of flag and general officers that, as it seemed impossible to relieve Lord Cornwallis by land, the ships of war should take on board what provisions they could, embark Sir H. Clinton and 6,000 men, if possible, and make an attempt to force their way. Three fire ships were to be added, every exertion was being made, and it was hoped that in ten days all would be ready. Sandy Hook, Sept. 26, 1781. *Extract.* 1 p.

[WILLIAM KNOX ?] to GOVERNOR ROBERTSON.

1782, Feb. 6.—You have now the power in your own hands of restoring the province to peace, and I earnestly recommend you to call an Assembly at once "to consult upon what terms they will unite with Great Britain; holding out pardons and safe conduct to all who should come duly elected. I would propose only one thing to them to deliberate upon, which is, whether they chuse to continue connected with Great Britain as members of the same Empire, or chuse to renounce all the privileges and advantages of Britons, all protection and benefits, and so become aliens. If they chuse the former, then I would only say to them: 'It is your

interest as well as that of Britain never again to quarrel ; consider therefore what will best serve to cement the union, I will consent to whatever has that tendency, and I will propose or desire nothing from you that has it not ' ; and so leave them to themselves. If any of them resolve to have no connection with Britain : ' You who are of that opinion, go to your homes in peace. I will not consider you as enemies, but you must not expect to be treated as countrymen. Ye are aliens ; live upon your lands in peace ; none of our laws shall go among you, you can have no trade with us, nor come into our country with any of your commodities. Take care you do us no injury, for if we find you doing mischief, we shall punish you according to our laws.' This is the experiment I would try. Keep the law in your own hands." *Extract, in Knox's handwriting.* 3½ pp.

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, Feb. 7, Pall Mall.—“ . . . The King thinks what you propose about the pension very reasonable, and approves much of your continuing your assistance to Mr. Ellis. The House of Lords have been attacking me, but without great success. 1 p.

*Dated, Jan. 7 ; but endorsed correctly. The attack in the Lords was on Feb. 7.*

#### VISCOUNT SACKVILLE\* to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, March 2. Pall Mall.—These letters were brought by Capt. Skinner, and I find them to be official ; I therefore send them to you. This officer says that when he sailed from Charlestown, on Jan. 25, Leslie was encamped about four and a half miles from the town. There were a thousand reports of a French and Spanish army being expected by the rebels. St. John's Island was not in their hands. 1 p.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to LORD SHELburne.

1782, April 23.—“ When your lordship was pleased yesterday to inform me that the resolution was taken to suppress the American department entirely, and so obliging as to assure me that attention would be shown to my services and situation, your lordship could not then spare the time to hear me fully upon the subject. I, therefore, now take the liberty to give your lordship a more particular relation of my office, history and present situation.” When Lord Hillsborough brought me into office as one of his Under-Secretaries, I had an estate in Georgia of from 1,500*l.* to 2,000*l.* a year, and also a large property in Dominica, purchased at the public sale. Mr. Pownall took all the fees, and there remained for me only the salary of 500*l.* a year, but Lord Hillsborough promised me the first office that fell. The grant of the Ohio Laws obliging his lordship to resign the seals about two years after, and nothing

\* Lord Geo. Germain ceased to be Secretary and was raised to the peerage in February, 1782.



having fallen, he got for me the reversion of the secretary's office of New York, and the then Patentee being advanced in years, purchased his interest for 3,000*l.* in the year 1774, and let it to deputy for 1,000*l.* per annum.

"But the fatal revolt of New York and Georgia deprived me the next year of my whole income. My office was abolished and my deputy, with the records, carried up into the county of New York, and my estate in Georgia was sequestered, and the produce applied to the purposes of the Congress." I applied to Lord North but could obtain nothing until I presented a memorial to the King who was graciously pleased to order that my income as secretary of New York should be made good to me until I was restored to it and then I obtained a warrant for a pension of 1,200*l.* When Lord Sackville was about to retire, he professed himself much obliged to me for the assistance I had given him, and (it being probable that both New York and Georgia would be lost to the King and Dominica retained by the French) he obtained for me a promise from the King that my pension should be distributed between my wife and three daughters, as a provision in case of my death. Lord North, however, objected to this distribution, and ordered the sum to be divided between myself and my wife. I offered to resign my half if appointed to either of the Boards of Customs or Excise, but Sir Stanier Porten having a prior promise, that arrangement could not take place. Your lordship will see by this, that no part of the Royal bounty was intended as a compensation for my going out of office, but I am too sensible of the King's great goodness to me in my misfortunes to think of requesting any further allowance on account of the suppression of the office, and shall be content "with the continuance of my salary until I am otherways provided for which, as there is no Under-Secretary to succeed me, will be no burthen upon the public. . . . I must entreat your lordship to inform his Majesty of my grateful sentiments, and how far I have manifested them by my conduct since your lordship came into office; and, as it will be the great comfort of my life that my conduct is known to have been approved by his Majesty, I would beg your lordship to lay my humble request at his Majesty's feet, that he will be graciously pleased to honor my dismissal by a mark of his royal favour." *Draft.* 10½ *pp.*

#### SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, May 3. Spanish Town.—"You will have learnt ere now the fortunate turn of affairs in this quarter of the globe, by Rodney's defeat of the Count de Grasse to windward. The most of the enemy's shattered fleet have got into Cape Francoise, and by one of my spies, who left Cuba the 19th of the last month, Solano's fleet had also reached the same port; by which means the Spaniards have twelve sail of the Line and twelve thousand regulars at the rendezvous, where I hope Sir Geo. B. Rodney will detain them until they have expended their provisions and health in the service.

"Should Don Galvez take this occasion to push for Augustine, it

my opinion that Sir George will knock up Solano's fleet, as well as that of the Count de Grasse. I have a thousand pick'd men to co-operate with him in that event.

"I am much obliged to his Majesty's Ministers of State for their favourable opinion of my exertions. Indeed, Sir, they have far exceeded my most sanguine expectations. The Militia were few in numbers, but have made such a rapid progress in discipline that astonished the most dejected subjects amongst us.

"Our Artillery from twelve pieces only fit for service, I increased in the course of six weeks to sixty-four pieces in excellent order for service; and had the pleasure to make the Count de Grasse and his officers gape when they entered the squares in which they were arranged.

"As Sir George must quit those seas about the hurricane months, I shall always take it for granted, if the enemy do not disperse by that time, they will certainly visit us whenever the bad weather is over; and I mean to take my precautions accordingly. But I would hope that this blow to the French fleet will put an end to their views upon Jamaica for this war. However, as it would be bad policy to trust to events so precarious, let me advise the sending out of regulars to compleat us to three thousand, and I will venture to insure this valuable Island to his Majesty at the risk of my head." 2 pp.

#### VISCOUNT SACKVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, July 9. Stoneland Lodge.—"If Lord Shelburne really intends to act the part of a faithfull and honest servant of the Crown and the country, I have no doubt of his being chearfully and earnestly supported by Lord North, and all those who acted with him upon principle. What still puzzles me is to account for the conduct of Mr. Fox; as he means granting independance to America, and to have the lead and direction in Government, why does he resign without waiting for some measure being proposed which might justify his leaving the King's service, and at the same time secure his popularity, for he cannot imagine to create a clamour against the King because he will not permit the shatter'd remains of the Rockingham party to nominate the first Lord of the Treasury. If Lord Shelburne would publicly avow and repeat what he has frequently declared to be his sentiments about maintaining the sovereignty of this country over America, I do flatter myself that he would find his ground popular, and meet with a support from the most respectable characters in Parliament, as he might offer terms to the Colonies, which, if they refused, no sensible man could justify their conduct. I should be glad, indeed, if you were employed in carrying into execution any plan similar to that we have so often convers'd upon; I am persuaded it would tend to the happiness of both countries, particularly to that of America. If Mr. Pitt should accept of office and take the lead in the House of Commons, Mr. Fox will have little chance of being again a minister; and you will see him act as a desperate opposer of the new Administration.

I trust Lord Keppel will be too wise to follow such a leader; his resignation, I should think, would be only acceptable to Lord Howe. The Duke of Portland, I conclude, will not remain in Ireland after the Session there is closed, and I hope great care will be taken in appointing a proper successor to him. That country must not be neglected, as its new constitution has not yet taken root. I wish it was in my power to contribute in any shape to the forwarding or supporting such measures as the King would approve; my best wishes will ever attend him, and I shall sincerely rejoice when I see him releas'd from those fetters which he has lately been obliged to wear."  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

VISCOUNT SACKVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, July 13. Stoneland Lodge.—Congratulations on the birth of a son.

"If I can believe newspapers, Mr. Fox and Lord Shelburne must settle their disputes in Hyde Park, for I never heard such language given by one gentleman to another, as Mr. Fox used in the last minutes of this Session.

"Lord Shelburne's plan for America is mere speculation, for I am persuaded the Congress will not make Independance the basis of a Treaty, and if my accounts from New Yorke are true, Washington is in motion with his army, with a view to attack Sir Guy Carleton. Then we shall see what construction Sir Guy puts upon the resolution of the House of Commons; I am apt to think he is too good an officer to remain within his lines when the rebels divide their force for the different attacks they may intend.

"If Lord Temple prefers the Blue Ribbon to the Lieutenancy of Ireland he is, in my opinion, a wise man. Surely General Burgoyne will return that he may support his friend Mr. Fox; and, if he does, the command will probably be offered to Lord Cornwallis. What a curious explanation of his creed Lord Shelburne made in the House of Lords; it is almost as intelligible as the King's speech. But, however, I am glad the Session is at an end, and if the D. of Richmond and Conway resign in the course of this summer, I shall hope Providence has not deem'd (*sic*) this country to total destruction.

"Lord Howe's fleet, I hear, is sail'd many ships short in number from what I expected. Had he had thirty under his command, I should have wished him to have met the enemy; as it is, I conclude, it will be a campaign of manœuvre. His lordship will have great advantage by having to do with a combined fleet, which can not move or act together unless his lordship will be as complaisant to them as Admiral Parker was to the Dutch. I see no Paymaster appointed in the place of Mr. Burke, the Advocate [Dundas] I suppose is settling his terms, for a man ought to be pay'd before he accepts of 4,000*l.* a year. . . ."

P.S.—"I have now seen Lord Walsingham; he tells me Barré is Paymaster; the Advocate if he pleases Treasurer of the Navy, and that Lord Temple certainly goes to Ireland."  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

## LORD WESTCOTE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, July 14. Hagley Park.—Some of the appointments made since Mr. Fox's resignation are, perhaps, best accounted for from the difficulties Lord Shelbourne must have found in making his arrangements. His taking the lead did not surprise me, "and I am glad to see the powers of government placed in his lordship's hands rather than in those of any other man who was in opposition to Lord North, for I have always had a very high opinion of Lord Shelbourne's talents, and had for many years a very friendly connexion with his lordship, which grew weaker as our political sentiments were widely different, and in Parliament I attached myself to Lord North." Lady Westcote, my daughter, and Mrs. Fitzaurice join me in congratulations on the birth of your stout boy.  
*pp.*

## VISCOUNT SACKVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, July 29. Stoneland Lodge.—"The Advocate has done wisely by Lord North and wisely for himself. Lord Shelbourne, I dare say, will have no objection to have it known that Lord North approves of the Advocate's taking part in the present arrangement.

"Lord Howe is certainly strong enough to attack the combined fleet, for which reason I conclude they will avoid an action. . . . Lord Temple's appointment of his youngest brother [W. Wyndham Grenville] to be secretary in Ireland may be a wise measure; he is a young man of great parts; it is pity he has not had a little experience in business before he enters upon an office of such importance."  $1\frac{1}{4}$  *pp.*

## The SAME to the SAME.

1782, Aug. 1. Stoneland Lodge.—Will gladly stand godfather to Knox's son.

"Lord Shelbourne may negotiate with Franklin as long as he pleases, but he will not succeed till France is satisfied; for I am persuaded both Washington and the Congress are in the pay of France. . . . I do not see the policy of evacuating Savannah and Charlestown. The Congress will then have but one army to maintain, and when their force is united, New York will not resist it."  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *pp.*

## LORD WESTCOTE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, Sept. 7. Hagley Park.—". . . Poor Sir James Wright I hear, is come home, and I hope he has done travelling for the rest of his life, and will have a competent allowance from Government to make him live comfortably. If you have sent your negroes to New York, I presume it will only be in their way to one of the few West India islands left to us, where you may dispose of them to advantage.

"When I left London in June to come hither, I flattered myself that peace would be concluded before the winter set in, because I believed the ministry of that day were resolved to make



it at almost any price, but now I am afraid no conjecture can be formed when we shall have one. . . .

"It seems to be the universal opinion of all I converse with that the line of battle, as now formed, cannot stand their ground; that some changes will be made, and some allies taken in." My eldest son and my sister Fitzmaurice are here with me. I join my wife at Cheltenham next week. 3 pp.

#### SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, Sept. 15. Spanish Town.—I thank you for your kind attention to my interests, especially in relation to the salary of the Government. Without his Majesty's favourable decision, my private fortune must have been sacrificed in the service, "for, Governor Dalling had unfortunately lost the confidence of the people, it became necessary in me, by acts of address and liberality to regain for Government what his inattentions and abstractedness had lost; the good effects of which were conspicuous during the last martial law by the unanimity and cheerful spirit which diffused itself thro' the community at large."

As to the fate of Georgia, ignorant as I am of the causes which led us to withdraw our handful of troops, I cannot judge of the necessity, but its effects must be injurious "to a degree beyond what the speculative politicians have calculated. If it is true that the evacuation of St. Augustine and Charlestown is to follow that of the Savannah, our curtain over America will drop," and we must expect serious losses in our homeward bound fleets from Jamaica during the continuance of the war. Hearing that some of your and Sir James Wright's negroes had arrived in this island I have done all in my power "towards employing them in a way useful to their owners and agreeable to themselves." Don Galvez and his army are still at Hispaniola, the combined forces being about 15,000 men. So long as they remain there I shall think Jamaica exposed to an attack. 3 pp.

#### LORD HILLSBOROUGH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, Oct. 9. Hillsborough.—When I look at the date of your letter, I am covered with shame, "and the worst of it is that I have no excuse to offer in my favour but that which is really none; that much company and dissipation are productive of idleness, forgetfulness and want of attention. I flatter myself, however, that my long friendship and connexion will secure me your belief that my esteem and regard for you are as warm and sincere as ever."

I thank you for securing me so good a substitute at the christening as Lord Welles, and hope you were so good as to make the proper presents to the nurses on my behalf.

"I am truly concerned that your private fortune is too likely to suffer very much by the disgraceful and afflicting end of the American War; but I trust our Governors will not allow private possessions to be taken away without compensation. . . . I know as little upon Irish affairs as I do upon English; in gener-

har the Lord Lieutenant well spoken of, and I trust he will restore a little vigour to Government." 2 pp.

#### VISCOUNT SACKVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, Oct. 31. Drayton.—Prays God that the next news may be of a battle and a victory. No man can have a fairer opportunity of gaining honour than Lord Howe now has, and if the enemy's loss by the storm is what it is said to be, the inequality of numbers is not alarming. 2 pp.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1782, Nov. 11. Drayton.—“These are anxious times indeed. I see it is impossible the present ministers can stand the Session of Parliament; but I agree with you that no changes will be made till after the meeting, as the Earl of Shelburne will tread cautiously and not enter into engagements till he sees he can derive effectual support from them. If Lord North should be prevailed upon to risk himself again in office, I hope it will be in support of some important national measure. . . . No good can happen to this country whilst the Duke of Richmond and General Conway make a part of the Cabinet. When they are swept out I shall not despair of better measures being adopted, but it is not possible that Lord Shelburne can act with men who professedly distrust him. I only hope that some one man will have the decided lead, as unanimity in Council is now more than ever necessary.

“The different reports I hear about the negotiations for peace confound and distract me. Something must be settled before the meeting of Parliament. If peace is now to be obtained, it must be too humiliating to meet with the general approbation, and if the giving up Gibraltar should be one of the articles, I am certain Mr. Fox will make his stand in opposing that measure, as I believe he kept clear of that subject, tho' he shew'd the most yielding disposition upon every other.”

I hear General Gray is to succeed Carleton. I fear little attention will be shown to the Loyalists' interests. I hope you have accepted Lord North's invitation to Bushy, that he may at least have one man about him that will give him honest and true information.

“If Mr. Dundas negotiates, I shall not flatter myself that measures will be the chief object; if his taking the seals himself will promote harmony and good humour in Council, I wish him success.” 1½ pp.

#### LORD HILLSBOROUGH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1783, Jan. 16. Hillsborough.—Asking him to put into the hands of the gentlemen appointed for the business of American Loyalists, a petition from Mr. Haddon Smith, rector of Savannah in Georgia, who was driven thence by the rebels, and has lost not only his living of 300*l.* a year, but everything else that he was possessed of. 1¼ pp.

## HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1783, Jan. 22. Marseilles. Condoling with him on the loss of his brother. Hopes his health has not been affected "by the astonishing ministerial and political changes, nor by the atrocious proceedings which have brought them about." Hears a variety of incredible rumours with regard to the "expected and singular blessing of peace."\*

*Postscript.*—Desires to know how the vindictive act of the Jesuit Earl [Shelburne] will affect the patentees of employments abroad. 3 pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1783, March 10. Marseilles. Concerning their losses. Had made up his mind to meet the worst with firmness and resignation, being confident of saving as much out of the wreck as will secure him from indigence. Is extremely glad to hear that this is Knox's case also but greatly regrets that, at his age and with his talents, he is retiring from public affairs. Believes Lord Shelburne had an eye to him [Ellis] in his West Indian reform, in which he has failed, but he may have succeeded better in his list of pensions. Thanks God, however that he is as much above the reach of a minister as he ought to be below his vengeance. Hopes the King's protection will save Knox from the enemies whom (in spite of his inoffensive and beneficent behaviour in office) he made by his uprightness. Rejoices in the peace, but is surprised and indignant by some parts of the American treaty, "which is so notoriously marked by ignorance and negligence as well as by injustice and ingratitude." 4 pp.

## COL. GEORGE AUGUSTUS NORTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1783 May], Tuesday. Whitehall. Requesting him, on Lord North's behalf, to prepare the draft of an Act "for regulating the commerce between our remaining British Colonies, our West Indian Islands, and the United States, as well as any other acts it may be necessary to pass this Session" with regard to the intercourse between England and America. 1½ pp. Dated by Knox, as above.

*Underwritten:—*

Memo. by Knox, that Parliament having empowered the King in Council to make regulations, there was no need for an Act, and he therefore prepared Orders in Council instead.

## JOHN SCOTT to WILLIAM KNOX.

1783, May 17. Harcourt Street, Dublin. Hearing that Knox has resolved to return to the Secretary's office, he hastens to express his sincere pleasure. Cordially loves and respects Lord North, knows of what value Knox will be to him, and wishes them "a long tenure of each other." Offers good wishes on Knox's second marriage. 1 p.

\* The preliminaries had been signed in Paris two days before.

## VISCOUNT SACKVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1783, June 21. Stoneland Lodge.—“ I little expected that there could have been any chance of a change in administration till after the signing of the Treaty of peace. I am glad, however, that everything remains quiet, particularly as it is owing to the proper behaviour of the Prince of Wales. I conclude the King will incline to do what is right, but I never saw any good consequence arising from any branch of the Royal Family being made independent of the Crown. What a dressing Mr. Pitt gave Lord North about hipcord, &c. ! . . .

“ Lord Temple’s visit to the Queen’s House must have created some alarm and much speculation, and I am greatly mistaken, if the ministers do not behave with a degree of decency and respect, that their reign will be of short duration.” 2½ pp.

## LORD SHEFFIELD to WILLIAM KNOX.

1783, July 3. Sheffield Place.—Is sincerely pleased that the order in Council has passed exactly as Knox drew it. The country had nearly suffered the greatest mischief, but its carrying trade, and consequently the foundation of its navy, is now safe. The pamphlet about which Knox kindly asks will be out next week. The subject proved so prolific that the work was doubled. An appendix has been added, containing “ some curious accounts of imports, exports, &c.” Urges Knox to visit him when he is at Stoneland. 3 pp.

## VISCOUNT SACKVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1783, July 4. Stoneland Lodge.—“ I am happy in hearing that your plan is adopted, and that the trade between the Islands and the States is put upon the best footing for this country that the present circumstances would admit. . . . I did not expect that the Cabinet would have proceeded with so much firmness and vigor in preferring the interest of Great Britain to that of America, supported by the West India planters.” I am persuaded they would not have known how to proceed had you not lent them your assistance. What you propose for Canada strikes me as right.

“ Lord Shelburne plainly intended it should be given up, or he could not have permitted Mr. Oswald to have settled such a boundary. The grants to the Loyalists in Nova Scotia and St. John’s are really beyond my expectations. . . . Lord Walsingham sent me some account of the debate upon Mr. Pitt’s bill, and I perceive he has at last ventured to vote in opposition. I am glad he takes any decided part; it was too unbecoming in him to be suing to every minister, without attachment to any individual or to any settled system. I think he cannot do wrong if he is admitted into Lord Thurlow’s train, for Lord Temple and his lordship will probably form the next administration. Lord Loughborough’s conduct appears very able, and if this ministry stands it will be owing to his support in the House of Lords.” 3 pp.



### VISCOUNT SACKVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1783, Aug. 12. Pall Mall.—There are so few people in town that he hears no news, and cannot find out what stops the signing of the Treaty of peace, “tho’ they give out there are no alarming objections to it.” 2 pp.

### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, Aug. 16. Drayton.—I am happy that your reception at St. James’ proves that justice has been done to your endeavours, and hope you will be called upon, in a manner you cannot refuse, to continue your assistance, although, while I urge you to the undertaking, I doubt if I should have either temper or perseverance to execute it myself.

“The Americans begin as I expected they would, and I am persuaded Washington, by the part he is taking, will be called for again to settle something like a government among these wild and absurd leaders of the different States. He may, perhaps, know them too well to trust himself again amongst them. I suppose the definitive treaty will not be delayed much longer. . . . It is ridiculous to keep all the powers in Europe in suspense till thirteen provinces can agree upon what form of government they will adopt.” 3 pp.

### The SAME to the SAME.

1783, Sept. 20. Drayton.—My son George was so ill here that I sent him up to town. I have to-day a very alarming letter from Sir J. Elliot about him, but am thankful he is in such good hands.

“It is some merit in Lord North in adopting part of the good advice you gave him. I wish the islands may adopt a plan which appears to me so unexceptionable, but I fear there is little attachment to this country or to this Government to be found among them, and if America once flourishes as an independent state, the islands will seek the first opportunity of belonging to them.” 2 pp.

### JOHN SCOTT to WILLIAM KNOX.

1783, Oct. 29. Harcourt Street.—Suggesting that he should go to obtain the office formerly held by Wilmot, and, since, given to Jenkinson and Weston. Allan, the Commissioner, looked towards it in Lord North’s administration, but is probably now too rich, too old, and too fond of ease to care for it. 1 p.

### WILLIAM KNOX to LORD NORTH.

1783, Nov. 8.—Stating that at the time of the suppression of his office, in 1782, his circumstances had not permitted his soliciting the honour of a baronetage (sometimes conferred on retiring Under Secretaries after a less term of service than his own), but that he had requested Lord Shelburne to mention him to the King as a candidate for that honour at some future time. Has had the good fortune to save his negroes, and Parliament holds out good hopes

compensation for his property, in consequence of which he has purchased an estate of 1,000*l.* per annum, and believes himself to be in a position to support the dignity. Hearing that several baronets are speedily to be created, he prays that the name of William Knox of Lanstinan in the county of Pembroke, may be inserted in the list carried to the King. *Copy.* 4 pp.

#### LORD AMHERST to WILLIAM KNOX.

1784, Nov. 5. Whitehall.—Thanking Knox for his kind thought of him in his correspondence with Mr. Samuel Bayard concerning the Archbishop of York's lands; mentioning the fresh military appointments, and stating that the Dutch Minister is this day arrived; that the Emperor has ordered his troops to march from Upper Germany, and is coming in person to Brussels; and that the Dutch are making great preparations for war, but may probably stop the march of the Imperialists, and not by force." 2 pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to THE KING.

1785, July 6.—Reminds his Majesty of his efforts on behalf of Irish affairs, which, however, he fears have created a prejudice against him; "for he has the misfortune to find his name as an American sufferer placed in the class of neutrals, or such as rendered no service to your Majesty during the war; and thus is he deprived of any share in the late grant of compensation on account of his confiscated estate in Georgia, which yielded him in England full 2,000*l.* a year. . . . He most earnestly and humbly implores your Majesty to rescue him from the most ignominious stigma that is now fixed upon him, by deeming him neutral in the cause of your Majesty at a time when he was exerting his utmost endeavours to promote it." Prays to be removed into the class of those allowed to have rendered service to his Majesty, although he does not desire any of this year's grant, seeing that the distress of others is greater than his own. *Copy.* 2½ pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX.

1785, June 25–July 9.—Copies of certificates from Lords Sackville, Dartmouth and Hillsborough, testifying to William Knox's satisfactory conduct as Under-Secretary of State. 1 p.

#### LORD HILLSBOROUGH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1785, July 9. Hillsborough.—"I am much concerned you meet with any harsh treatment from Administration, and I am certain it is very underservedly. I send you with all my heart and from my heart the certificate you desire." ½ p.

#### JOHN FISHER to WILLIAM KNOX.

1785, Sept. 1. Savile Row.—"You will have felt (*sic*), from what you have seen in the public papers, the irreparable loss we who

loved *him* have sustained. . . . The chasm, my dear friend his death has left, alas, who shall fill? You will be glad, tho' not surprised, to hear that he was greater and more sublime in his death if possible than in his life. We who knew his heart knew its firmness and its principle. The prejudiced world seem now disposed to do him justice, and I believe no man, at least in my time, has been more universally lamented upon public ground. As to his friends and connections in private life, Heaven knows they pay in abundance the genuine tears of gratitude and affection. He was otherwise happy in his death, for he suffered little and retained his clear senses to the last. He was convinced of his dissolution from the moment of his relapse, and had his children and servants about him, talking and settling his affairs and wishes with them all in a state of coolness and composure that was the admiration of all about him. . . . Adieu, dear Knox! Let us mingle our tears for the greatest of men and the best of friends, for our loss is irreparable." 3 pp.

*Endorsed* :—"Upon Lord Sackville's death."

#### LORD WESTCOTE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1785, Oct. 14. Hagley.—Concerning the death of his daughter and her infant boy, at Stourhead. Addresses his letter to Slebech [concomitant with the purchase of Pembroke], where he hopes Knox is more and more pleased with his purchase. Trusts also that he is included in the intended distribution of the 150,000*l.* granted for the American loyalists. 1½ pp.

#### WILLIAM EDEN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1785, Dec. 27. Parliament Street.—"Tho' you are to certain intents and purposes a county gentleman, as you describe yourself I utterly deny that a man of your talents and information has a right in this country to consider himself as withdrawn from the public interests," and, while thanking you cordially for your kind and friendly expressions respecting the situation which I have recently accepted, "I solicit you to state in confidence and *currente calamo*, what you would propose if you sat as arbitrator between France and England in a new settlement of commercial arrangements, upon the principle of a fair interchange of reciprocal facilities and advantages in trade and manufactures. In doing this, you will, of course, keep a filial eye upon Ireland, and the attentions of a statesman to Portugal, Spain, Germany, and Russia; but let me entreat you to turn the subject in your mind and speak and spare not. . . . I am anxious neither to raise mischievous alarms, nor to create unreasonable speculations, but I am also anxious to gain all usefull information, and in that view I now leave you." 2 pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to WILLIAM EDEN.

1786, Jan. 7. Slebech.—You honour my communications too much by calling them obligations. I have always been happy to

\* Hester, wife of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, F.R.S.

promote the public advantage by putting ideas or information into hands capable of using them. "I never had a political attachment to any minister but to George Grenville, nor do I feel obligations to any of them, for it is to the King's goodness alone that I am indebted for the comforts I enjoy." It is not probable that I shall ever take office again, for though not too far advanced in years, I have bodily infirmities which prevent intense application, my anxiety, mortifications, and misfortunes, in consequence of the war, having so strongly affected my nervous system that my hearing and eyesight are much impaired, and I can seldom sleep without an opiate. This being so, the field of discussion you have opened to me is much too large for me to travel over," and I can only offer you my sentiments upon the general view of it. [The rest of the letter is a treatise upon international trade, in answer to Mr. Eden's letter of Dec. 27.] *Copy.* 15 pp. [*The letter actually sent to Eden is at the British Museum, Add. MS. 34,420, f. 351.*]

#### WILLIAM KNOX to THE KING.

1786, Feb. 26. London.—Laying before his Majesty a paper "which an application from Mr. Eden gave him the occasion of writing," and praying him to believe that his motive for complying with the request was not attachment to Mr. Eden, but pure duty and gratitude to his Majesty. The paper was written before the opening of Parliament, consequently none of its ideas can possibly have been taken from the speeches of the first day of the session, though the similarity of some of the sentiments makes it probable that Mr. Eden had communicated the letter to some of his friends. *2½ pp.*

#### LORD RODNEY to WILLIAM KNOX.

1786, March 11. Kensington Gore.—Praying Mr. Knox to call upon him, as he is confined to the house by a cold, and wishes to converse on business of very great importance. *½ p.*

#### THE SAME to the SAME.

1786, July 1. Kensington Gore.—Stating that as "the affair of Statia" [St. Eustatius] will be agitated in the House of Lords next Wednesday, he will have to move on Monday that Mr. Knox may be ordered to attend, to prove the delivery of papers into the office during Lord Sackville's administration, and to show when and by whose order they were afterwards delivered out. *1 p.*

#### ORDER OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

1786, July 3.—Order that Mr. Knox shall attend on Wednesday next. Signed, Ashley Cowper, *Cler. Parl.* *1 p.*

#### LORD WESTCOTE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1786, Oct. 15. Hagley Park, near Birmingham.—"How does the High Sheriff of Pembrokeshire do? I will not, dear Knox,



let the year pass without making some enquiries concerning the worthy gentleman, and expressing my regret that my early departure from London disabled me from learning what progress was made in the furtherance of his just claims." I hear that Parliament will meet before Christmas. "The convention with Spain and the commercial arrangements with France and Portugal will afford matter enough for those who delight to make long speeches. but, I will say upon them here is, that if we get good wine cheaper than we used to do, I shall be glad to bury in a bumper of it all thought of politics with old friends." 1 p.

#### LORD WESTCOTE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1787, Jan. 10. Hagley Park.—What you told me last year gave me but little reason to think the Treasury would be favourable to your claims, nor do I suppose that an application to Parliament would prove successful, but an exchange of your pension for an office may very probably be effected, and I heartily wish it may. You wisely to try to dispose of your mansion house and part of the estate and though I regret that such a change in your affairs should bring you and your family to London, it will be a pleasure to have you there. I am sorry that you are likely to be again interrogated by the Lords. "It seems to be an ugly business to the two lords principally concerned, and how they will extricate themselves will be matter worthy of observation. It was very lucky for you that you were High Sheriff last year, as the address you drew and presented did you so much honour." 2 p.

#### MR. KNOX'S CASE.

1787, May 5.—Was Under-Secretary of State in the American Department from 1770 to the suppression of the office in 1782, and not only discharged his duty satisfactorily (as appears by the annexed certificates), but maintained the rights of Great Britain by several publications, for which he was hung in effigy at Boston. As soon as Independence was declared, the State of Georgia passed an Act for the sole purpose of confiscating his estate and attainting his person, setting forth as their reason "that he had always shown himself inimical to the liberties of America, and was then, as Under-Secretary of State, counselling and advising the King of Great Britain in his arbitrary and tyrannical designs."

After Georgia was recovered, in 1779, by General Campbell, and the loyal inhabitants required to return, Mr. Knox re-established his plantations at considerable expense, and, by the beginning of 1781, his attorneys promised him that the produce of the year would pay him 2,000*l.*; but before the crops were ripe, orders came to evacuate the province, and his plantations were abandoned. He gave in his claim for compensation, as one who had rendered service both officially and individually, and the more especially as his property had been given up by order of government, notwithstanding the solemn assurances given in the royal proclamation in 1775. He is most truly thankful for the pension given him by his Majes-

consideration of the loss of his office of Secretary of New York ; it, notwithstanding the express terms of this grant, it was charged on him in 1782 as compensation for his office of Under-Secretary, and, although every clerk in that office had their full salaries allowed them, he was dismissed after twelve years' faithful service without any compensation at all. Moreover, although the Commissioners reported in his favour as to his claims for losses, he has been laid aside by the Treasury as a neutral person, and has received nothing whatever. Prays for a place in the list of such Loyalists as have rendered service in opposing the Rebellion, and that he may be allowed "the like proportion of the sum reported by the Commissioners to be due to him, as others of that class have received." 7 pp.  
*Endorsed* :—"Marquis of Stafford and Lord Chancellor."

#### MEMORIAL from WILLIAM KNOX to the KING.

[1787, May ?]—Has written the pamphlet which he humbly presents to his Majesty, to prepare the public for the propositions he intends to make in the House of Commons if he obtains a seat there, "with the view to restore the royal influence, and to oppose that democratic system which threatens the depression of the Monarchy." He has already felt the effects of the ministerial enmity excited by his avowed attachment to his Majesty alone, and expects further marks of ill-will ; but trusts that what he has done to promote his Majesty's service since his removal from office has given his Majesty as much satisfaction as he had the happiness to experience when Under-Secretary of State. The pension granted to him (and afterwards divided between Mrs. Knox and himself) has been perverted into a means of oppressing him, for it has not only been made the reason of refusing him any compensation for his office, but is also set up against his claim "as an American sufferer for compensation for his patent offices," as will be seen by the printed case herewith humbly submitted. And, what is still more extraordinary, his offer to resign the whole of his Majesty's bounty to him "on condition of being allowed the same justice as every American waggoner, or even deserter from the rebel cause, has experienced, has been refused, because his pension disqualifies him from sitting in the House of Commons ;" and ministers do not choose to see him there, well knowing his attachment to his Majesty. Nevertheless, he is resolved to resign his pension if he can procure himself to be elected. "He has seen three Under-Secretaries raised to the Peerage, and two more of his colleagues appointed Commissioners of the Customs and retaining all their patent offices and pensions, and the Secretary of the Board of Trade, who was suppressed along with him, allowed his full salary," while he, who served much longer than any of them, is denied common justice for no reason but because he has dared to avow himself attached to his Majesty and not to his ministers. *Draft.* 3 pp.

#### WILLIAM EDEN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1787, June 7. Seve, near Paris.—I return you many thanks for your letter and the copies of "Helps to a right decision." I had

already (not knowing it to be yours) lent it to some friends here who like to read our best publications.

"I was very sanguine as to the success of this great measure, and if I had not been so, I should not have had the courage to accept the negotiation; but tho' I consider'd it, with you, as possibly fraught with infinite blessings, both to the two great nations immediately concern'd in it and to mankind in general, I confess to you that I never expected it to pass thro' the British and Irish Parliaments without many adverse petitions. That there was not one petition against it, notwithstanding the impression of old prejudices and the pains taken to revive them, is a curious proof of the good sense and general information of the times in which we live. I have now remain'd here to see this great and complicated operation carried into compleat and regular execution, and this has been done, and is doing, with perfect good faith, and with no material difficulties, notwithstanding the various changes which have taken place in every department of the French Government." 2 pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to LORD WALSLINGHAM.

1787, Aug. 20.—"I am not going to request any favour of your lordship upon the foot of old friendship, for I was too long in office not to know that those who are obliged to the minister for their own situations are of all men the least fit to be applied to to solicit for others." but as the matter which I have to mention might occasion an open breach between the administration and one of its occasional supports, I hope I may be able to give you the means of showing them a civility while doing me a kindness. "Ever since I was called upon to give evidence at the Bar of the House of Lords respecting the St. Eustatia papers, I have felt very unpleasant under the imputation of having acted offensively to administration . . . though I think it extremely hard that offence should be taken at my uttering of any truth when I am sworn to declare the whole." But as I certainly know things of others which it would not be for their advantage to have told, I think my further examination should be prevented, if this can be done with propriety on the part of administration. My absence from the kingdom appears to me the only proper expedient. Mr. Ord's ill-health affords a fair opportunity of sending me to Ireland to carry through the business of the next session in his stead, as was intended to have been done "when Sir Richard Heron took fright at the view of the business Lord Sackville consenting to spare me for so long; but Sir Richard feeling bold again, ventured to remain." This intention, however, caused me to obtain the consent of the ministers to all the measures for extending the trade of Ireland which I was the sole mover of and afterwards carried into execution in 1778. These circumstances and my perfect knowledge of the country give me advantage beyond any other, and Lord Sackville was so sensible of this that he made my going with him an indispensable condition of accepting the Lord Lieutenantcy if it should be offered to him. I think therefore that I am doing a service to administration by offering to go, nor will a refusal be any mortification to me. In this last case

shall expect to stand excused, whatever the ill-effects of my examination may be.

At the great change of 1782 I was the only person connected with the old administration who continued in place without appointment under the new. "merely for the purpose of giving information and assistance to those who succeeded, and Lord Shelburne expressed himself under the greatest obligations to me on that account, and assured me, at parting, with his hand upon his left breast (I am afraid his heart lay on t'other side), that my behaviour had made so strong an impression on his mind that he should always remember it, and that, when compensation came to be made for the suppressed offices, I might depend upon being properly considered. I am, however, the only person who has not been compensated. When Lord North became Secretary of State I made all the arrangements for America without office and without allowance, and the Order of Council of July 2, 1783, was of my suggesting and preparing, and I carried it thro' against the opposition of Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, and thereby saved the navigation and maritime importance of this country and strangled in the birth that of the United States, and your lordship knows the share I had in supporting that measure before the Committee of the Privy Council the next year, by which I lost Atkinson's friendship and probably a legacy. I transmitted to Mr. Pitt, thro' Lord Temple, my ideas of a plan for the reduction of the National debt soon after he came into office, and when I saw by the newspapers that propositions for opening the trade between Great Britain and Ireland were under his consideration, I immediately sent up from Pembrokeshire to Mr. Rose the copies of my correspondence with Sir Richard Heron in the year 1778, when I obtained for Ireland the liberty of trading freely with the colonies, and your lordship, who has read them, can judge whether they were capable of giving any information upon the subject.

"Mr. Eden, at the time of his appointment to negotiate the treaty of commerce with France, applied to me for my sentiments. I freely gave them to him in a letter of fourteen folio pages, which he has acknowledged was very useful to him, and has since given me the pleasure to know that my subsequent pamphlet, intitled *Helps &c., in defence of the Treaty*, had given great satisfaction to the French ministers\* . . . I trouble your lordship with this detail to show you how unjustly I have been deemed hostile to the present administration, and to enable you to remove any prejudice that may have been entertained against me on that account." 10½ pp.

*Underwritten :—*

List of letters stated to be enclosed.

JOHN NUTT to WILLIAM KNOX.

1787, Sept. 16. Grainge.—"A thousand thanks to you for one of the most interesting, informing letters I ever saw. . . . It appears to me that France is at present in a distressed, troubled situation; but what is that to us. We have trade and country

\* See pp. 194, 197 above.



enough, let us mind and cultivate both. . . . As to the lubber on the continent we have had enough of them in former times, and I should think Pitt mad if he attempted to involve us in their disputes. Let them fight it out." I see by the papers that the Prussian minister at the Hague has presented a further memorial. Surely the King is not going to play the Emperor's game, talk much and do nothing. It appears singular that his army has not yet begun to move. 3 pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to the KING.

1787, Oct. 5.—Although he still meets with neglect from ministers, his zeal for his Majesty's service is not abated, and he has much satisfaction in learning from Mr. Eden that his little pamphlet stifled all opposition to the treaty of commerce with France and has done much good there, having been translated into the French language.

"The same motives actuated him to communicate to Mr. Pitt his plan for establishing the Church of England in the colonies when he understood the appointment of a bishop for Nova Scotia was in contemplation," and, on application from Lord Walsingham, he has formed a complete system for improved packet correspondence with America.

The only attention shown him has been the offer of knighthood when he came up with the address from Pembrokehire, but this he declined, as having already submitted to his Majesty, by the Earl of Shelburne, his humble request for a baronetcy. *Draft.* 3 pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to W. W. GRENVILLE.

1788, March 22.—As the passage over the Pyrenees will soon become practicable, and I presume Mr. Eden will then proceed on his embassy to the Court of Spain, I venture to communicate to you my ideas of the advantage he might derive from "the authentic information of the sentiments of the Spanish Court respecting the Americans which my former situation put into my hands," but which is no longer in the Secretary of State's office, Lord Lansdowne having returned Mr. Lawrence all his papers. Among the interesting papers taken with that gentleman were copies of the correspondence of the American Commissioners at Paris, which gave an account of their negotiations with the Court of France and with the Spanish Minister there during the time he [Laurens] was President of the Congress. From these it appeared that Spain was so jealous of the future designs of the Americans, who contended for the free navigation of the Mississippi in the same manner as it had been allowed to Great Britain, that they held back from the treaty France was then entering into. The emigrations of the Americans towards the Mississippi and the Gulph of Florida have since then been so prodigious that no great address would be necessary to alarm the Spanish Court for the safety of their possessions, "and as some Americans have already ascended the Missouri as high up as the first Spanish guards, which are stationed to prevent the approach

on that side to the silver mines of New Mexico, the danger of that valuable country might also be easily pointed out. The inability of Spain to defend these possessions against the Americans must be evident to her ministers, and it would not be difficult to show them that the nature of the assistance she requires is such as France cannot give her, nor can she derive it but from Great Britain alone." *Copy. 2½ pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to LORD WALSLINGHAM.

1788, May 25.—“ I was too early in my declaration that I could do no good out of office, for I have this day found I can do a great deal. not, indeed, for the credit of Administration, as I wished to do; but, however, my object will be obtained as the public will be benefited. Your lordship has probably heard of a middle party that has sprung up from the inattention and partiality of Mr. Pitt in disposing of offices. He avows an inattention to men, and reliance upon measures. I applauded the principle, and would have walked barefoot from Pembrokeshire to have given it support, but how has he adhered to this principle? Inattention to influence and connexions he has indeed shewn with a vengeance, but if his disregard of men had any meaning, it ought to have been that he would chuse such as were fittest, without consideration of other circumstances. Look then into the offices, and say how are they filled? is the common exclamation of the gentlemen I allude to. Behold two Secretaries of State who cannot write a sentence of English, Commissioners of the Treasury who do not understand arithmetic, and Commissioners of the Admiralty who do not know larboard from starboard! Since the Heptarchy, we do not believe the offices were so ill-filled. His two substitutes for Secretaries of State, Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Dundas, are certainly able, but they are both much disliked, and one of them at least suspected of want of sincerity. The circumstances under which he (Mr. Pitt) took up Government, abundantly excuse his availing himself of such men as offered to serve under him, and, perhaps, it was wise in so young a man to decline the assistance of the experienced; but he has now established himself with the nation, his ability is beyond all comparison, his integrity is above suspicion. The reasons which excused his acceptance of inefficient men for his offices have now lost their force, and he is highly culpable for pursuing the same plan. He has it in his power to fill his offices in a manner that will give satisfaction to the public, and restore the expiring confidence of Parliament; but if he continues to play at Tom with the great officers of Government, he will sink in character, and be driven from Ministry. Such is the language I hear. I shall greatly regret his fall, for though he has used me ill, I admire his talents and pray for his continuance, but I owe a superior duty to the King and the country, and as he will not avail himself of my experience and judgement, I must carry them where they may be rendered usefull. I want not the paltry salary of office, but I expect civility and attention. The party I have already mentioned have applied to me for information. They disavow factious opposition, and profess attachment to the King's authority. In these points we perfectly agree; the King's

servant is my minister, be he who he may. I have, therefore, consented to direct them, and give them creditable business to transact. I will do no mischief, but I will stimulate the Minister to do good and as he does not chuse to avail himself of my knowledge, he cannot expect the credit of the measures I suggest. There is no individual whose service he wants so much as mine, nor is there any candidate for power I would so willingly serve as him, and yet it is highly probable we shall never meet, and that I may become a principal instrument in his overthrow, through the mere desire of doing good for if all good measures are proposed by others, and he is to have only the secondary merit of consenting to them or the odium of opposing them, he must decline in character, and in the present constitution of the House of Commons, the loss of character must be attended with the loss of power. I write thus freely and confidentially to your lordship to justify my own conduct.

"I should have addressed this letter to Mr. Pitt himself if I did not apprehend that he would throw it into the fire without reading it upon seeing my name at the end of it, for I am an enemy to all concealment or simulation of any kind. Perhaps to-morrow will furnish an occasion of judging, in one instance, of the probable effects of my direction. I shall save the African trade, though I bring censure upon the Bishops; but as they deserve it, I have no compunction in so doing. A much more important consideration will be opened in a few days, and if Administration have the wisdom to pursue the plan which will be suggested, the Constitution of Quebec may be saved.

"Your lordship did not tell me whether Mr. Pitt had accepted the volume of my Tracts I requested the favour of your lordship to present to him. I am sure he never read the one which defended the Quebec Act, or he would not have suffered the ignorance and falsehood uttered against it to pass without detection. If the volume be still in your possession I should be much obliged to your lordship for it, as I cannot find another copy of that pamphlet, and I intend to reprint it before the next Session, with additions applicable to the present state of the province." 5 pp.

#### LORD WALSLINGHAM to WILLIAM KNOX.

1788, May 29. Upper Harley Street.—"I thank you for the communication you so obligingly make to me of your designs. Though I don't at all doubt the purity of your motives, I question much how far you will contribute to the prosperity of the country in a moral or political point of view, by lending your talents to men who may not be able to substitute so good an administration as that which it is their object to subvert. How far such a system will meet his Majesty's approbation you best know.

"If you wish for your own volume of Tracts, they are at your service; but I hope I shall have either this volume returned or a new edition of them, as I value them much, from the esteem I bear to the author and from the information they contain."

P.S. —"Is it your wish I should tell Mr. Pitt of your letter to me or not? For some of the sentences are not expressed in phrases that I will put into his hands." 1½ pp

## J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1789, Jan. 7. Lewisham.—Thanking him for his two last publications, and especially for the honourable mention, in the *Extra Official State Papers*, of an old friend and fellow labourer who loves and esteems him “in the true and genuine spirit of friendship and affection.” 1 p.

## WILLIAM KNOX to the LORD CHANCELLOR [THURLOW].

1789, May 26. Soho Square.—Sending him his last books, and a volume containing one or two of the tracts referred to in the others, the *Review of the American Controversy*, in which the late Mr. Grenville assisted him, and the *Defence of the Quebec Act*, which silenced all clamour against that judicious measure, to which his lordship lent such powerful support. Has also added to the *Observations on the Liturgy*, three little tracts drawn up twenty years ago at the desire of Archbishop Secker. “Had proper attention been shown to what they recommend respecting the treatment of the negroes in the Colonies, much of the present outcry against the slave-trade would have been prevented, and it is a little extraordinary that the present Bishop of London [Porteous] was then one of Archbishop Secker’s chaplains, and consenting to that letter to Benezett from the Society, which was drawn up by the Archbishop himself.” As a former owner of negro slaves, Knox is well-informed respecting the whole business, and believes he could point out a method of getting rid of the present difficulty. 2½ pp.

## LORD THURLOW to WILLIAM KNOX.

1789, May 26.—Thanking him for his valuable present, and stating that the subject of the slave trade has now become of such great importance that he shall take the first opportunity which his engagements admit to be more particularly acquainted with Mr. Knox’s ideas concerning its management. 1 p.

## [FRANCIS] LORD RAWDON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1789, Nov. 18. Donington.—Thanks him for his news, but does not intend to come up to town until the meeting of Parliament. Knows well that in the formation of an administration, a man’s presence often advances a claim which is more effectual than sounder pretensions, but the nature of his connexions does not allow the seizure of an opportunity which would secure but a solitary advantage for himself. 3 pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1789, Dec. 19. Donington.—“That the Chancellor and Mr. Pitt are upon bad terms does not at all surprise me; I believe it impossible to serve with the latter upon other terms than so complete a waiver of one’s own judgement, and of all the attentions due to one’s rank in society as can never be long reconcileable to any man who



has an honest feeling of what is due to him in these respects. The Chancellor is sensible of it, but rather late. When I first estranged myself from Mr. Pitt my object was to maintain with the Chancellor by every testimony of personal attachment, that connection which had subsisted between us, not only from motives of unfeigned regard but in the view also of political junction when that disunion should happen between him and Pitt, which required little foresight to predict. This purpose Lord Thurlow intentionally defeated, for he took the tone of replying to me on every occasion with a peculiar virulence of manner; adopted, on the one hand, to discourage me from contest, on the other to convince Pitt of his entire devotion by such a sacrifice of the connection which I professed to seek. Lord Thurlow knew me very imperfectly when he imagined I was to be so kept down, or that the licence he assumed would pass unchecked beyond that point to which the sense of private obligation dictated forbearance. In the other view, whether he acted spontaneously or upon remonstrance from Pitt, there was a littleness which could only be equalled by the impolicy of the measure. He deprived himself of other support to throw himself on the gratitude of Pitt; a security which he should have known could last in that quarter no longer than it corresponded with convenience. With this opinion of the Chancellor's conduct towards me, you must comprehend that my personal inclination to any league with him cannot be strong. Indeed none such can take place but at the desire of the Prince of Wales. I say this, because the proposal of an explanation to the King of our political sentiments is obviously to open communications which may lead to such a league. I can never give my consent that such an explanation should be made to his Majesty, altho' your assertion of the principle on which we have been acting was strictly just. The line which we took respecting the Regency had been determined by us without any intercourse, direct or indirect, with the Prince, or with any other set of men. We adopted it as most consonant to the Constitution without looking to favor for the decision; and it was not till late in the business that we came into concert with the Duke of Portland. I felt at the time personally grateful to the King for my peerage a favor which he has since been pleased to balance by a wand to Lord Huntingdon; but, as gratitude is not with me mere matter of declamation, no views of party could ever have prevailed on me to countenance a plan injurious to the interests of the King, unless indeed a case could be conceived in which those interests could be imagined opposite to the primary duty of citizen. I did believe that I consulted those interests no less than the public welfare by endeavoring to preserve to the Royal function in his son those powers which if, dispensed with at one period may be held equally unnecessary at any other; powers, however, which could not have been contested, had they not militated against the rapacious view of individuals. It was the utmost impudence of dark design to advance an opposition of interest between the father and son in that respect. The creed took a fashionable currency, as mountebank pretences generally do, but to no man who thinks for himself can it ever appear other than an artifice of party, and, in my mind, an

licit one. The arrangement which took place between our set and the Duke of Portland's friends was upon written stipulations, none of which included a private object. The first was, that the utmost facility should be secured for the King's re-assumption of the government, whensoever it should please God to restore his health; this showed our object. The second was that our set must not be considered as melted into the Duke of Portland's party, but that we would hold our separate consultations as long as we thought it to act in alliance with that party; this showed the terms on which we supported our object. In consequence of this condition, I can have no claim upon Mr. Fox; he can have none upon me. But, as to myself, I will tell you what goes much beyond engagement between us, I should say on my part, for I know not his sentiments. The extraordinary liberality and manly frankness which I found on that occasion in Mr. Fox and his friends have bound me more to them than any articulated compact could have done. For, as I should hold a league of indiscriminate support very profligate, no engagement would have implied farther contract than for so long as I should approve the general measures of the party; and to this extent I am, as I now stand, called to assist them by a common objection to the present administration; but with this additional incitement, the remembrance of a generous confidence reposed in me by those men at the very moment in which I asserted a separate interest from them. It is, however, to the Prince that my attachment immediately directs itself. The magnanimity of his character has impressed me with a sincere respect for him, but his kindness towards me has bound me to him by a much warmer sentiment. I am rejoiced that the King takes his R. Highness more into his confidence. Designing men have forged an opposition of interest between the Prince and the King, that they might claim a merit with the latter for supporting him against the fictitious antagonist; and, as things are circumstanced, were that to go on, the King would be only the member of a party, not even the leader of it. I should ever strongly remonstrate with our friends against countenancing any administration that fomented so mischievous a dissension; much more against forming a part of one which should ground itself on so unworthy a practise; and I well know that our friends would revolt at the idea. As for myself, I never will take office but at the desire of the Prince. . . ." 8½ pp.

*Endorsed with note by Knox.*—"This letter was an answer to what I had told him of a conversation I had with Lord Thurlow while he was Chancellor."

MS.  
B. 1. 1.

#### LORD RAWDON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1789, Dec. 29. Donington.—"I received safely, and have perused carefully, the pamphlet which you were so obliging as to send to me. As it is not yet published or circulated, I will obey your desire in expressing my opinion upon it without reservation or disguise. Your object, as you have sketched it in the prefatory letter, represents you in the true spirit of a citizen anxious to benefit the community by the dissemination of useful observations. I am convinced it is

not ostentation but reality of purpose that induces you to step forward; you would therefore wish your performance to make impression as extensively as possible. With this view it surely is not politic to engage the passions of a considerable number against the reception of your reasoning, yet this you cannot fail to do if you let your argument go forth in its present garb. Men will readily confess past errors of judgement, when no immediate interest counsels their adherence to them; but it must be on the fair pretext that considerations have been sub-minister'd to them which they may be supposed at the moment of action to have overlooked. Now you make it essential to those who composed the administration of 1782, and to all their supporters, to abide by their principle, because it is a point which you do not argue with them, but upon which you condemn them with an asperity that must blacken them were they to admit its justice. You must be aware, also, that the hostility of your language cannot but be considered as an attack which must make you personally obnoxious to the leaders of that party. Indeed, if you decide to retain that tone in your publication, I must entreat you not to do me the honor of addressing it to me and my friends, lest it should be supposed that you announced our sentiments. It is not that we should not agree with you perfectly upon your principle, for it has been often distinctly discussed by us, but the nature of this country does not countenance permanent enmities upon mere political differences. In a government where the prosecution of a private interest that is to run parallel with the service of the State is to a certain degree avowed, it is difficult to prescribe what shall be the precise boundary of efforts, for, in despite of any possible regulation, men would understand one another and would by mutual support advance their joint fortunes. Hence a sort of indulgence has established itself respecting excesses, both in measures and in the comments on those measures; that is to say, as long as they stop short on the one hand, of deliberate violation of the constitution, on the other of personal malignity. In the hour of contest, therefore, you are supposed to combat the measure with little reference to the man; for whom the extenuation is always admitted that he does not see all the mischief of his project as clearly as you do. But this reciprocal allowance, which is grounded on the warmth of action, cannot be understood in the case of a cool attack made in print upon an after-day. To its possible operation with regard to yourself you would probably be indifferent; but regarding it as an inevitable obstacle to that conciliation of sentiment which is your aim, you may be induced to give it further reflection. To us the imputation of joining in any sarcasms must be injurious, since we have the opportunity to make our animadversions where the parties concerned may answer, and it would thence be unhandsome in us to seek another field. Again, I say that it is to the mode of illustrating your principle, not to the principle itself, that my objection lies. I do not consider the constitution of this country as a phantom that is to be twisted and turned just as may suit the convenience of public representation. It is a defined compact, for the maintenance of which every individual is bound to his fellows, and neither the interests of a party, nor personal attach-

ment to the Sovereign, can justify the playing loose with it. I believe every man of our set opposed the India Bill, because we thought it an attempt to shackle the due powers of the Crown. We similarly opposed the Regency Bill, because we conceived it an attempt to embody upon stipend such a party as must have outweighed the legal influence of the chief magistrate. And I repeat what I said in a former letter, this determination was taken and acted upon without any communication having taken place with His Royal Highness, or with any other individual, or with any set of men who know not to whom the saying is ascribed 'that he hoped to see the King have no more power than the Doge of Venice,' but I know that an attempt to insinuate such a principle into practice would be as violent an invasion of the Constitution as the most direct effort to extend the Royal Prerogative beyond its marked boundaries. The general compact has lodged certain powers with the Sovereign for the country, as being in those hands most expediently deposited for the public good; and the effective exercise of those powers cannot be usurped by Parliament or party under any color that will not leave it a direct infringement of the Constitution. The powers of which I have alluded allot to the Sovereign all appointments, &c. On the other hand, the subject cannot be forced to execute Ministerial Office, and, under the authorised plea that he cannot depend upon the public conduct of a particular minister, he may always indulge his personal dislike to political connection with that individual. This latitude being admitted (and it cannot be prevented) it will be impossible to preclude the private engagement of two or more men so that they will not serve but in company. If thro' any consideration of the Sovereign forms his ministry of persons avowedly so leagued, it must be supposed he takes them assenting to that league. Then observe upon how nice a shade of representation the discrimination must stand between their claim to dispose of the Household Offices, and the implied engagement of the Sovereign to support them as his ministers. For the language of every administration must, unfortunately, be nearly the same: 'Sir, you know but too well how debauched all public principle is in this country. By nominating us your ministers we have to suppose that your Majesty would wish that we may be able to carry forward the business of your Government. We, therefore, trust that you will give us the means of bestowing upon those who will support this administration those favours without which no administration will meet support.' If you say that this is a shameful vice in the times, I will agree with you; but it is the vice of the times, and the imputation of it to one set of men exclusively may irritate them against you, but will do nothing towards correction. I have long considered it, as you do, a grievous error to enable any minister to marshal a party which must hold the Sovereign in a kind of bondage; and when I resisted your wish that the sentiment of our set should be made known, it was not on account of this immediate position, but because any communication of that kind to the Chancellor would certainly have borne the appearance of an overture, tho' nothing of the kind could be in our contemplation.

"I hope, my dear sir, I have not taken too much freedom in these



remarks. If I have erred in that respect, I have been betrayed into it by conceiving that sort of confidence due to the attention with which you have honored me. I was well aware that it would have been less tender ground to have simply entreated, under some pretext of advertence to the possible feelings of some of the other gentlemen, that you would forbear addressing the performance to me. But, concurring with you clearly in the principle, I thought it would be a failure towards you did I not state an objection to the mode of argument, which, by standing in another point of view I was enabled to perceive tho' you had overlooked it. Reasoning it upon general principles, you will do it as forcibly, and you will not close minds against conviction. To this too tedious detail I must still add a word upon the qualification by which you have designated our Dinner Set at Parsloe's. We do hope that we shall act up to the spirit of what you ascribe to us, but we have never had the vanity to assume that honesty of principle exclusively, by professing any association for the preservation of the Constitution. We have been christened the Armed Neutrality ; by what godfather I know not. It is, however, a title to which we make no pretension for our object has not been to hold an ideal balance between parties but to give a consequence and effect to interference upon points of public importance which, as individuals, without such concert we could not have carried.

"I am so tired, and you will probably be so too, that I must answer you very shortly about Leicester. Macnamara has not a thought of standing again, having been assured that he should be opposed. He could not influence any one there, and at this moment the attempt to introduce any one not of the neighbourhood (upon any interest) would give the certainty of a contest, which, with 6,000 voters, is desperately serious. I have no doubt that I could carry it, but it would be at enormous expense ; I therefore wait in patient observation of it." 12 pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to LORD HAWKESBURY.

1790, February.—A long letter on the fisheries question, pointing out the danger of its decline in consequence of the "mischievous" concessions made to the United States by the treaty of 1783, and offering suggestions for its preservation. Feels the better qualified to speak on the subject as he has lately added the practical experience of a fisherman to the knowledge acquired officially. The Americans by overstocking their markets, have so brought down the price of fish that it is impossible now to sell at a profit. The great houses engaged in the trade, to indemnify themselves for this, encourage the shallop (*i.e.*, coast) fishers to settle in Newfoundland, and then oblige them to take their payment in goods, on which they charge a most enormous profit, and so purchase the fish at half or even a third of the nominal price ; while those who carry out their fishermen from Great Britain and Ireland, by paying them in cash give the full value for their fish, and consequently are considerable losers by the sale. The advantages these monopolisers have over the British adventurers was clearly proved during the previous

ason, for, although the writer's "bankers" caught more fish than any others, and he got the best price for it, his sales only amounted to 70 per cent. of his expenses, whereas the monopolizers made a considerable profit.

If more of the fishermen are encouraged to settle in Newfoundland will soon become a colony, and not a British fishery at all. It proposes that a bounty should be paid to the "shallop fishermen" upon their return to Europe, on their showing that they went out within two years preceding. Some men must be left on the island to cure the last cargoes of fish, which cannot be cured in time for that season's markets, also to provide fuel and do other winter work, but these shoremen should be converted into seamen or fishermen the next season, and the green men left in their places. The residents, however, are all so much in debt to the monopolizers that if they attempted to leave the island they would be arrested. To strike at the root of this abominable and crying evil, the governor should fix a tariff of prices at which European or West India goods should be sold to the fishermen, and an Act of Parliament should prevent any person from recovering a debt against a fisherman contracted in Newfoundland above twelve months ago. 12 pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to GEORGE ROSE.

1790, April 23. Soho Square.—Sending a copy of the petition which is to be presented to the House of Commons on Monday next, and of the paper of reasons to support it, both of which he prays may be put into Mr. Pitt's hands. Mr. Welbore Ellis (the last principal Secretary under whom Knox served) has promised to present the petition, and both he and Lord North are authorized to say that if full compensation be allowed for his patent offices, Knox is willing, if required, to resign the whole of his pensions. Copy. 1 p.

*Underwritten* :—"Mr. Rose having recommended to me the course of presenting a petition I prepared one accordingly, and when it was presented Mr. Rose moved its rejection."

#### GEORGE ROSE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1790, May 22. Old Palace Yard.—Informing him that the pensions of 600*l.* a year each, granted to him and Mrs. Knox during pleasure, have, as he wished, been changed into grants for their respective lives, the King having signed the warrants presented to him by Mr. Pitt to this effect. 1 p.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to MR. PITT.

1790, May 30. Soho Square.—Enclosing papers containing "the grounds and motives of an expedition which, though it failed in the execution through the avarice and presumption of the then Governor of Jamaica in making the attack that he might share in the plunder, when he was only ordered to make the preparations," might perhaps be renewed in case of a war with Spain. And as no military officer

would, he believes, find the indemnity for disobedience of order under Mr. Pitt's administration that they universally experience under that of his predecessor, there could be no doubt of success.  
*Copy. 1 p.*

*Underwritten* :—" Papers enclosed. Capt. Sheer's plan. Lieut. Carden's memorial. Mr. Hodgson's plan."

#### LORD RAWDON to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1790, June ?], Monday. St. James' Place.—" . . . We have flattered ourselves that we had secured the writ for Lincoln, where my brother stands. Just as I was setting out for Soho Square, I received intelligence that Hobart had not only gotten the writ, but was gone down to hurry the election, so as to prevent our principal force, the out-voters, from arriving in time. At the same moment I was informed the qualification I had given my brother was invalid; therefore lawyers, agents, coachmen, and all the *etceteras* of such an undertaking were to be summoned instantly, the bare mention of which company will fully suggest the occupation in which they have kept me." The Prince has been out of town, but I sent you a letter to Capt. Payne, as I wish his Royal Highness to see the mark of your attention. *3 pp.*

#### WILLIAM KNOX to WILLIAM PITT.

1790, Oct. 4.—Stating that he knows authentically " that the King of Sweden has sent over full powers to Baron Nolken [Noleken] to enter into a subsidiary treaty with his Majesty, but restrained him from making any overtures until he has reason to think they will be well received. *Draft. ½ p.*

#### WILLIAM KNOX to SIR JOHN PARNELL.

1791, Oct. 30. Bath.—On his projects for improving the trade and promoting the prosperity of Ireland, illustrated by his proceedings in Georgia. When he went there not a man had credit to import goods from England, or to procure a cargo of negroes. He formed the plan of a public loan office, and passed an Act empowering Commissioners to issue paper bills to a certain amount, which were to be taken in payment for all taxes, &c. These bills were lent to the planters upon mortgage of their lands and negroes at a rate below the legal interest, which was kept high to encourage the lender and to indemnify the traders for the risk of trusting the new settlers, who, as they got their lands for nothing, could well afford to pay a high interest for the means of improving them. The interest payable by the borrowers of these bills (for they carried no interest themselves) but were to pass as money, and called the provincial currency) was appropriated to the construction of churches and other places of worship, salaries to schoolmasters and clergymen throughout the province, provision of boats and pilots for the principal harbour, and

the erection of a beacon or lighthouse at its entrance. He "was under of issuing at first, and did not let more out than the produce of the taxes would amount to for the first year, so that every man was sure the bills would not lay upon his hands if he took them," but they soon became current, and as he "gave all the bills which were drawn by the Governor upon the treasury for the pay of the troops and civil officers in exchange for the paper currency in preference to silver and gold, its credit rose so high that negroes could be purchased with it in the next province." Emboldened by success, he undertook to raise a fort for defence of the principal harbour with another species of paper bills, called certificates, to sink which he laid a small duty upon the trade, "and as that duty came in, the certificates were to be taken up, but to give them currency, the Treasurer was obliged to take them in all payments to him, and he might re-issue such as were not to be paid off. In both instances the Legislature was not only bound in honour to make the bills good, as having authorised the issuing them, but actually compelled to do so, by their being receivable for all taxes. . . . And as no one was obliged to take them in payment from the Treasurer, they would, in case of their depreciation, remain with him instead of money, and all the public services would be defeated and the public creditors unpaid. The Assembly, therefore, was under an indispensable necessity to keep up the credit of the bills, and when that was known to be the case, no one refused taking the bills, and they were considered as money, and the province virtually enriched by their amount."

Does not propose an exactly similar plan in Ireland, the circumstances of the two countries being widely different, and the credit of Ireland higher than that of any state in Europe, but proposes the issue of Exchequer bills, with part of which Government might buy "the very large tracts of unimproved lands which are too great for the proprietors to manage" and lay them out in townships, giving each a local magistracy by Act of Parliament, as is done in America, and granting lots to settlers at something higher a rent than the rate at which they were purchased; the rent to cease upon repayment of the purchase money, and to diminish on part repayment, and all profit above four per cent. interest on the Exchequer bills to be laid out in improvements. "This is taken from Fen's management in Pennsylvania, but he was not content with the quit rent and stipulated purchase money, but he reserved lots in every township to sell when the lands surrounding them were improved. His astonishing success, however, is a good reason for following the other parts of his plan." From the surplus, Government might give grants for making roads, building bridges, erecting piers and wharfs, &c., and as the tenants would be eager to become proprietors of their lots, Government would speedily be re-imbursed the purchase money, and with it pay off the Exchequer bills.

Offers suggestions for reducing the nominal value of money to the English currency, and the nomination of a House in London to give specie for Irish notes (as is done for Bristol and other bank notes, payable in London a few days after sight), with explanations of the advantages which would result to Irish trade. *Draft.* 15 pp.



## ELECTIONS IN WALES.

[1791 ?].—Notes concerning Pembrokeshire. The present members are Lord Milford for the county, Lord Kensington for Haverfordwest, and Mr. Owen (now Barlow) for Pembroke. Lord Milford has no heir; Lord Kensington is above fourscore, and has one son about 14 years old; Mr. Barlow has no child, and is a widower, the present heir of the Owen estate being a child of eight years. "Lord Milford is of no use to Government; Mr. Barlow is in opposition and Lord Kensington is only valuable as a sure vote."

If Lord Milford were gratified with an English peerage, Lord Kensington would then come in for the county, and Mr. Knox would be chosen for Haverfordwest, being sure of his election from his services to the county and his possession of the public good opinion there. Mr. Barlow's connexion is with Lord North, and he is anxious to secure the county for the young Sir Hugh Owen when he comes of age. Mr. Knox can effect this for him, and is pretty confident that he could prevail with him to adopt the same line of conduct. Mr. Knox himself proposes to hold—*i.e.*, that of a supporter of the King's measures and of the monarchical authority, and being with the present Administration, although not attached to it. The only person likely to obstruct the plan is Mr. Campbell, of Stackpool Court. His connexion with Lord Carlisle will probably lead him to take a strong part with Opposition, and to attempt count Pembroke. He cannot succeed against the present connexion, but as neither Lord Kensington or Mr. Knox can afford to stand a contest, it would be prudent to wait until after the General Election when Mr. Campbell will be chosen for Cardigan and, consequently could not offer himself for the county when Lord Milford made the vacancy. 3 pp.

## WILLIAM KNOX to LORD MACARTNEY.

1792, July 30.—In answer to his lordship's request for his ideas concerning the great national objects of his embassy. With a view to promote an extensive trade with China, his lordship will no doubt make every possible enquiry into the nature and state of the commerce, what they produce and what they import, and, as some treaty with them may be necessary, will inform himself of the civil policy of the state, and its military force and resources. An accurate knowledge of their religion and domestic economy will serve to improve our science, correct our errors, open our minds and enlarge our conception of the Divine Benevolence. Does not believe in the immense antiquity claimed by the Chinese for their civilization, and considers that the state of mankind is exactly conformable to what might be expected "upon the supposition that four men and four women were landed out of a great ship four thousand years ago in the plains of Armenia." Hopes his lordship will be able to investigate fully the causes leading to the present state of China, in which his former residence at Madras, and acquaintance with Hindoo customs, will give him advantages beyond those of any other person. 7 pp.

## J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1793, Nov. 9. Great George Street.—As it was through your polite attention that I was nominated of the Committee of Magistrates for revising the rules and orders of Friendly Societies, I return to the Committee, through you, the papers sent me by the Clerk of the Peace. Some appear to be nothing more than the rules of Alehouse Clubs, instituted before the passing of the Act of last session, and with regard to the Female Society, a committee of their own sex will be the best judges of their rules and orders, for I am afraid I could not comment upon them without indecent laughter. Whether these societies do or do not fall within the intention and meaning of that most extraordinary Act must be left to the determination of those who know what its intention was, and can construe its meaning into common sense, for it is far beyond the scope of my understanding." With these sentiments, I must beg you to withdraw my name from the Committee, and fill my seat there with a magistrate of more ability and discernment. 1½ pp.

## LORD WESTCOTE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1793, Dec. 10. Hagley Park.—Is reading a work called *Letters on the Subject of the Concert of Princes*, with a motto *Facilis descensus Averni*. The writer appears to be a dissenter, and his object is very different from Knox's own, but he shows a great extent of political information, and the book is worth perusal. 2 pp. *Seal of arms*.

## WILLIAM KNOX to the NEW BRUNSWICK COMMITTEE.

1795, Nov. 4. Soho Square.—Advises them not to make any application to the Treasury which would bring the circumstances of their estimates under consideration, as he has known, in other instances, "considerable reductions made in the grant of Parliament from such like discussions as that which the dispute with Mr. Odell would give occasion for." The warrant under which Mr. Odell holds the office of Clerk of the Council certainly gives him a right to attend the Council, in whatever capacity they act; his right to the office necessarily includes personal performance of the duty, and "as the salary is given for the duty, it must be understood to extend to the whole office," but Mr. Odell is not thereby obliged to furnish the stationery or make fair copies of his minutes. In the money bills of every colony there is a provision for defraying the expense of the Assembly, in which these things are included. Offers suggestions concerning the preparing a bill in relation to Courts of Justice, for which, if passed, he will "solicit the Royal allowance," and which, if rejected, he can lay before the King's ministers as a specific proposition, and ask for their opinion and instructions to the Governor. This temperate mode of proceeding will prevent the exciting of personal animosities, which distract and divide a colony, injuring its credit and obstructing its settlement and cultivation. Prays the committee to pardon this freedom "in one who feels himself less interested in the prosperity and happiness of New Brunswick

as the Provincial Agent than as its earliest friend and most zealous well-wisher." The ratification of the Treaty with the United States has arrived. 6½ pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to HENRY DUNDAS.

1795, Dec. 14. - Although Mr. Dundas has declined to have any conversation with him on the subject of East India affairs, he has so long been in the habit of serving Government without the patronage of Ministers that he ventures to submit some propositions which he conceives it would be more for the honour of the Board of Control to adopt of themselves than to have them originate in the Court of Proprietors. The rest of the letter is an attack upon the financial system of the company, the result of which is, he states, "that while every other individual in the nation is the better for the vast extension of the East India trade," the proprietors of the stock derive no benefit from it. 6 pp.

#### HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1796, March 18. Pisa.—Complaining of the extraordinary delays and irregularities of the posts, some of his letters from England having taken five and six months to reach him, while others have come "with regularity and expedition" in less than a month. As Knox's political opinions "so nearly quadrate" with his own, he has little to say except to express his approbation of them, especially as regards the impolicy of multiplying foreign possessions, and the injudicious conduct of the West India expedition. Is very glad to learn that Knox is interested in East India affairs and connected with those who govern them, having always blamed the present ministers for not availing themselves of his judgment, talents and experience. Notes that Knox's letter, written Nov. 25, and received March 17, has "*via* Dublin" in the corner, and "Lisbon" printed in red letters on the back. 3½ pp.

#### LORD LYTTELTON\* to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1799, Nov. 22], Friday. Hagley Park.—When in town, called several times at Knox's house, but always missed him, and therefore writes, not to obtain political information, but as an old friend to learn how he and his family "do." As to public matters, the political atmosphere over Europe is much clouded, and he fears the new revolution in France will not tend to clear it, but, on the contrary, will produce more storms. 1½ pp. *Seal of arms.* [*Date given by Lyttelton on cover.*]

#### Petition of WILLIAM KNOX to the KING.

1799, Nov. 28. Soho Square. —On the erection of the Province of New Brunswick in 1784, his Majesty authorized the Governor and Council there to make grants of vacant lands to American loyalists and other industrious subjects, in pursuance of which authority, the

\* Lord Westcote was created Baron Lyttelton of Frankley, co. Worcester (the title which had expired at his nephew's death in 1779) in August, 1794.

and Governor and Council have set out allotments and made grants of lands to many faithful subjects who have applied for the same, most of whom zealously engaged in the settlement and cultivation of their respective lands, tho' many of their allotments were situated in the bosom of immense forests, without any roads of communication and at a distance from navigation," in the confident belief that they would speedily be helped in the labour of opening such communications by the influx of industrious settlers. But these expectations have been severely disappointed, and progress to prosperity fatally impeded, by the Additional Instruction of 1789, prohibiting further grants until his Majesty's further pleasure should be signified; which restraint still continues in force, although no complaint has ever been made of any abuse by the Governor and Council of the authority vested in them. By a late determination of the boundary between the province and the territories of the United States, a considerable tract of valuable land has been awarded to the province, into which many industrious persons in the neighbouring states, impatient of the rule of their present governors and anxious to return to his Majesty's benign rule, would remove, but for the restraining Instruction of 1789, which petitioner, as agent for the province, now humbly prays his Majesty to be pleased to withdraw. 3 pp.

#### COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

1800, Jan. 31.—Resolution, on reference of Mr. Knox's petition for the withdrawal of the Additional Instruction of March 5, 1790, that it is not adviseable to submit any opinion thereupon until the boundaries of the province are "definitively settled," and, also, that as in the Additional Instruction it is stated "that great advantage will arise by the introduction of some further regulations to be observed in the disposal of the said lands," inquiry be made at the Secretary's office for the Home Department with respect to these further regulations, "and what the same were intended to be." *Present*—The Duke of Portland, Earl of Liverpool, Mr. Greville, Sir Joseph Banks. 2 pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to the CLERK OF THE COUNCIL.

1801, Jan. 26.—With whatever neglect or contempt his Majesty's servants may continue to treat the remonstrances made by him as agent for the province of New Brunswick, he must incessantly repeat them in the hope that their truth and justice will prevail. The prevention of the improvement and development of the province is not the only injury which the "cruel and impolitic Instruction" may bring about, for the desertion of the country by the few inhabitants who have been seduced into it may be seriously apprehended. A late American newspaper contains the following paragraph:—

"Congress on the 3rd December appointed a committee to regulate the grants of land appropriated for the refugees from the British Provinces of Nova Scotia and Canada," from which it appears that the American Ministers are sufficiently enlightened statesmen to be



able to discern that the increase of industrious inhabitants constitute the strength and riches of the State," and that they hold out an invitation which probably many of the loyal but suffering inhabitants of New Brunswick will accept, "worn out as they are by the long and unaccountable continuance of a restraint which they can no longer now hope is ever intended to be removed, as they have too high respect for ministers to suppose that the great talents of three successive Secretaries of State, with their well-informed assistants which have filled the Home Department during its continuance were not able to devise any of those *important regulations* which were said to be in contemplation eleven years ago, and were then stated as the ground of the fatal suspension." 4 pp.

#### GOVERNOR EDMUND FANNING to WILLIAM KNOX.

1801, Sept. 25. Prince Edward\* Island.—Sending him the journals of their House of Assembly appointing Knox and his son as agents for the island. "Although no salary is annexed to the appointment, *fifty or sixty pounds per annum*, it is said, *will certainly be given*, perhaps more." In process of time, Fanning hopes, it will increase and become something more than honorary and he will use his best endeavours to make it so. *Extract.* 1 p. Numbered 3. [See Fanning's letter of May 22, 1804, below.]

#### PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

1802, Nov. 3. Assembly Room.—Resolutions of the House of Assembly:—That the best thanks of the House be given to William Knox, colony agent, for his eminent services: That Mr. Knox be requested to sit for his portrait to some eminent artist in London at the expense of the House, and that the portrait shall be sent out and placed in the first public building hereafter to be erected in the colony: And that Sir Robert Chalmers, Bart., Thomas Cochran, Robert Shuttleworth, John Stewart and William Townshend, Esquires, or any two of them, be requested to wait on Mr. Knox to communicate the foregoing resolution, and to fix on a painter, and settle the mode of payment when the portrait shall be finished and framed.

With note, dated Nov. 13, that his Majesty's Council [in the colony] concur in the above resolutions. *Certified copy.* Signed, Peter Dagowan, C. Stewart. 2½ pp.

#### LORD LYTTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1803, April 12. Tuesday. Hagley Park.—"How do you do, dear Knox? . . . I write these few lines to request a little information of your state, and that of your family. My own has escaped the influenza; even my daughter has, though in town at her aunt, Mrs. Fraser's, and going to balls and routs. The distemper has been very prevalent at Birmingham and other towns

\* Formerly St. John's Island.

this neighbourhood, and has been in this village, but the high ground on which my house stands has been clear of it.

"I am in mourning for my very old cousin, Lady Chatham, who survived all her brothers many years. It is no personal loss to me, for she lived at so great a distance from me that I have had no society with her for a long time past." 1 p. *Seal with initial and monogram.*

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1803, April 18. Hagley Park.—"I am heartily sorry, my worthy good friend, that you have suffered so much from that cruel disorder the gout. . . . Considering what a temperate life you have led, I suppose the malady has come to you from your forefathers. I have sometimes made free with wine, and never have had a touch of gout, which, as far as is known, did never infest my progenitors for many generations, and I have not been intemperate enough to acquire it myself. Since I wrote the letter you have answered so kindly, I have had a slight attack of the influenza, but am now recovered. I thank you for your *Speculations*, which perfectly coincide with and confirm my own. Upon the whole I will only say 'Give peace in the remaining part of my time. O Lord,' for had the war with its income tax continued, my affairs would have been much deranged." 1½ pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to the COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE, Prince Edward Island.

1803, June 1. Soho Square.—I beg you will thank both houses for their very flattering testimony of their approbation of my services, and assure them, that I shall not cease my endeavours to render Prince Edward Island a favourite object of government. The gentlemen you appointed have fixed on the Baroness de Tott to execute my portrait, and I have already sat twice for it. I have written to Lord Hobart in relation to your letter of Jan. 5, but unfortunately the rupture with France has called his attention to the military division of his office, and no steps have been taken except to press Mr Stewart's departure, "and to refer him to the intimation contained in the Treasury letter to him for the appropriation of 3,000*l.* of the money he is expected to receive, to re-instate that sum to the credit of the colony, and to apply it as was originally intended." The gentlemen you appointed to call on me tell me that you have a decent church at Charlotte Town, but neither State House nor prison. The former, with Council Chamber, Assembly room, and offices for the Clerk of the Council, the Secretary and Register, and the Surveyor-General, they suppose might be constructed for about 1,500*l.*, and a prison, with separate wards for debtors and criminals, and a house for the keeper, may be fitted up for less than 500*l.* more. As the Courts of Law will probably not have occasion to sit when the Assembly is convened, the same room may, for the present, do for both. This leaves 1,000*l.* for erecting two more churches and three parsonage houses, for I understand there are two situations where churches are wanted,

and, indeed, nothing can more contribute to the population of the island. "I have no doubt of obtaining an addition to the annual estimate of 70*l.* to each and 50*l.* each from the Society, and also an allowance of 15*l.* per annum to a schoolmaster in each parish, as the vestry room of the church will serve for a schoolhouse. I wish much to interest Lord Hobart in the prosperity of the island as its patron, and it would be a pleasing compliment to him if you called the seat of one of the new churches Hobartstown, and if you called the other Addington, I would take care it should be considered as a compliment to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. Your Act contains no parochial regulations, which will become necessary when you have churches, as they must be kept in repair, and wine must be provided for the communion table." As the war will put a stop to emigration from Europe, you ought to exert your powers in doing what will hereafter be wanted, and so encourage respectable settlers to come to you when peace returns, which I trust will be before long. Enquiries concerning the escheated land have been made by very respectable persons in Scotland, and government had under consideration a plan for re-granting it when the renewal of hostilities called off their attention. "I will not however, suffer the island to be forgot, even among the din of arms, and it will be for its own legislature to raise its character and keep up the public opinion of its advantages by just and beneficial laws and regulations." 5½ pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to GENERAL FANNING.

1804, March 7.—Has not yet received the 50 guineas to pay for his picture. The frame will cost ten more. When appointed agent, in 1801, he was told by his Excellency that, though no salary was appointed in the Act, it was intended to grant 60*l.* a year, but he has never heard anything of it. As he will have been the colony's agent three years next July, it is certainly time he knew whether he was to have a salary or not, and he cannot help fearing that the picture is meant to stand in lieu of a year of it, which would not be very handsome.

In a search in the Office of Trade he has found several un-approved Acts of the island, of all of which he ought to have had copies. Had he known of one of them, "passed in the year 1786, confirming titles to portions of lands proposed to be given by certain proprietors to Loyalists," he would have been able "to remove all blame from the legislature of the island for the want of measures for settling the island, and to have laid it on the heads of the administration who advised the disapprobation of that Act." *Extract.* 1 p. (No. 2.)

#### GOVERNOR EDMUND FANNING to the COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE, Prince Edward Island.

1804, April 17. Charlotte Town.—Sending them an extract from Mr. Knox's letter of March 7. "The zeal and ability which Mr. Knox has displayed, and the success which has attended his unre-mitted endeavours for the public interest and reputation of this

and has been so meritorious and distinguished" that he is certainly entitled not only to the immediate payment of his arrears salary, but to the best gratitude and liberal consideration of the Legislature of the island. 2 pp. (No. 1.)

COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE to his Excellency, LIEUT.-GENERAL FANNING.

1804, April 19. Charlotte Town.—Acknowledging his letter. Will at all times be ready to acknowledge with gratitude the zeal and ability which Mr. Knox has manifested in promoting the settlement and prosperity of the island, and although, as a Committee of the House of Assembly, they do not conceive it to be within the scope of their instructions to interfere in regard to the subject matter of his Excellency's letter, as individuals they are clearly of opinion that Mr. Knox ought to be immediately paid the arrears of salary due to him. Signed, C. Stewart, Peter Dagowan, Rob. Hodgson, David Ross, Robert Lee. 1½ pp. (No. 4.)

COUNCIL OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

1804, May 10.—Minute that the Lieut.-Governor having laid before the Board the letters, &c. in relation to Mr. Knox's salary, a warrant was ordered to be made out immediately "for three years' salary, at 60*l.* per annum, to be paid as soon as provision shall be made by the House of Assembly for defraying such arrearages due to Mr. Knox for his meritorious services. True copy, signed by Robert Lee, Deputy Clerk of the Council. (No. 5.)

GOVERNOR FANNING to WILLIAM KNOX.

1804, May 22. Prince Edward Island. By the enclosed papers, numbered 1-5, you will see that I have not been inattentive to your just claims, and have not stopped until I had signed a warrant for your three years' agency. "Between ourselves, and *in friendly confidence*, the Assembly are sometimes strangely wrong-headed, and I am confident it was not intended that you should receive any other acknowledgement for your agency than the picture, and I was glad to receive your letter signifying to me the contrary. But you will observe that I have fixed the whole three years' salary, and *the amount shall be paid you.*" Your kind and friendly attention to my private affairs gives you the strongest claim upon me. [The rest of the letter relates to Fanning's private financial affairs.] 3 pp.

WILLIAM KNOX to LORD CAMDEN.

1804, June 9. Soho Square.—The West India planters and merchants having applied for an Act permitting the importation in American ships of lumber, cornflour and other articles, taking away in payment the produce of those islands, it becomes his duty, as agent of New Brunswick and of Prince Edward Island (while not denying that such permission is necessary at present), to pray



that it may not be continued "beyond the existence of the necessity which calls for it, but that whenever the North American [British] Colonies shall manifest ability to supply the several articles wanted by their fellow-subjects in the West Indies, the permission to import them from the United States may be discontinued." He begs further to represent that an article in the treaty with the United States limited the burden of their vessels allowed to trade with the West Indies to 70 tons, but this article the States refused to ratify, and it must be acknowledged that such vessels are too small to receive the beams of timber needed in the islands, as also that the expense of navigation cannot be defrayed by the freight of such timber as they can store. But it is supposed that if the limitation was extended to 130 tons the objection would be obviated, and yet a sufficient guard provided against the abuse which an unlimited tonnage might give occasion to. While the American Colonies are so liberal in their dispositions to their fellow-subjects in the West Indies, it is surely not unreasonable to expect a return of good-will, yet Knox is informed "that in the islands of Barbados, Antigua, St. Kitts and Jamaica a stranger duty of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. or more is levied upon all imports from the British N. American Colonies (and in the island of St. Vincent it is 3 per cent.) from which the imports from the United States are exempt." It is humbly hoped that through his lordship's powerful recommendation, the legislatures of those islands will be induced to relieve the British Colonies from these strangers' duties. *Draft.*  $5\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to the CLERK OF THE COUNCIL.

1804, July 5. Ealing.—Suggesting means by which the British possessions in North America may be improved, "in order to render them as beneficial to the commerce and navigation of the Empire as possible." Upper Canada is more fitted for the production of grain and flesh than any other colony, but its only channel for export and import is the St. Lawrence, which for several months in the year is not navigable, and which is commanded by the forts on the American side. It "can no longer be expected to remain a British Colony than the United States continue in friendship with Great Britain," and by their entire command of the Mississippi and its tributaries, it is to be feared that the States "will share with Great Britain in its commerce, and thus by extending our settlements in that country, we may be promoting the prosperity of the United States and preparing a valuable acquisition for their ambition." In Lower Canada, the St. Lawrence is closed for a much shorter time, and "as New Brunswick runs back to meet its frontier," it is much less exposed to be seized by the United States, or to have its trade diverted into their channel; on the contrary, much of their produce comes to Quebec, and is exported thence as British Colony produce, and paid for with British goods. Lower Canada, therefore, connected as it is with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, may be considered as a permanent possession of the Crown. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are open to the Atlantic, and therefore only for a short time in the year inaccessible to shipping. The bay of Fundy

ounds with fish, which is to be found also along the whole east coast, &c., and the interior of both colonies abounds with timber. Any ships have been built there, but were of such "short duration" that Knox learnt at Lloyd's Coffee House that the underwriters refused to insure them for a second voyage. On enquiry, he found that they were built hastily and of green wood, owing to the legislature offering a premium if a certain number were built in a given time. The evil has now been cured, and the ships of those colonies are of good reputation. Their inexhaustible timber and abundance of fish make them very valuable, although their soil is not fertile enough for them ever to be great exporters of provisions. A part of New Brunswick, on the Gulf of St. Laurence, is admirably adapted for the growth of hemp.

Prince Edward Island is the most fertile of the colonies. Of its 300,000 acres not a thousand are unfit for cultivation, and its freedom from the fogs which infest the sea coast of Nova Scotia make it fit for corn. Its pastures are well adapted for sheep and cattle, hemp will thrive there luxuriantly, fish abounds on its coast, plenty of timber for small vessels can be got from Labrador; nothing wanting but inhabitants and a wise government to make it a most valuable colony.

Soon after Cape Breton was ceded to Great Britain, in 1763, it was discovered that the whole island was a rock of coal. Mr. Charles Townshend, then first Lord of Trade, asked Knox what was best to be done with it. He told him that the then British provinces possessed iron ore which they smelted with charcoal and sent to Ireland and Scotland, where it was manufactured into implements and tools, and so sent back to America. If then, the coal mines of Cape Breton were worked, the Americans would supply themselves thence, work up their own pigs, and Great Britain would lose the trade. This determined him to shut up the colliery, and "he added the consideration of the probability that the collieries of this country might fail, and that Cape Breton would then be a useful source to apply to." This island is well situated for the fishery, and has an excellent harbour, but is not fit for cultivation.

As to the utility of these colonies, "all ideas of extracting a revenue from them must be totally abandoned. They have no money, nor ever can have any, nor ever ought to possess any; the whole of their commercial transactions must consist in barter—the exchange of their labour and its produce for our manufactures." The exaction of a high quit rent or purchase for the lands would prevent their settlement, from which alone advantage to this country must arise, and yet so little has this been understood by those who have had the conduct of the colonies, that since the defection of the States the quit rents in most of those that remained have been doubled, although every consideration of policy, justice and humanity demanded measures for drawing the loyal inhabitants out of the revolted provinces, and so strengthening the colonies which still adhered to the Crown. The King's governors were restrained from making grants of land, not only to new comers, but even to the grown-up sons of the inhabitants who therefore were obliged to settle in the revolted States, where they were gladly

received, free grants given to them, and some aid in tools and provisions as well. The restraint has lately been taken off, but the quit rents are raised from 2s. to 4s. 2d. per hundred acres, with a premium of two dollars as well, while Upper Canada has no quit rents at all, as if the intention were to draw the inhabitants of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick thither. The governors very wisely tried to counteract the mischief by giving warrants of location to the settlers, with promise of grants when the restraint should be taken off, but its long continuance destroyed confidence and stopped the ingress of settlers; and some ships bringing settlers from Europe chose to go on to the United States rather than remain on such assurances. Common justice, as well as good policy, requires that the grants should be made on the terms originally proposed, and it would be no more than equitable to place the settlers on the same footing with those in Upper Canada, and relieve them from the payment of quit rent, which would encourage them very much. Prince Edward Island has been lately the object of much discussion, and as the measures adopted for its improvement have not yet had effect, there can only be recommended the exercise of great temper, judgment and impartiality. If these colonies are properly encouraged they will soon be in a condition to supply the West Indies with fish and lumber.

At the upper end of the Bay of Fundy there is a vast mine of gypsum, or plaster of Paris, which the farmers in the United States make great use of as manure, employing the craft of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to bring it to the islands in Passamaquoddy (which have been allowed to remain in their possession, although the right of Great Britain to them has been fully proved), whence their own vessels carry it to the States. As it is material that our shipping should have the whole transport of this manure, such orders should be given as would compel the Americans to employ our large vessels to carry it the whole distance. *Draft.* 14 pp.

#### HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1804, July. Naples.—Sympathising with him on the death of his son, and thanking him for his “literary productions.” The *State Papers* were first conveyed to the Political Inquisitors appointed to examine all foreign publications, but happily they found nothing to object to. Sees with concern Mr. Wilberforce’s success in the House of Commons respecting the African trade, but hopes he will be disappointed in the Lords.

The French Ambassador is this instant passing in pomp to the Palace “to present his Imperial credentials” to the King, who will probably, from good policy, receive him respectfully. 3 pp.

[*The covering page of this letter has 5 postmarks and three Foreign Office stamps upon it, of date from Sept. 10 to Sept. 13.*]

#### The SAME to the SAME.

[1804], Nov. 27. Naples.—After a long interruption of the posts from England, a courier is just now arrived from the north, who brings me your kind and instructive favour of September, which

furnished me the highest satisfaction, both as regarded yourself and public affairs. "We remain here pretty much in the same state as when I last wrote to you, though under the greatest anxiety to know what measures the French will force this Court to adopt upon the present occasion. The King ardently desires to remain neutral, which, in case of a war with Spain, I am afraid he will not be permitted to do. Meanwhile, we are totally uncertain what will be the event of our disputes in case of a war with that power, nor we learn nothing here upon this subject authentic or to be depended upon. . . . As to the part I shall be obliged to take hereafter, in consequence of the French power and influence here, I am as yet perfectly ignorant. 2½ pp.  
*English post-mark, "Jan. 28, 1805."*

#### LORD LYTTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1805]. Hagley Park. Tuesday.—I am very glad to hear that you think of visiting us. "Since you were here my much lamented friend Champion has, by a legacy, added his library to mine. We have also a card table almost every night to amuse those who had rather look into the Devil's books, as some people have call'd cards, than either the Bible or the Koran." 1 p.

#### HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1805, Sept. 16. Naples.—Will gladly, if possible, accede to Knox's request to borrow 5,000*l.* upon the security mentioned. Has 28,000*l.* in the house of Sarjent, Chambers & Co., with whom he has dealt as bankers for fifty years, but of late he has had some hints that their circumstances are doubtful, and he will, as soon as possible, draw out on their hands what Knox needs. On the 26th of July, there was a violent earthquake at Naples, and every moment they expected to be buried in the ruins of the city, but though "every house bears the strongest marks of immediate destruction, yet few have suffered, and not many of the inhabitants. In the provinces great numbers of lives were lost, and multitudes of buildings destroyed, however all is tranquil now. Vesuvius gives the evil some vent, and continues to pour out torrents of flaming lava." He himself had a very violent fall, and soon after an attack of a paralytic nature, but is, thank God, pretty well recovered from both. 3 pp.

#### THE SAME to the SAME.

1805, Nov. 5. Naples.—The English post is stopped in Germany and in Italy, so that they can neither send nor receive letters by that way. A merchant has promised to send this by way of Hambro'. "It is said our Government means, in time, to establish a packet between Trieste and Malta, in which case correspondence will be open again." [In relation to the loan alluded to in the previous letter.] 2 pp.



## HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1805, Dec. 15. Naples.—Has just received a letter from Sarjent house in response to his notice that he wished to withdraw 5,000*l* praying him to draw upon them for half the sum at six months and the other half at nine months. Fears the house is on the point of failing, which will be a terrible loss to him; he cannot help it however, so must submit.

*P.S.*—"A body of English and Russian troops are arrived here which will force this King into a war again with the French in a month's time, and, of course, in all probability oblige me to retire again to Palermo." 3 *pp*.

## THOMAS J. STIKEMAN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1806, Jan. 28. Naples.—Informing him of the death of Governor Henry Ellis, on January 21. Mr. Knox, Samuel Marshall, Esq. of Sergeants' Inn, and Mr. Francis Ellis (nephew of the deceased) are appointed executors. Sends a copy of Governor Ellis' will authenticated by Mr. Scott, the British Vice-Consul, and has placed another copy, signed and sealed by the late governor, in the hands of Mr. Christian Heigelin, Danish Consul, an old friend of the deceased. The original he keeps in his own hands, being authorised by Governor Ellis, to whom he was secretary, to take charge of his papers and effects. 2 *pp*.

## WILLIAM KNOX to the CLERK OF THE COUNCIL.

1806, June 16. Ealing.—Has great pleasure in furnishing the Lords of the Committee [for Trade and Plantations] with his ideas of the best modes of disposing of the crown lands in New Brunswick. Three classes have to be considered—present inhabitants, emigrants from the United States and emigrants from Europe. The present inhabitants are mostly loyalists or descendants of loyalists, and have strong claims on Government. The grants of land so long withheld from them should be immediately expedited, quit rent suspended for ten years, and all arrears of quit rent remitted. Thus their confidence and good humour will be restored and they will communicate their satisfaction to their friends in the United States, and induce emigration. Lands in many of the States have risen in value, and it is a characteristic of Americans to have no local attachment. "They play at leap-frog with their lands; so soon as they have cultivated a spot that any new comer likes they sell it and remove higher up in the country . . . I have known them remove four times in the space of a few years." Therefore there can be no doubt that many will remove into New Brunswick, and, although some may be republicans, the superior respect in which the King's governor and servants are held, compared with the Republican governors and officers, and provincial rivalries and jealousies, will soon counteract their sentiments. The emigrants from Europe come out either with money to seat themselves on vacant lands or as indentured servants brought over by the masters of the ships, who dispose of the indentures to the residents, and so

pay themselves for the expence of bringing the men over. These indentured servants are not entitled to lands until their apprenticeship expires, but, as they are a valuable acquisition to the country, the purchasers [of the indentures] should be allowed to claim lands on their account, with assurance to the servants of receiving them when their time expires.

The province should be divided into counties and sub-divided into parishes and townships; the surveys to be made at Government's expence, and accurate maps returned into the Surveyor's Office for inspection by new comers. Each township should be on or near a river or creek navigable for boats and canoes, and they should be connected by roads with each other and the seat of Government; these roads, in the first instance, to be made merely by blazing trees in lines about 12 feet from each other and cutting away the brush, between. Bridges to be made by logs of trees pinned together with cross pieces, and covered with brush and earth, and the same method to be taken for roads across swamps; both roads and bridges to be made at the public expence under the direction of Commissioners and an Act to be passed by the Legislature for their maintenance. As the country becomes settled better roads and bridges will be made.

There are three methods of granting lands:—(1) By the King's warrant or *mandamus*; (2) on the claim of a settler in proportion to the number of his family; (3) by "the grant of an additional quantity in proportion to his ability by purchase." The 1st plan has always been a job, and has greatly impeded the settlement of the colonies; the 2nd is the wisest, as it operates as a premium to persons with families, and children born or brought up in the colony will become its best defenders. The settled proportion is a hundred acres for the master, 50 for the wife, and 50 more for each child or indentured servant. The additions made by purchase must be regulated by the discretion of the Governor and Council.

It has been the disgrace of all administrations, since the first settlement of colonies in America, that no legal provision has ever been made for the ministers of the Established Church, or any care taken by Government for the religious instruction of the inhabitants. I beg to refer them to two letters (Appendices 4 and 5 of his *Extra Official State Papers*) drawn up by him for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. This Society is now in very affluent circumstances and, with the assistance of their funds, Government might find means to make a permanent establishment for the ministers of the Church of England in the British provinces at very small expence to the public. *Draft. 8 pp.*

#### WILLIAM KNOX to LORD AUCKLAND.

1806, July 22. — Prince Edward Island was originally divided into lots of about 20,000 acres each, and granted to as many proprietors as there were lots, who were to provide a fund for the support of the Governor, civil officers and clergy by a large quit rent. Many of the proprietors never paid their quit rents, the officers were left without salaries, and the island was likely to be abandoned,

when the Crown took up the officers' case, and made a scanty provision for them; the public, by way of indemnity, taking the quit rents into their own hands. Little was got from the proprietors however, and the arrears mounted up to 60,000*l.*, more than double the price the island would sell for. When I was appointed agent I submitted a mode of inducing proprietors to dispose of their land in small portions to actual settlers and so reduce the arrears to 7,000*l.* which, I calculated, would pay off the arrears of salaries and reimburse the grant of 2,000*l.* meant for a church, State house, and gaol, but which the governor and officers had taken to themselves for their maintenance. I also suggested the remission of arrears of quit rent to small holders "beyond the due proportion of the liquidated sum charged upon the whole lot." Lord Hobart, however, thought it improper to reduce the amount of the arrears lower than 22,000*l.*, and continued the quit rent at its old rate, and an Act had been passed by the Legislature of the island enforcing the payment of arrears. I would suggest that the late Lieut.-Governor Fanning (now living at 57 Margaret Street, Cavendish Square), Mr. Stewart and myself should attend your Lordship with maps and papers, and I make no doubt you would collect sufficient information to form a plan which would render the island beneficial to the public. Orders should be given for the admission of ships from foreign ports to land their passengers in the British possessions, as otherwise the Dutch and Germans will still go to the United States, as they have done during the continuance of the suspending Instruction. I have made several attempts to engage the Society for Propagation of the Gospel to assist in providing a religious establishment for the island, but Dr. Morrice, their Secretary, objects on the ground that it is private property, and that none of the proprietors are subscribers to the funds of the Society.

Your Lordship must, therefore, speak with the Archbishop of Canterbury and other of the Bishops on the subject. There is only one poor minister of the Church of England in the island, with a salary of 70*l.* a year from the estimates; he has a large family, which he supports "by labouring in a check shirt six days in the week, but on Sundays he attends his duty in the church very regularly. Glebes are reserved in every parish, but there is neither church nor minister except at Charlotte town. If the quit rents were made a fund for the support of the Church of England ministers, and some help given from the Society, an establishment for ministers and school-masters would soon be made: and if the same plan were carried into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, "the want of attention to the affairs of religion in the colonies will be no longer a reproach to the British administration." 8 pp.

#### LORD LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1807, Jan. 4. Hagley Park.—" . . . I will not omit to tell you, my very worthy old friend, that I am this day completely eighty-two years old, and shall give and partake of a cheerful dinner with some of my neighbours. What a pleasure would it be to me if I could add you to their number! Yet I will not propose

money to you in the winter ; I believe I shall outlive it, and shall be happy in your company if you will favour me with a visit in any of the next summer months.

I have here my grandson, young Henry Hoare, but William, son, is engaged in the House of Commons, where, as you say very truly, he has gained a very honourable seat, but time alone must show whether it will produce beneficial effects to him and advance his fortune." 1½ pp. [*Written in a clear, firm hand.*]

#### LORD AUCKLAND to WILLIAM KNOX.

1807, Feb. 21. Palace Yard.—*Private.* "I have reason to believe that it would be a concession highly beneficial to the colony of New Brunswick, and in some degree to Nova Scotia, if it could be made practicable to allow the vessels of the United States of a certain description, and British vessels, to carry from some specified port or place to the United States the gypsum or plaister of Paris. Will you have the goodness to give to me a little of your strong sense and information on this subject, so as to facilitate such a measure in the least exceptionable shape. I have reason to believe that the United States would annually purchase an immense quantity of the article for the cultivation of lands, and the furnishing of it would be highly advantageous to New Brunswick." 1 p.

E. COOKE (secretary to Lord Castlereagh) to WILLIAM KNOX.

1807, May 13. Downing Street.—Requesting him to furnish Lord Castlereagh with a copy of the communication from Lord Auckland which he sent to Prince Edward Island, as Governor Barbours mentions it, but gives no particulars. 1 p.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to LORD CASTLEREAGH.

1807, Oct. 15. Ealing.—In consequence of the hostile appearances in the United States of America, he begs to draw his lordship's attention to the unprotected state of New Brunswick ; its extended frontier and the thinness of its inhabitants (owing to the fatal continuance of the Instruction preventing grants of land) holding out an invitation to the Americans to attempt its conquest in case of war, and their possession of the islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy affording shelter for their cruisers and enabling them to intercept British trading vessels, and in a great measure to destroy the valuable wherry in the bay. There is not a military man in New Brunswick, nor any of his Majesty's vessels stationed there, and, though it is too late in the season for an arrival from Europe, he prays his lordship to advise his Majesty to direct some naval and military force to be sent from Halifax and Quebec as soon as war with the United States becomes inevitable. *Copy.* 2 pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to E. COOKE

1808, Jan. 27. Ealing.—On the importance, in case of war with America, of taking possession of Penobscott, thus obtaining an



excellent station for the British cruisers, and at the same time covering the Bay of Fundy and Nova Scotia from attack by sea. Also the Americans would never think of attacking New Brunswick by land if British troops were in possession of the Penobscott River, which they must cross and leave in their rear. Even Lower Canada would be protected by a force there, as it was by going up the Sagadahock River that Arnold made an irruption into Canada. He had nearly taken Quebec, and Sagadahock Bay being very near Penobscott Bay and the two rivers nearly parallel, nothing could be done on the one without being known and probably frustrated on the force on the other. "These were the reasons which induced the attack upon Penobscott by Sir George Collier in the American war, and it was the determined purpose of Lord George Germain and the whole administration to have retained possession of the country and to have erected it into a province, under the name of New Ireland, had not Mr. Wedderburne, then Attorney-General, out of resentment of not being made a peer at the same time with Lord Thurlow, refused to give his fiat to the Commission; and Lord Shelburne, from ignorance of its importance, ceded it to the Americans."

The Americans, holding Lake Champlain, will undoubtedly attack Montreal by that route, as Montgomery did in the American war. Does not know if the British have any fort on the Sorel. The French had one, but too small to hold troops enough for any purpose, so that Carleton abandoned it to Montgomery, calling the garrison to him at Montreal, which place, however, he had not sufficient force to defend, and so made his escape from it in a canoe to Quebec. Fears Montreal cannot be defended, as the Americans can come down from Oswego as well as from Lake Champlain, and if Montreal is taken the whole of Upper Canada must fall into the enemy's hands. So armed vessels on Lake Ontario might prevent the attack from Oswego, but, as the Americans could bring in an overwhelming army by Lake Champlain, and could soon construct armed vessels at Oswego and Niagara, this would only delay, not prevent, the conquest of Upper Canada.

If hostilities be determined upon, it would be best to send troops out directly to Penobscott, as the Americans are not prepared for such an attack, and, as before said, troops stationed there would better cover the British possessions than if sent to Nova Scotia or New Brunswick.

Sends a printed copy of the plan of Sir George Collier's attack in case that in the office cannot be found. "It is most unfortunate that General Carleton is prevented from going out, as the Governor is quite imbecile." 3 pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to the CLERK OF THE COUNCIL.

1808, Feb. 11. Ealing.—In answer to the inquiry of the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, begs to state that he has received instructions from New Brunswick to oppose any attempt to procure his Majesty's disallowance of the Act mentioned in that province in the last year, intitled *An Act to ascertain*

*rights of Fishery.\** Will attend their lordships at any time, but says first to be furnished with a copy of the petition from the Corporation of St. John's against the said Act, as he is ignorant of the nature and grounds of their objections to it. *Draft.* 1½ pp.

WILLIAM KNOX to the COMMITTEE OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

1808, April 6. Ealing.—The Lords of Trade have had under consideration the Act of their Assembly concerning the rights of fishery. The agent for St. John's stated his objections to the Act; Knox answered, "to the apparent satisfaction of the Lords," who expressed much impatience in hearing his antagonist's reply; but the Act was disallowed, partly because an Act of Assembly cannot repeal an Act of Parliament or alter the Common Law of England, and, also, because Ministers are doing everything to conciliate the United States, and the Act would deprive their fishing vessels of the stipulations made in their favour in the Treaty of 1783. It is not yet known whether it is to be Peace or War with the States, but meanwhile, their embargo must be of great benefit to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and, perhaps "the accounts Congress will receive of the treatment their ships meet with from the French and other allies will indispose them to go to war" with England. *Copy.* 2¼ pp.

The SAME to the SAME.

1808, Sept. 7. Ealing.—All negotiation between England and the United States being suspended, it appears a fit time to consider the business of their province. The question of the intercourse between the United States and the British West Indies must be comprised in the general measures adopted for the good of the nation, but there must be no relaxation of watchfulness and nothing should be left undone to enforce the importance of the Colony. Mr. Nathaniel Acheson's most valuable book is not entirely favourable, and Knox wishes to do away with disagreeable inferences to be drawn from it. General Carleton stated, in his evidence before the Committee on West Indian Commerce, that when he left New Brunswick there were five ships employed in bringing home masts and spars, but Mr. Idle, before the same Committee, said that he has a contract to furnish masts, &c., for the Navy from Canada *solely*, they being very far superior to those of New Brunswick or the United States; and Mr. Venner stated that the American fishermen come to the New Brunswick lines, catch the fish on their banks, and carry them to their own adjacent islands for sale. This is a severe charge against the industry and skill of the New Brunswick fishermen, and the other statement is highly injurious to the character of the timber of the country. In the same volume is a judgment by Mr. Botsford, Judge of the New Brunswick Vice-Admiralty Court, clearly laying down the boundary line of the province as passing between Deer Island, Campo Bello, and Marvel on the British side, and Moose, Dudley and Frederick Islands on the American side; and after this peremptory decision by a very able judge appointed

\* The words in italics are cancelled.

by the Crown, it would be difficult to support any claim to the last three islands, but they might be obtained by treaty. Hopes that the termination of the present war will enable Great Britain to grant America equivalents for a much greater concession. "The happy expulsion of the French from Spain and Portugal, to which Great Britain has so greatly contributed," must dispose both those nations to gratitude, and it may be possible to obtain East Florida for the United States as an equivalent for their ceding to Great Britain the country up to the Penobscott, or the Kennebec. At all events, the favourable termination of the war would put it in England's power to amend the unfortunate treaty of 1783, so as to insure the future safety and prosperity of British North America. Hopes to have a reduced copy of the great map of New Brunswick at the Board of Trade engraved ready to send to Germany, to encourage emigrants, as soon as peace is declared. 5 pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to DR. HERSCHEL.

1809, Oct. 9. Great Ealing.—Stating that as "the contemplation of a future state leads to astronomical disquisitions," he begs to ask Dr. Herschel for some information concerning the rotatory movements of the planets on their own axis, concerning which neither Sir Isaac Newton, nor any of his successors, seem ever even to have hazarded a conjecture. Gives the data of the times, &c., of the revolutions of the Earth, Mars and Jupiter, stating (*inter alia*) that, as Dr. Herschel well knows, the Earth is computed to be 81 millions of miles from the Sun, and its rotation on its axis about a thousand miles an hour; Mars 120 millions of miles from the Sun, rotating at 500 miles an hour; Jupiter five times the Earth's distance from the Sun, rotating at nearly 26,000 miles an hour. Does not pretend to accuracy in his numbers, "as small differences are nothing in such extensive calculations," and has not made these statements to inform Dr. Herschel of the facts, as he knows them better than anyone alive, but as the ground for his enquiries. Begs, in the first place, to know "if there has been any use discovered for placing so vast a body of some sort of matter in the situation of Jupiter in our solar system. . . . That a great body should move with greater velocity than a small one in making its revolution, is so contrary to all mechanical rule" that he cannot conceive what the law is which governs the case, and he prays Dr. Herschel, as the most likely of all practical astronomers to make the discovery, to employ his great talents in the consideration of the subject, for he is apt to imagine that a nearer knowledge of the heavenly bodies will help in forming a juster knowledge of Heaven itself. Dr. Herschel has "supposed the whole created universe forms one great concave, and Milton has made Satan, after passing through Chaos, to land upon the convex or outside of that concave. If this be so, where shall we place the seat of bliss, or the place of the Assembly of the 10,000 times 10,000 angels, who we are told surround the throne of the Deity. We have local descriptions of Heaven and of Paradise; indeed we are told of three heavens . . . In what part of space are we to look for them?" In conclusion, assures the Doctor of the great

obligations which he, in common with all others, owes to him.  
(*py.* 5 *pp.*)

#### DR. WILLIAM HERSCHEL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1809, Oct. 13. [Slough, near Windsor. —“ Dear Sir,—Among the astronomical particulars you have mentioned, although the purpose for which they are intended does not require great accuracy, there are some that should be corrected. For instance, the distance of the earth from the Sun is not less than 95 millions of miles, that of Mars 34, and of Jupiter 494 millions. The diameter also of Jupiter being 91,714 miles, the velocity upon its equator arising from rotatory motion will be nearly 29 thousand miles per hour.

“ The question about the cause of the rotatory motion of the planets has not entirely escaped the inquisitive minds of astronomers; it is probably connected with the projectile motion, as one could hardly be given without the other. You may see a quotation on this subject at the end of my paper printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1783, page 283, *On the Sun and Solar System*. The quotation is from Mr. De la Lande, as follows:—

“ ‘ Une force quelconque imprimée à un corps et capable de le faire tourner autour de son centre, ne peut manquer aussi de déplacer le centre et l’on ne sauroit concevoir l’un sans l’autre. Il paroît donc très vraisemblable que le soleil a un mouvement réel dans l’espace absolu.’ ”

“ Now as in this paper, and two more published in 1805 and 1806, the solar motion in space has been proved, we are authorised to admit that the same cause which gave it that motion may possibly have also been the cause of its rotation.

“ It is true that the heavens appear to us as one great concave, but this, we also know, to be a mere consequence of the principles of optics; the real extent or form of the universe is far beyond what we can have any conception of. An attempt to assign ‘ a space for the seat of bliss or the assembly of angels ’ does not fall to the lot of astronomers, who keep always within the range of facts that may be ascertained. In hopes that what has been said will partly answer your expectation, I have the honour to remain, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant, Wm. Herschel.”

## II.—LETTERS AND PAPERS RELATING TO IRELAND.

### THE STATE OF IRELAND.

1767 — Paper on the state of Ireland, noted by Knox as “ delivered to Lord Frederick Campbell when appointed Secretary to Ireland in 1767.” *Draft.* 14 *pp.*

#### SIR LUCIUS O'BRIEN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, April 2. Dublin.—Sir John Blaquiére has communicated to me your letter relative to the possibility of attaching the southern whale fisheries to Ireland. I thought not a moment should be lost, and, though the Parliament is too near dissolution to introduce



a bill, I have laid some resolutions on the subject before the House of Commons, who have unanimously agreed to them.

The import and export duties on oil, whalebone and seal skin have been taken off by an Irish Act this session, and by these resolutions a bounty is promised similar to the Greenland bounty, but whereas this is to be reduced from next Christmas to 30s. per ton, ours will continue, for three years at least, at 40s. With regard to the premiums for erecting furnaces and boiling the oil, we have funds of our own proper for the purpose. As you have opportunities of communicating both with the London and American merchants I pray you to perfect your work, and help to "prevent this body of industrious fishermen (many of whom are Irishmen) from transporting themselves and their art to France or Holland.

3½ pp.

#### SIR JOHN BLAQUIERE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, May 14. Dublin Castle.—Assuring Knox that his ideas are carefully attended to, and likely to prosper for the good of Ireland. Is sorry he has not been able to enter into the correspondence as it deserved, but the cause has not suffered, as his friend, Sir Lucius O'Brien, has followed it up with his wonted diligence.

Hopes to be able to do Mr Smith a good turn, but, since Lord Harcourt's arrival, "priests have refused to die, the clergy have been, as they deserve to be, immortal; and engagements ecclesiastical [made] upon his first landing, are some of them yet unaccomplished.

2 pp.

*With note.*—"This letter transmitted copy of a bill for the improvement of the Fisheries of Ireland; giving bounties to the Newfoundland ships."

#### SIR LUCIUS O'BRIEN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, July 7. Dublin.—"The infinite confusion into which I have been thrown by a very unfairly contested county election" is my only apology for leaving your letters so long unanswered.

"The times are certainly favourable in many respects for us, and England seems sufficiently apprised in general of the advantages that must result to herself from increasing the maritime strength of Ireland. . . . One matter formerly hinted at by you would no doubt, be highly conducive to this. I mean a clause in some Act declaring Irish ships to be English to all legal intents—that is if duly registered and manned. You know how far the English laws go already to this point, so that the clause would rather be declaratory than any new grace to Ireland."

With respect to our fisheries, I think our Parliament has done almost all that could be expected from them, and yet our merchants have none of them availed themselves of these encouragements. The cause you have pointed out—the want of capital in this poor country. You have also given the remedy—that the moneyed agents of London would furnish funds if the trade should appear profitable, yet I cannot hear of any of our merchants availing themselves of this supply. Without this they can do little, yet we are making some beginning. 3½ pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1776, Sept. 30. Dromoland.—As to the African trade, “the Labling Acts of 15 and 23 Charles II. I believe prohibit Ireland trade to or from any *place or plantation* belonging to England in Africa, but, as to such parts of the trade as is carried on with countrys which England has no dominion, I think there is no law which interferes with us, unless it be that one which directs the African trade to be carried on under the direction of a company, and that act, I think, while it fixes the seats of direction in London, Liverpool and Bristol, yet leaves the trade open to all his Majesty’s subjects.”

Might not some encouragement be given to our fisheries and also to the captains of our men of war, if the Irish merchants were permitted to register prize ships as British ships for the Fisheries? *pp.*

## IRISH TRADE.

1776. —Paper endorsed by Knox himself as “delivered to Sir John Blaquiére; the ground of the first measure for opening the trade of Ireland in 1776.” 4 *pp.*

1776.—Notes showing that the Irish are cut off from the Newfoundland fishing, since Irish ships may not enter its harbours, nor may fishing tackle or provisions be carried thither by ships belonging to Ireland. The same may be said respecting the whale and oil fishing in the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, as, by the Navigation Act of 15 Charles II., all ships carrying commodities to the colonies must be “English built, or belonging to England, Wales or Berwick,” and only by such ships may fish be brought home. *Imperfect.* 4 *pp.*

## SIR LUCIUS O'BRIEN TO WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 5. Dromoland.—Your observation is striking “upon the profit which the New Englanders made of their molasses spirit, and on the probability there is that the Irish could afford a malt spirit at as cheap a rate. With a view to this very trade I obtained in the last session of our Parliament a drawback of all duties upon the exportation of Irish made spirits,” but I think we shall need to have more liberty given to us, if we are to go extensively into the African trade.

With regard to importing West India goods directly into Ireland, you think we might succeed if a higher tax is laid on these than on such as come through England, and if we can prove risk and loss by the present circuitous route. As to the first, it is done already by the Irish Act of Customs, which subjects plantation goods coming by way of England to but half the duty charged in the Book of Rates.

And does not this difference in favour of importing from England prove the loss also? “For either the loss *must* exceed that sum, or else, even after permission given to import directly, men will prefer the present practice, and then no complaint can be made by anyone.”

The rest of the letter is a discussion of one of the clauses in the Fishery Act. 8 *pp.*

## SIR RICHARD HERON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, April 29. Dublin Castle.—Introducing Mr. Wetherell, a gentleman whom Sir Lucius O'Brien desired should attend the Committee. He is assistant examiner of the Customs, and of great knowledge in his branch, and brings with him the Books of the Customs for the last seven years. 2 pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1778, May 10. Dublin Castle.—I last night received your letter, stating what had passed in your conference with the deputies of the iron and hemp manufacturers, and desiring an opinion from hence upon the proposition that Irish manufactures "shall carry out with them a duty equal to that which remains upon those of the same denomination exported from England." By the Lord Lieutenant's direction, I have informed the Speaker, Prime Serjeant, Attorney-General, and other important members of the House of Commons, of the import of your letter, and am to assure you that they have no apprehension that so reasonable a proposal can fail to be cheerfully adopted. Pray, therefore, have bills drawn in England, and send the drafts over, that we may see exactly what you expect from our Parliament.

The Lord Lieutenant desires me to thank you for your attention to him in this business. 3 pp.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1778, May 22. Dublin Castle.—In my former letters I stated that there was no doubt but that the Parliament of Ireland would cheerfully concur in your proposition for equalizing duties, but, as it seems to be expected that the clause you send me should be inserted in the Act, I have conferred to-day with many of the principal gentlemen of our House, and, being persuaded that our Parliament would immediately lay such duties as this clause is calculated to obtain, they wish the bill to pass "without a clause which seems to express a doubt of the Parliament here doing what is right in this respect, and which is the less necessary as Ireland hopes for further benefits, and cannot be so impolitick as to forfeit her claim to them by an ill-use of what is now to be granted." But, whether the clause is insisted on or no, you are prayed to send a most exact account of how goods, &c., imported from Great Britain stand charged, that Parliament, in laying on the duty here may be sure they proceed correctly. I cannot conceal that the "long train of excepting" in this Bill, and the postponing the Import Bill to next session, were a great disappointment. 3½ pp.

*With note by Knox.*—"I procured the bill to be brought on again and passed."

## The SAME to the SAME.

1778, May 24. Dublin Castle.—"*I am exceedingly obliged by your letter of the 19th acquainting me the Export Bill had gone thro' the Committee. . . . Now people's minds begin to cool, they are*

ensible of the advantages you have procured to this country ; I mean all reasonable people, who will soon satisfy the rest how thankful they ought to be to England for their concessions, and to the friends of this country for having procured them ; but the unanimity with which the Resolution passed had flattered Ireland everything would be granted, and being afterwards alarmed with the apprehension of losing everything, the minds of people of all ranks were strangely agitated, and the lower order feeling at the same time great distress from the scarcity of provisions and the want of work, it is certain the disappointment would have produced a violent convulsion in his Kingdom. The crisis of this fever is passed ; that which will be produced by agitating questions respecting the Popery Laws, will, I see, be very violent, but does not seem of so dangerous a tendency as the other. The question is between the individuals of the same country, and the party which is beat will have only to lament its being the weaker. The other would have become a question, and an ugly one, as it should seem, between Nation and Nation. Mr. Gardiner will, I believe, move to-morrow for leave to bring in Heads of a Bill for Relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholick Subjects of Ireland. He is not yet determined what to propose. There is a general idea of putting the Roman Catholicks of Ireland upon the same footing with the Roman Catholicks of England. Government will support the motion for leave to bring in Heads of a Bill. There will be a strong opposition against any alteration whatever and a violent one against repealing the gavelling clause, which the Roman Catholicks abhor, and their opposers, even moderate men, consider as the Paladium of Ireland. It will, therefore, be very difficult to get rid of this clause, but having done that, you will be supposed to have done everything, and may, in another Session, blot the word Papist out of their statutes. I conclude your Parliament will soon rise. When we shall be able to do the same one cannot even conjecture." 3½ pp.

#### EDMUND PERY to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Oct. 23. Edmundsberry.—Sir Richard Heron assures me that he and the Lord Lieutenant have "used every argument they could think of to have the embargo upon small beef taken off, or, at least, relaxed, but in vain." He has promised to make another effort, but I fear the principles upon which it was first laid on still subsist, and will continue it, although I am certain "it has answered no other purpose but that of reducing to the utmost distress a people who have deserved better. You say there are two objects to be attended to ; . . . the securing a sufficient supply for our own forces, and preventing the French ships and Colonies from being victualled. With respect to the first, I am confident that none of our beef which is fit for the English market ever goes to any other ; the price of it, which no other country will, or perhaps can, pay, is the best security against that. With respect to the second, . . . I confess I cannot see what advantage it is to Great Britain that France should be obliged to take her provisions from other countries rather than from Ireland. It has, I know, been the policy of very



wise nations to supply their enemies, even in time of war, with what they wanted, and I believe they never had occasion to repent having done so. . . .

"I confess to you I have for some time judged it prudent to remain silent with respect to the affairs of this Kingdom, which, indeed, I think are in a most deplorable state. I found that what I said had no other effect but to offend, which I wished not to do. The time is certainly not far off when this country must be attended to, and very different measures adopted with respect to it. That time should be expected with patience." 3 pp.

*Underwritten :—*

*Note by Knox.*—"I succeeded in getting the embargo taken off in December following, in consequence of the representation annexed, but I left the merit of the measure to Administration, and said nothing of it in my correspondence to Ireland. How much did I save Ireland by both revaluations?" [*This note, and the last paragraph of Pery's letter, have been subsequently cancelled.*]

DR. TUCKER, Dean of Gloucester, to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Oct. 28. —Thanks him for his sensible, judicious, and truly patriotic letters. As regards the direct importation of sugars into Ireland, the Dean has himself laboured a good deal in Bristol. "The opposers of the Bill used to object 'that whatever quantity of sugars were imported from the West Indies directly into Ireland would prevent the like quantity being imported from England,' to which the Dean used to reply: 'Make the native Irish somewhat less miserable than they are, and then they will consume a greater quantity sent from England, and also a large quantity imported directly from the West Indies. For example, there are at present at least a million of poor Irish peasants who, one with another, do not consume a pound of brown sugar each in the year; whereas, were they in a little better circumstances, each would probably consume nine pounds . . . and so in proportion of every other commodity.

"In regard to the Bills for repealing the persecuting laws against the Roman Catholics, the Dean has this short remark to make. That when the Papists are reforming the very worst and most mischievous parts of their religion, by their open disavowal of persecution, some of us, who call ourselves Protestants, adopt those very principles which they are casting off." 1½ pp.

SIR LUCIUS O'BRIEN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Dec. 17. Dublin.—Sir Richard Heron has gone over to you with many plans of improvement for Ireland. He has a delicate part to play, for, on the one hand, nothing should be attempted without the full concurrence of Administration, and especially of those two great friends of Ireland, Lord North and Lord George Germain; and, on the other, "opposition must be so managed as to prevent their raising a cry or attempting to render what may be

done for us unpopular." This, I think, might be easily effected, as there is nothing which should be asked for by Ireland that will not be for the benefit of the majority among you who are interested in the subject. "Whatever you do for us is much wanted, for I cannot see how it is possible to go on in the present train, or even to find subsistence for the army much longer. And yet the greater part of what is to be done must be done here, where, believe me, an extensive plan of regulation is essentially wanting, for the revenue, the encouragement of Trade, the adjustment of the establishments, the peace and order as well as the defence of the Kingdom." 3¼ pp.

#### IRISH TRADE.

1778, December.—Paper endorsed by Knox as being delivered to Lord Geo. Germain for the Cabinet, "which was the ground of taking off the embargo on Irish provisions to all parts of Europe." 4 pp.

1778.—Paper in Knox's hand, headed "1778. Reasons in support of the Bill for encouraging the Trade of Ireland." 21½ pp.

#### SIR RICHARD HERON to JOHN SCOTT.

1779, Sept. 28. Dublin Castle.—Wishes much that he could do something for Dr. Smith, as he knows Mr. Knox has his promotion at heart; but the Lord Lieutenant "is so circumstanced with regard to the arrangements on the vacancies of the sees of Cloyne and Waterford" that he cannot comply with Mr. Knox's recommendation; and so few vacancies have happened in the church during his government that he has many original applications yet unsatisfied. 1½ pp.

*Endorsed with note from Scott to "Mr. Ford," regretting that "matters do not wear a better appearance for Mr. Smith or my friend, his patron."*

#### WILLIAM KNOX to LORD [THURLOW ?].

1779, Nov. 14. Bath.—The Irish gentlemen here are told by their correspondents in Ireland "that a tax upon the estates of Absentees will make the most natural of the ways and means for paying off the arrears of the last two years. If a union be the measure it is determined to promote, such a tax will create it many advocates. The chief objection of the landed people to it who either are, or intend to become, absentees, which is that of its involving a land tax, will be removed, and they will be stimulated to forward it by a resentful desire of seeing others charged as well as themselves, and the hope of being less heavily burthened when the equal system of British taxation is wholly adopted. In this light, therefore, I cannot help wishing the tax success, for, in my poor opinion, it is by the means the people themselves offer that all great changes in a constitution should be exacted."

There are three principles, either of which I think the Parliament and people of Ireland might be led to adopt, "but they are all ex-

clusive of each other, and therefore one, and one only, can be pursued. The first is a complete and intire union or incorporation of the two islands, with the single exception of Ireland's retaining a local subordinate legislature, similar in authority to that of the Isle of Man. The second is to leave the Constitution of Ireland untouched, and to give it all advantages in its trade that England enjoys, but in a way that shall secure to the English Government the command of a considerable portion of the national wealth and population which those advantages shall produce. The third is to do everything for Ireland that shall have a tendency to promote its prosperity, without prejudice to England, and to leave it to the Government *there* to avail themselves of it; and, for that purpose, to make such alterations in the Constitution of Ireland as shall serve to strengthen the hands of the Irish Administration. . . . Whichever your Lordship shall think the most fit to be the foundation of a system, I will do my best to frame one upon it." 3½ pp.

#### IRISH TRADE.

1779, December.—Resolutions drawn up by William Knox for enabling Ireland "to participate with the inhabitants of Great Britain in all the advantages of foreign and domestic trade, under the like duties and regulations." 7 pp.

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, June 1. Pall Mall.—"The Lord Lieutenant has sent the articles you mention to Lord Hillsborough, or something like them, and desires fresh instructions. They will send him none, as they are of no consequence but to be read by his Excellency to twenty people, and an extract of them by Sir R. Heron in the House of Commons. The use made of official letters is rather new, and, in short, this last transaction makes such a puzzle that no good can arise out of it. I hope as unexceptionable a bill as possible will be transmitted, and if any alterations are necessary they must be made here, and then the Parliament will say whether they please to accept it or not. If they reject it, there is an end of the army; if we admit it in an improper form, there is an end of the constitution. . . . What concerns me greatly is to find my friend Lord Buckingham so unassisted in Parliament; no minister capable of directing, no leading men agreeing in support of the Castle; all professing, as we are told, to have no confidence in the Secretary, and every man, uncontradicted (except by the Attorney-General) declaring against the legislative authority of Great Britain."

You being on the spot will, I am sure, give Lord Buckingham the best advice in your power. "Nothing will be more improper, in my opinion, than to give a formal opposition to the bill in Council; only to shew he is obeying his instructions and to throw the odium upon administration here." 3 pp.

#### GENERAL R. CUNINGHAM to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Aug. 10. Dublin.—". . . The mutiny bill is not arrived, but the alteration is generally understood, and greatly allarms.

Our patriots have declared publickly in the House of Commons that there should be a majority against them in rejecting a perpetual Mutiny Act they will secede from Parliament, appeal to the people, and publish an instrument setting forth their reasons for so doing. What I consider as the settled Opposition of this country seem united on this point, but I am confident Government has strength enough to carry the Bill through both Houses, if it is willing and knows how to exert it. It is more than probable we shall have a mob the day the subject is discussed, still I think we may pass the Bill, and, if we do, we shall soon get into smooth water. If there was any vigour left in Government it could not admit of a doubt, but, you must know from what you saw in Ireland, there is none. Is it not amazing that Grattan should have been permitted to talk of seceding in the manner I have stated, when the Speaker was in the chair, and the Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant and the Attorney and Solicitor-General in the House, and yet not to be called to order? But so it is, and so it must be till there is a vigorous Government in this country to set its face against the specious doctrines of ill-designing men, and to contradict, or at least counteract, the vanity of Irish publications that poison the minds of the people."

The Sugar Bill will be the next thing, and when that is over I hope this country will have rest for twelve months. 3½ pp.

*Underwritten* :—

*Note by Knox*.—"This was soon after my return from Ireland, where I had assisted Gen. Cuninghame in the business of the Mutiny Bill, for a particular account of which see my letter to Lord Hillsborough, which his Lordship was so good as to let me have back."

#### WILLIAM EDEN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, March 11. Phoenix Park.—Your letters deserve the best acknowledgments both from me and my Principal. It has happened to many of our predecessors to be often the last and the worst informed at seasons of great events, but hitherto we have every reason to feel grateful to Lord Hillsborough and our private friends, and shall certainly use their kindness with all discretion.

The Attorney-General [Scott] and I live and act together most cordially, and I am as well pleased with my situation here as I expected, "but it is at best a most incessant teasing to the temper and faculties. The expence, too, from the general system of luxury and dissipation thro' the kingdom, is become enormous to the Secretary, who must not be undone (*sic*) by any man in the folly of a fine table, good carriages, horses, &c. . . ." 2½ pp.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1781, Nov. 28. Dublin Castle.—This messenger carries our money bills, which I hope will be returned without delay or alteration, as our House ought to adjourn very soon. Nothing can stand better than our Government does now, if we are only supported as we ought to be. Pray give me your sentiments on the subject of a



National Bank for Ireland. I have many ideas, when I can find time to digest them, and I see the importance of the present Government taking the lead in the measure. I dare not mention America  
1 p.

WILLIAM KNOX to WILLIAM EDEN.

1781, Dec. 6. Whitehall.—“I begin to fear for you from my faith in the literal denunciations of Scripture—‘Woe to you when all men speak well of you.’ If they expel you from Ireland, I will be upon the same principle Aristides was banished from Athens . . . In truth, you have done admirably, and everybody here thinks so, and there is the most hearty disposition to give you full support. . . . You desire my thoughts upon a National Bank for Ireland. It is an ill-time for one who is just become a bankrupt in one part of the world to think of establishing a system of credit in another, but you shall have what occurs.” [*The rest of the letter is on the subject of the Bank and is printed in Knox’s “Extra Official State Papers.”*]

WILLIAM EDEN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, Feb. 11. Dublin Castle.—“Whatever becomes of the American department I do not conceive that it can exist without you;” give me leave therefore to recommend Lieut.-Governor Hamilton to your kindest attention. If you can be of use to him, you will give much pleasure to the Lord Lieutenant, and confer a great favour on me. 1 p.

WILLIAM KNOX to LORD TEMPLE.

1782, Nov. 2.—It gives me great pleasure if my papers have furnished your lordship with any useful information. “From the pure motive of doing good to both Kingdoms, I was led to take a considerable share in Irish affairs in the administrations of Lords Harcourt, Buckingham and Carlisle, without having any personal connexion or even acquaintance with any of their lordships, and I had the great satisfaction of seeing my endeavours attended with considerable success, and gratefully acknowledged by my countrymen.” I lament that my present opportunities are not equal to those my then situation afforded, but I flatter myself that your Excellency will allow me to communicate anything which may possibly be useful.

A notice I saw lately in an Irish paper from Mr. Grenville to the merchants, respecting the contract for supplying the troops in America, has brought to my mind the inconveniences which, while I was in office, the contractors would have found from want of a speedy conveyance if I had not used the power I had of sending expresses on pressing occasions by way of Milford Haven. So frequent were these that “some persons found it their interest to station vessels for the purpose, but I am informed they are now discontinued, some of them having been captured by the enemy. What I would therefore suggest to your Excellency is . . . to

present the necessity of establishing regular packet boats to sail six times a week, as the Dublin boats used formerly to do, between the most convenient port in Pembrokeshire and Waterford." Independent of their utility to the public service, the advantage to the commerce of the two kingdoms would infinitely overbalance the expense to the Post Office; indeed if, during the war, stout armed vessels were used instead of defenceless boats, great advantage and protection would accrue to trade. When Lord Hillsborough was a postmaster, he established the packet between Donaghadee and Carrickpatrick; and I procured the addition to the American packets of a boat direct to Charlestown. I trust your Excellency's administration will be the era of the establishment of the Waterford packet. I have not mentioned the matter to Lord Shelburne, as I wish the measure to be wholly yours. *Draft. 7 pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to the MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1788, Feb. 27.—Reminding his Excellency of his efforts to promote the welfare of Ireland, and sending plans for improving the correspondence between England and North America, in which he has not failed to point out the manner in which Ireland might share the advantages proposed. As his present private situation gives him no official intercourse with ministers, he can only point out the method, and must leave the enforcing it to abler hands. Of these he knows none so able as his Excellency's, and hopes he may find an object worthy of his interposition. Is happy to see his Excellency take the lead in a matter which his ever dear and honoured father [Geo. Grenville] considered very necessary to be adopted—viz., the reduction of legal interest—and will always be glad to give what little assistance he can to any measures for the welfare of Ireland. *3 pp.*

MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM to WILLIAM KNOX.

1788, March 4. Dublin Castle.—Acknowledging Mr. Knox's flattering expressions both as regards himself and one whose memory must ever be most dear. Cannot give an opinion on a plan so extensive, but will consider the subject maturely, that he may be prepared if the part in relation to Ireland is referred to him. He must, however, state that the people of Limerick have unanimously requested that the mails may be sent by way of Dublin, owing to the hazards and delays of the Waterford route, and that orders have been given accordingly. *2 pp.*

ARCHDEACON THOS. HASTINGS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1789, Feb. 11. Dublin.—As soon as your two books came I put the *State Papers* into Mr. King's hands, to go to press at once, and by this time I suppose it is printed off. I saw the first sheet, which was very correct. The corrector of the press, a very intelligent person, promised occasionally to bring me a sheet, but has not done so. To furnish each member of the two Houses with one will require five

hundred copies. Mr. King thinks each copy will cost 3s. 6 English. He proposes to print 1,500 copies, and supposes that the sale of a thousand will go near to paying the expence. This I doubt much, "for in this country, a work of the greatest merit and of that class I esteem your book, will not have three hundred readers. . . . I thank you heartily for your remarks on the Liturgy. They exhibit a benevolent heart, and, indeed, a good head. I have, however, thought it imprudent *quæta movere*. The objection you will say is the old cant . . . but I say these are subjects fit for the discussion of which we have not adequate ideas. My faith is fixed, and the Scriptures are the rule of it. . . . As to our politicals, the Lord Lieutenant, with great difficulty, obtained thanks. Upon every question majorities increase against him. He cannot do anything. Gratton carries everything. This very night it is supposed the Prince will be declared Regent in the House of Commons without any restriction whatever; on Friday in the House of Lords. Opposition is vain. . . . Most of the placemen and many pensioners against government. The Marquis, I will not say how justly, but certainly he is the most unpopular governor we ever had. Never was Lord Lieutenant so abused and mauled as he has been in the House of Commons; indeed the language was most indecent. We are at present in a state of anarchy and confusion. God grant all may end well. Mr. Pelham is daily expected, and Lord Spencer about the 23rd inst. He has appointed, it is said, Dr. Norris his first and Mr. O'Biern his second chaplain. Lord Rawdon, we hear, is to be one of the Secretaries of State. If it were a department you liked, I wish you were his secretary. If he comes in he might be of use to me. I have seventeen hundred a year to give up—one thing a desirable dignity, 900*l.* a year clear, and the other a prebend, 800*l.* per annum. I stand as well as I could possibly wish with the Moira and Grange families, and if Lord Ailesbury had power he would serve me, but his interest clashes with the politics of the day." 2 pp.

#### ARCHDEACON HASTINGS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1789, March 14. Dublin.—Concerning Knox's proposed provision for his children. Warns him not to encumber "Thomas" too heavily, as a large estate, deeply charged, is an unpleasant situation, unless a prudent marriage extricates him from that difficulty.

The Irish edition of the *State Papers* is finished. A thousand copies only are to be struck off, and Mr. King "hopes the expence will not exceed 30*l.*" Our House of Commons is very furious. It is supposed the Pension Bill will be thrown out in the Lords, but by a small majority. The King's recovery will have a great effect in that House. There will be a strong contest as to an address of thanks to the Lord Lieutenant for his message to both Houses. "If an address of thanks can be obtained it may remove the sting of the census. A certain personage is very unpopular, and it is hard to say what, but so it certainly is. Opposition has numbers but . . .

ilities." The Attorney-General has displayed talents which will probably secure him the seals. He is honest and able. An addition of six to the Upper House is daily expected—a temporary but dangerous experiment. 2 pp.

SIR JOHN BLAQUIERE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1789, April 4. Dublin.—Is so jaded and worn with politics that he has scarce breath for a refined pleasure, but the honourable mention of his name has roused the vanity of French blood; he is highly gratified, and returns hearty thanks for the *Extra Official State Papers* which has announced it to him. Regrets the poor return made for Knox's efforts on behalf of Ireland, but believes it was the interest of the great to pass them by, as, if justice had been done to them, "many is the man whose state ability had been perfectly unnoticed at the present moment." 3 pp.

ARCHDEACON HASTINGS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1789, May 14. Dublin.—Your great services to Ireland are allowed by all, yet there is no one to state them to Parliament. Opposition will ask nothing, and perhaps the powers that be do not wish to grant any pension. I have spoken to many, especially Sir L. O'Brien, but they all think nothing will be done for you. The Bishop of Cloyne says he cannot speak to Mr. Conolly, as he is in opposition and averse from granting pensions. The session is now just at an end, and you must wait for the next unless you can get a King's letter. The leaders of the volunteers are said not to be pleased at a remark you made, and Lord Pery and others, I hear, are dissatisfied at the publication of their letters. Many doubt whether confidential letters to a secretary should ever be published during the life of the writers.

The church owes you gratitude for your dissertation upon tithes. In the year 1788 we exported 345,000 barrels of grain. What an amazing increase! In 1771 half the grain consumed in Ireland was imported. To check too great an exportation tithes seem the only restraint, or we shall soon have neither beef to eat nor wool to clothe our people. 2 pp. *Seal of arms.*

SIR J. PARNELL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1791, Oct. 2.—I am favoured with your observations concerning the advantages which facility for borrowing or raising money on discount has in enabling merchants to carry on their trade; and also pointing out "how much the commercial capital of this country was capable of increase by adding to the paper currency, and bringing into circulation the value of the dead stock of houses, lands, &c." These principles appear to me to carry self-evident conviction of their truth. "Since I have been in the public service I have always acted under the conviction that by increasing the fictitious capital, so far as it bore a reasonable proportion [to] the real capital, the wealth of the country would be increased and its



progress to prosperity accelerated. It was with this view that I introduced the Bill for the reduction of interest. . . . Had not this measure been defeated in the House of Lords (after it had passed the Commons by a large majority) they who, by their votes and influence, defeated it (viz., the bishops and bankers of Ireland) would not have been the only monied men in this country. However, the measure, so far as it succeeded, has had its effect. Immediately after the Bill had passed, the interest money fell a half per cent.; the growing wealth and commerce of the country has continued and increases, though not so rapidly as if it received judicious assistance. . . .

"The part of this subject to which you allude when you mention houses and lands finding their representation in paper is not here on the same footing as with you; the value of landed property is much depreciated here, and there is no facility in borrowing on its credit . . . but if means could be suggested to enable the owner of land to bring its value into circulation by easily procuring money on the pledge of it, it would greatly add to the national capital. . . .

"I have sometimes thought of following the example of the Roman State, where the Government act the part of pawnbrokers and lend money on pledges at a reasonable interest. I think the institution is called *monti di pieta*. Why should not publick money to a certain amount be vested in a body, to be lent on pledges of lands and goods? It would answer the purposes of charity and of promoting the publick monied interest." 7½ pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to SIR JOHN PARNELL.

1791, Oct. 4.—Soho Square.—Explaining the inconvenience suffered by merchants in their Colonial trade from the "long detention" of their capital, and the means taken by them to obviate the difficulty by the use of bills; also the special difficulties which Irish merchants have to overcome. In order to place the Irish factors upon a more advantageous footing, he "followed the grant of a free trade with the scheme of a National Bank," and if his whole plan had been adopted, would have still further increased the commercial capital by "coining the dead stock of unproductive lands and bringing them into cultivation and their value into circulation."

By this means he raised Georgia from indigence to comparative opulence in six years, and it is the secret by which England has attained such amazing wealth, "for every acre of land and every house throughout the kingdom, as well as every bale of goods, either actually is or may be brought into constant circulation." 4½ pp.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1791, Oct. 31. Bath.—Thanking him for the obliging terms in which he has expressed his concurrence in Knox's views, and sending him a paper concerning "the proper means to be employed for the furthering the improvement and prosperity of Ireland, and giving an effectual check to the emigration of the useful people." Copy. 1 p.

Enclosing.—The paper above mentioned. 14½ pp.

## IRISH CATHOLIC QUESTION.

[Undated]—Paper by William Knox endorsed as above. "How-  
 ever deservedly the late Ministers have been charged with  
 precipitancy, ignorance and self-sufficiency in their general conduct,  
 there is no instance in which they have so decidedly merited those  
 reproaches as in that of what is called the question of Catholic  
 emancipation, which, however, if they say true, has been pro-  
 tective of the great good—their resignation." It is well known  
 that the only bar to Catholics holding any office, civil or military,  
 is the declaration against Transubstantiation, for the Conformity  
 Acts are as penal upon Protestant dissenters as on Catholics, yet  
 such dissenters freely enter into office, trusting to the annual In-  
 demnity Acts for protection. The Catholics, however, are stopped  
 by the declaration against Transubstantiation which has to be taken  
*seriously* to entering into any office. In the letter of Lord Petre  
 and others to the Vicar Apostolic of Nov. 25, 1789, they expressly  
 declare that they only wish to be placed on a level with Protestant  
 dissenters, and do not demand the repeal of the Conformity Acts.  
 To believe in Transubstantiation certainly implies submission to  
 the judgment of the Church, and if the same submission was carried  
 out to everything the Catholics would certainly be unfit to be trusted  
 with any post under a Protestant government, but the English  
 Catholics "unequivocally profess to confine their submission to  
 the authority of their church to matters purely spiritual," and the  
 mere attitude of submission to authority is favourable to govern-  
 ment, "as it disposes to obedience, and by no means to resistance."  
 And as regards the doctrine in question the only difference is that  
 the Catholics believe *more* than the Church of England. The  
 latter inculcates the belief of a spiritual eating the flesh of Christ,  
 the Catholics believe that they eat it carnally, but the Protestant  
 dissenter denies both, and is therefore further removed from the  
 Church of England than is the Catholic. The Church of England  
 disavows all persecution, and consents to complete liberty for every-  
 one to worship God in his own way. The laws requiring persons  
 entering into office to conform to her ritual are merely defensive,  
 to prevent attack, but not to be used for offensive purposes, as  
 is shown by the annual Act of Indemnity. This Act would cover  
 the Catholics from all the penalties of non-conformity and of con-  
 tinuing to go to Mass, and, therefore, by merely removing the  
 Declaration against Transubstantiation, this great business would  
 be settled "without any danger to the Established Church or  
 violation of his Majesty's Coronation oath." 9½ pp.

### III.—REMINISCENCES, POLITICAL ANECDOTES, AND NOTES OF CONVERSATIONS WITH PUBLIC MEN.

#### GEORGIA.

"The 3rd September, 1756, I arrived in London. I was  
 appointed Provost Marshal of Georgia by Lord Halifax in November,  
 and the 8th of December we sailed for Charles Town, after a stay of  
 near three weeks at Portsmouth. We arrived at Charles Town

the 26th January. There we were entertained very splendidly by Mr. Lyttelton, to whom I was not introduced by Mr. [Ellis] for three days, although he and his secretary went there every day; nor then, but after an invitation to dinner from Mr. Lyttelton, who had heard of me from his secretary, with whom I had (by design) made an acquaintance. This neglect I attribute to the same cause which deprived me of the honour Lord H[alifax] intended me by asking Mr. [Ellis] in my presence to bring me with him to his house (which he never did). Mr. Lyttelton was particularly civil to me, and often attempted to engage me in a separate conversation, and once in a private one, but I avoided every occasion, through fear of giving offence to the other. There and on our journey to Georgia he was incessantly throwing out the jealousy of Wood, lest he and I should unite and so make ourselves of consequence. By Wood's frequent neglects of me I apprehend he had been practised on in the same manner. At last, at Mr. Bull's, we came to an open rupture, in which, as Wood had made himself disagreeable to everybody, especially to Mr. Bryan, and because of the insults heretofore offer'd me, I was countenanced.

"We arrived at Savannah on the 15th of February, and the day after Mr. [Ellis] took the government upon him. The Assembly was then sitting. Mr. Little, the Speaker of the Lower House, waited upon Mr. [Ellis] to beg two favours of him—one to dine with their House, and another to receive an address from them. Both he declined, the latter (he said) because he had refused the like from the Council. Notwithstanding, I afterwards learned that an address was prepared, in which Mr. Reynolds was intended to be complimented at the expense of his successor, and upon my communicating it an adjournment was sent next day. Little was yet undetermined whether he should stay behind his master till after the day in April the Assembly was adjourned to. . . . His great object was to make the government uneasy to the governor, that he might avail himself of his complaints of the refractory disposition of the people, and, at the same time, shew by the Address he had before procured that it was more the fault of the governor in employing improper people than of the people, that things did not go well. This we were soon sensible of, and, therefore, as the majority of the Assembly were his creatures, I was strongly for their dissolution before they were met, but not before Little was gone. . . . The governor was still of a different opinion. He thought that by his continuing these he would highly oblige them, and as most of them were placemen he was not afraid of their being stubborn; he therefore would have all the advantage of a tractable Assembly without any of the odium of procuring it. . . . It was, however, resolved to prorogue them till the end of May. Little, we resolved, should go home, or be sent, with his master, and I then took my seat in the Council and enter'd upon my office, 3 March, both of which I had delayed doing till then lest it should be necessary for me to go into the Assembly. The governor, however, did not approve that scheme, nor would have suffered it but through necessity, for he then perceived I was acquainted with parliamentary affairs and might make myself of too much consequence in that

use. In truth, I was desirous of going in there for a little time, to gain a character, because I imagined my youth might make me overlooked in the Council, and I should be under the disadvantage of being thought the governor's echo. Addresses were now presenting from different parts of the province, and, as the fate of the Assembly was still undetermined, I contrived (with the governor's civility) to have a wish for its dissolution inserted in several. This proved of infinite convenience, for whilst it furnished the governor with good reasons to the Ministry, if he should dissolve them, and would lay an extraordinary obligation on the new members, as having done it at the people's request; on the other hand, it made the present members more dependent, and gave the Governor an opportunity of manifesting his confidence in them by continuing them. . . . Mr. Reynolds and Little embarked for England the 25th March. After their departure I had an opportunity of getting acquainted with their party, and as I receiv'd they were almost all Europeans, tho' very ignorant, and the persons who were likely to compose a new Assembly were mostly Carolinians, from which province they drew all their precedents, and where the Lower House usurped the whole legislation and execution, I came over to the governor's opinion, as thinking the old members much likelier to join in establishing a British constitution, which was our object, than those that should succeed them. I was the more confirmed in this by viewing the journals of the first Assembly, in which many of those Carolinians were members, as I found daily motions for such privileges as were enjoy'd in the neighbouring province. It was now determined to meet this Assembly, yet a proclamation for proroguing them to the 2th June only was issued, that the party might have no assurance when they were to assemble or whether they should be continued. The matters to be laid before them, and the filling up the vacancies, were now the topics of consultation. This was then the state of the province. By Reynold's hasty dissolution of the first Assembly, the year, his second, had been unprovided for, and thro' the insufficiency of the tax that year raised, a balance remained of the first year. The present Assembly had laid on a tax of 1s. per head before our coming, which Reynolds told them would be sufficient, without mentioning for what year's service, but in general for defraying the expences of the Courts, &c." The consequence was that the Crown was stripped of its prerogative as executor and the Council of their privilege of disbursing the public money, and both made subservient to the Lower House, for as the revenue was not granted until after the year expired the governor and Council had to risk the approbation of the Assembly for whatever they engaged, or else to inform the contractors that they were to take their chance of being paid for their work by the Assembly, thus making all officers and employés dependent on the Assembly. These were terrible circumstances for a new governor. The first step taken was "to publish an advertisement to bring in to the Council all demands against the public to the 25th March." This made us possessed of the debts and of Mr. Little's orders. These accounts amounted to near 1,100*l.*, and when the tax came in, the latter



end of May, it produced but about 260*l*. There was also the  $\frac{3}{4}$  interest on 27,000*l*. paper money, amounting to about 130*l*., but there still remained a balance of 630*l*. for which there was no provision, nor any for the service of the current year, "so that before the usual time of laying the tax (in February) we should be three years revenue in debt. We were very much distress'd how to get rid of this embarrassment. The governor was determined against any additional tax lest he should suffer in his popularity; he thought of paying the current expenses out of the tax, leaving it to the Assembly to discharge the debt incurred by Mr. Reynolds whose friends they were. This I was averse to, as I apprehended it would involve us in a dispute with the Assembly. . . . He was then for postponing the matter till the winter, and then trying what could be done by an additional tax in a series of years. This I could not agree with him in, first because there was the chance of his not being so well with the people then, and second because the debt would then be still more increased, and, above all, the habit of settling accounts would be acquired by a new Speaker, and we should lose the advantage of Little's infamous character debarring them from quoting any precedent. . . . My scheme was to call in all accounts to the 24th June, that there might be no arrears to apply the tax and interest to the discharge of the whole as far as they would go, to raise the credit of the currency by giving bills for it only, and to issue two thousand more at interest, applying the whole to the discharge of the balance, which should be turned into certificates with interest 'till paid by that fund, which would be done in three years without any tax, and that fund for the future to be allotted for contingencies. When this was passed, then to lay before them an estimate of the one year's expence of government, commencing the 24th June, which must be then provided for by a tax then imposed but not to be levied till May following. He thought this too complicated a scheme, and did not for a long time thoroughly comprehend it, being unaccustomed to such business, but when he did, he improved it considerably by altering the sum to be issued to the neat ballance and appropriating the present revenue of interest to the sinking of the paper so issued. . . . I drew up the Bill according to my system with his improvement, and so it passed." I undertook to make the laying on the tax for the next twelve months their own act, and the first Bill being passed, and a motion asking the governor to appoint look-outs on the coast carried, the provision for this latter brought on a debate about provision for ordinary occurrences. "The governor was applied to; he declared he would not do anything without authority; he did not ask a tax this year, but only to be now laid on and appropriated that he might know what and how he was to act. They had no objection to a tax the winter session, but now they said, was an improper time, and that the people could not be persuaded but it was two taxes the same year. That, we argued could not be, as the time of levying, not of laying, the tax was only material. . . . The governor was resolute that if they did not do it now he should neither employ look-outs nor stir one step in anything that should incur any expences." An estimate of on

year's expence was laid before them, amounting to 530*l.*, and, after much wrangling, they agreed to it and added 100*l.* to the contingent for the troops. The tax was then fixed at 2*s.* per head.

"I had had great uneasiness at the approach of this session, as there was not one other real friend to a British constitution in the Council, and I should thence have all the labours and all the odium of abridging the liberties of the people. Mr. C[lifton] had been originally appointed of the Council, but had declined taking his seat hitherto. I got him to consent to do it now, but I was afraid of mentioning it to the governor, lest he, from our intimacy, should be jealous, till I prepared him to wish for him by laying my difficulties before him. When it was settled a Council was called, nothing of the matter being suspected. H[abersham] & H[arris] and myself only present, when Mr. C. presented his memorial to the great astonishment of H[abersham], yet not having any opportunity to consult with W[atson?] or byass H[arris] he gave it for the memorial, and he [C.] was introduced and sworn accordingly. This measure secured the Council in all matters of prerogative, as there were now two, which made a protest practicable." C. and I framed the Asylum Act, the Provision Bill, and the Fortification Bill, and I drew our address, the last paragraph only done by Habersham. I thought it necessary for the Council to establish its right to legislation by the passing of an Act which had its rise there; we tried the Fortification Act, but it being a money Bill we dropped it and took the Provision Bill, which we got passed accordingly. In filling up the vacancies matters were not so well conducted, but they turned out as well, Mr. Y[onge] being elected by a large majority for S[avannah]. The Jury Act was prepared by Mr. C., but we thought it best to let it lie by. O[ttolenghe] was very averse to it, because it would throw power into the Provost Marshal's hands and enable him to humble the justices, while O.'s whole scheme was to make himself of consequence. "He was perpetually magnifying the power of the opposite party, but would not agree to a dissolution, because he said he knew how to manage them. He detested the Council, tho' he still professed that he desired a British constitution, and when he found the majority of the Assembly would do the governor's business without him, he endeavoured to embroil the two houses in order to make himself of importance." He had a strong dislike to me, which at last broke out in a way that exposed him to the laughter of the whole town, and brought upon him a severe check from the governor. I avoided any appearance of triumph, and he saw I was too well acquainted with parliamentary management to be attacked that way. He next became the most violent friend of the governor; this brought us together, and "we understood one another very well, and, indeed, are the only people who know either." Jealousy was the thing I most feared. I never assumed anything on what I had done, or took anything in hand till asked to do so. Mr. L[yttelton] signified his desire to meet the governor at Port Royal, and as the latter wished his management to be known before the meeting he sent me to C[harles] T[own] principally on this account, tho' to embark the troops at the same time.

"This was an opportunity I much wished for, but embraced it without any appearance of pleasure. I set out the day after the adjournment, first taking care not to be named of the Committee appointed to draw up the address that I might not be answerable for anything I had no hand in." The reports of the good opinion the people of Carolina had of me created a prejudice in the governor against me. When (in September) I was seized with a fever, his "little attention to my concerns was very visible, yet still was it more evident when I was ill at Martins, for a whole month he not once sent me any message, nor did he offer me a single penny, altho' he knew my circumstances would not afford me necessaries. When the Indians arrived (the 3rd Nov.), I endeavoured to prepare for being present at the Talk." Mr. C. could not find me a horse anywhere, and mentioned this to the governor, but he only replied that it could not be helped. "He added to my chagrin a good deal by offering my lot in town in exchange to D. V. [De Veaux ?] without my knowledge, as he told the Council another lot would do as well for me, who could not build on it. The Council, however, were consenting only provided I was content. Here I determined to make a stand, at once to revenge myself by embarrassing the governor by disabling him from fulfilling his promise, and, at the same time, to shew the Council and others I was not the subservient creature they had been told. . . . A second division of Indians coming to town gave me an opportunity of signing the treaty and meeting the whole body. I now kept a greater distance and only went when I was invited, which was seldom." I shortly took an opportunity of hinting my intention to build, soon after I was sent for and an *eclaircissement* desired; I spoke very plainly, and "we settled that he should treat me with more delicacy for the future and I to follow my own inclinations." 13½ folio pp.

#### Conversation with MR. GRENVILLE.

1767, Sept. 29.—"This day, at Wootton, Mr. Grenville shewed me copies of the letters which passed relative to the negociation for a change of administration between the Duke of Grafton and Lord Rockingham, from himself and the Duke of Bedford. His account of the conversation between the Duke of Grafton and Lord Rockingham previous to those letters as reported to him by Mr. Rigby led him to suppose the Duke of Grafton made the offer to L[ord] R[ockingham] to join him and support his administration, not to give it into L[ord] R[ockingham]'s hands. L[ord] R[ockingham]'s letter, however, pressed that in direct terms, saying if he proceeded it should be on the footing of considering the present administration as entirely at an end. The Duke's reply is evasive to that in terms, but desiring him from the King to proceed, and saying his idea of a comprehensive plan was adopted by the King was, by implication, acknowledging the present administration to be at an end. On the other hand L[ord] R[ockingham] insisting to continue Mr. Conway Secretary of State, did not look like a total surrender of the present administration, and as L[ord] R[ockingham] made no *reserve* in his letters to, or conversation with, the Duke of Bedford previous to the conference, but declared for a total change,

There is ground for supposing there was some secret bargain between him and Mr. C[onway] which he did not chuse to inform the Duke of Bedford of.

The charge of duplicity therefore lyes against both, and their separate private purposes seem to have been : The Duke of Grafton meant to disunite Lord R[ockingham] and his friends from the opposition, and to take them in under himself. L[ord] R[ockingham] meant to draw off the Duke of Bedford and his friends from Mr. Grenville, and bring them in along with and under him ; for that reason he had not mentioned Mr. C[onway]'s staying to the Duke of Bedford when he found his Grace determined not to disconnect with Mr. Grenville, lest his doing so might have prevented the Duke listening to him at all, and he hoped by drawing him to town, and holding out good things to his friends, with their assistance to have persuaded him.

“ Mr. Conway in 1765 was with L[ord] R[ockingham] and by him and the Duke of Newcastle made Secretary of State. In that year he left L[ord] R[ockingham] and connected with Lord Chatham, who came to his house before he went to Lord Temple. In this last business he had agreed to leave Lord Chatham, and did so in the House of Commons upon the East India business, and joined L[ord] R[ockingham], as appears from the negociation. He again quits L[ord] R[ockingham] to oblige whom he had promised to resign. and connects with the Duke of Grafton. Four tergiversations in one year. The K[ing]'s strong dislike of him in 1763 compelled Mr. Grenville to dismiss him, and he was displeased with his tardiness in doing it. The King, when Mr. G[renville] took leave, declared he had never taken offence at him, kept him with him an hour and half ; when pressed repeatedly to say why he dismissed him, said it was because he understood a plan was formed to give the law to him, and that he believed Mr. G[renville] chose rather to stay by the Duke of Bedford and [*sic*] than with him. The Regency Bill no part of the reason for his dismission. The King had that Bill framed in his illness, during which Mr. G[renville] never saw him but once, and then the King sent for him. The proposition of leaving out the Princess of Wales came from the King himself, not one of the ministers ever mentioned it to him. When the doubt was stirred by the Duke of Richmond about her being of the Royal Family, L[ord] Bute spoke to both Lord Halifax and Sandwich to take the King's pleasure upon having her excepted, saying he was sure the King would give them orders so to do. When Mr. G[renville] saw the King the next day, the King told him he had just given a message to L[ord] H[alifax] to carry to the Lords for avoiding the difficulty of determining about his mother's being of the Royal Family, which was confining the Regent to the descendants of the late King, and hoped he approved of it. Mr. G[renville] told him, as the measure was taken, he begged to be excused giving any opinion, and hoped his Majesty would remember that since the beginning of this business he had not once mentioned the Princess to his Majesty one way or other. When afterwards the Princess changed her opinion, and, from jealousy of the Princess Amelia being capable and she not, writ to the King to have her name inserted, the King



still acknowledged his orders, but was much distress'd for an expedient to satisfy her, Mr. G[renville] proposed that to him which was followed, and he had the King's thanks for carrying it into execution. He shew'd the King the speech he intended to make on the occasion and which he afterwards did make, with which the King was much pleased. Mr. G[renville]'s letters to his friends upon his first coming to the Treasury, wherein he said L[ord] B[ute] had determined not to interfere, he shewed to the King before he sent them.

"His opinion of the King's not sending to him was owing to it having been represented to the King by people since about him that Mr. G[renville] might have made all things easy to him if he would in respect to money, by putting 2, or 3 hundred thousand upon the Hanover Account.

"The King's dislike of Mr. Conway, so strong in 1763, forced him to minister to dismiss him and chide Mr. G[renville] for being tardy in doing it."

"Decrease of Specie. Bank coined a million at 4 : 0 : 8 coin, but 3 : 18 : 10 value." 3½ pp.

#### GEORGE GRENVILLE.

1768, June 9. Wootton.—"When Lord Egremont died, in 1763 and Lord Bute determined to quit, the King offered the administration to Mr. Grenville, upon the most extensive conditions. While Mr. Grenville was making his arrangements, the Duke of Bedford proposed to the King to send for Mr. Pitt, which he did. He told Mr. Grenville of it the next day, and when Mr. Pitt had made his proposals, the King then declared to Mr. Grenville that he would confide in Mr. Grenville for the future. He afterwards threw out his hopes that some of the Bedford people could be joined with the administration, to which Mr. Grenville replied that if the King wished to shew favour to the Duke of Bedford, he would immediately forget his resentment and make him an offer. He did so, and the Duke of Bedford became President of the Council. During that administration, the Butes and the Bedfords were continually pushing at each other, and Mr. Grenville held the balance till it was told the King that Mr. Grenville was making himself too powerful, and then a disunion was attempted. The King was determined to nominate the Queen the Regent, and Lord Bute, knowing that, desired to have the Princess Dowager excluded to prevent the obloquy which her supposed nomination might occasion to him. The King chose to leave her out for the same reason, but the Princess herself thought it disrespectful. The King of all things jealous of the power of women; trait of the King's character.

"When the administration of 1764 were called back upon the failure of the Duke of Cumberland's negotiation with Mr. Pitt, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Northington, Lord Halifax, and Lord Sandwich were not admitted to see the King, and the King desired Mr. Grenville to go to them and know their conditions. Mr. Grenville begged the King to see them himself, but he insisted upon his negotiating. He went to them; they proposed the

mission of Lord Holland and McKensie. Lord Northumberland had declared his intention to resign three months before.

When Mr. Grenville carried this and some other propositions to the King, the King desired him to try to bring them off, and repeated his declarations of confidence in him. As Mr. Grenville came out, he learnt that the Duke of Cumberland was then in the next room waiting for the King to settle his successor, and the office Mr. Grenville then held was that very day offered to Lord Lyttelton. The design of sending him to negotiate with the others was to create a disunion and ruin him." 2 pp.

#### LORD HILLSBOROUGH'S RESIGNATION.

1772, Aug. 15.—On this date the Earl of Hillsborough resigned. The circumstances were these:—Application had been made to the Lords of the Treasury for a grant of two million of acres in Virginia, and 10,700*l.* offered, being the cost of presents and entertainments given by the Crown to the Indians in 1768, when they ceded that country. The Treasury consented, provided the other Government departments had no objections. Dr. Franklyn, one of the petitioners, said this answer "was good for nought, for that Hillsborough would never let them have it." This was repeated to Lord Hillsborough, and he, wishing to throw the odium off his own shoulders, artfully proposed to the petitioners to ask for 20 million acres instead of two, and went in person to the Board to induce the Lords to entertain the proposal, supposing that the Treasury would increase the sum to be paid in proportion to the grant, and that 100,000*l.* would be more than the petitioners could pay. The Treasury, however, sent up the petition for the 20 millions, with their approbation of the sum first offered to the Lords of Trade.

"Lord Hillsborough now found himself entangled in his own net, and to avoid the embarrassment of making a report he resolved to delay it, and so let it drop. Some other matters now began to mix in this business. The Earl of Rochford, the Southern Secretary, was needy and dissolute. Wharton, one of the petitioners, made his way to him by pointing out certain islands in the River Delaware, and his Lordship petitioned for them as vacant land. Lord Rochford, to secure Lord Hillsborough's favourable report upon his petition, prevailed with the King to deliver it with his own hands to Lord H., and to recommend it to him to consider it in the most favourable light. The Board of Trade reported agreeable to this recommendation, and to their great dishonour gave their opinion that the King might grant the islands and to none so fitly as to the Earl of Rochford. Mr. Penn, having followed this report to the Council, combatted it so successfully there that Lord Rochford found it necessary to withdraw his petition." Wharton then offered a share in the intended new colony to his lordship, who accepted it readily, and, to prevent any miscarriage in the grant, invited Lord Gower to take a share also. As Lord Hillsborough still delayed his report, Lord Rochford again engaged the King on his side, who, one day at the Levee, asked Mr. Gascoign, Lord Hillsborough's particular friend at the Board of Trade, if the report upon the Ohio

petition was ready. This was hint enough to Lord Hillsborough. He called together the whole Board, which consists of the Secretaries of State and other ministers, to have their opinion before it came to them in Council. "But Lord Gower and Lord Rochford had by this time taken up the resolution of overturning Lord North, and looking upon Lord Hillsborough as his chief support in the Cabinet, they determined to push him out. Lord Rochford aimed at destroying the office of American Secretary and re-annexing the patronage to the Southern Department. Two great offices were ready to fall in, on which he had fixed his eye, that of Clerk of the Courts in Jamaica, and Secretary of Virginia. Lord Gower's view was that of being First Lord of the Treasury and first minister. Lord Suffolk joined in the attack from separate motives. Proud and ambitious, he looked up to the chief command, and considered that no way was so likely to obtain it as by frequent changes and disagreements among his colleagues. The jealousy of the King, he knew, would not long suffer any administration to continue in quiet, and if Lord Gower succeeded for the present, the clanship of Bedford would very soon alarm the King, and then he should have a fair opening to the station he aimed at. Rigby was much averse to Lord Gower's purpose; possessed of the intire office of paymaster, he saw no prospect of being bettered by a change, and risked losing what he had.

"Such was the state of things when Lord Hillsborough proposed the meeting of the Grand Board of Trade. The ministers refused to come, but left it to the ordinary Board to report, and reserved themselves till the matter came before them in Council. Lord Hillsborough now declared himself openly against the grant, and made no scruple of saying he should report in that manner. The cabal endeavoured to embroil him with Lord North upon this shares in the grant were given to the two secretaries of the Treasury and Lord H.'s conduct was represented as reflecting upon the Board in making the agreement with the petitioners. To avoid any such appearance, Lord Hillsborough drew his report upon the reasoning of former Boards, and of other servants of the Crown, and entirely omitted remarking upon the consideration money."

When the report came down to the Council, Lord Gower declared he should be open to evidence against it, and Wharton was allowed to have a copy, and to make and print observations on it, before it was considered. Lord Hillsborough, seeing how things were going, now plainly said that if the grant were made, he could not carry it into execution, and should therefore resign. "He endeavoured to alarm Lord North, and to excite him to oppose this attempt, which was ultimately designed to affect him, and with much teasing got him to bustle a little, but when he did, he found it was too late, his purpose, for his weight was gone. The King, he saw, was on the other side and abetted the cabal; he had therefore no choice but to give up Lord Hillsborough or go along with him, and the former he thought most prudent, taking his chance for what might follow. Lord Gower and the two Secretaries in Council declared they were convinced the grant ought to take place, and should advise the King accordingly, upon which Lord Hillsborough acquainted the

King and the Cabinet that whenever that order came to him, he should resign his seals. The report of the Council was therefore delayed untill a successor to Lord H. was fixed upon. Lord Weymouth, as the friend and adherent of Lord Gower, was offered the American Department, whether at Lord North's own motion or by the King's desire I have not learned, but I believe the latter was the case, as his lordship's conduct in Parliament since his resignation has been much to the King's mind. He refused the offer, and then Lord North, without taking any notice to the other ministers, offered the seals to Lord Dartmouth, which his lordship accepted, to the great disappointment of Lord Rochford, who had hoped that no Secretary would have been found, and then the office would of necessity have been dissolved." 5 pp.

#### ANECDOTES AT SPA.

1773, June.—Notes headed as above. "Mr. Cressener assured me he could have engaged the Electors of Cologne and Palatine for 500,000*l.* to refuse a passage to the French troops into the Empire at the beginning of the late war. The Court at Bon debauched without decency. . . . Madame Branconi, the Prince of Brunswick's mistress, very handsome. The town of Charleroy taken the war before the last by the workmen who were making the approaches, who entered it, finding the garrison had deserted the works."

When Mr. Cressener was assured of the day on which the Elector of Cologne would come to Spa, he writ to Sir Joseph Yorke to acquaint the Prince of Orange of the Elector's intention, and to invite his Highness to meet him. Sir Joseph replied that "the Prince was much pleased with the invitation, but, as the States were assembled and he just returned from a progress, he could not, without too much noise, come to Spa." Sir Joseph said he seemed so very desirous of meeting the Elector that he might possibly find some pretence for doing so. The Bishop of Liege also meant to come, but the Elector declined the compliment, choosing to be incognito and the guest of Mr. Cressener: he, however, came through Liege, and there dined with the Bishop.

"The third son of the late Princess of Hesse, a good figure, and appears sensible and manly. The Cardinal Fleury, upon finding himself deceived in the man he had chosen to succeed him, told Mr. Walpole he should advise the King never to have a Prime Minister. Lord Mansfield consults Andrew Stone. The same terms of peace offered Mr. Cressener that had been demanded in a former negotiation with Lord Sandwich. The Duke of Cumberland refused them and was enraged with Cressener for sending him the propositions.

"The Duke of Chartres and the Duke de Lyne, his favourite, both debauchees; Marshal Braniki, a weak, vain man. Prince Reprin, a designing man; Count Orlow [Orloff], a plain, domestic, good man. Prince Zartoriski, a polite gambler and excellent dancer; the Princess, admirable." 2 pp.



## SECRETARIES OF STATE.

1775, November. Memoranda.—“The King wished to have Lord George Germain in the American department, and Lord Dartmouth was desirous of the Privy Seal, but Lord Weymouth claimed it, backed by Lord Gower and the Bedfords. This caused great embarrassment. Lord Dartmouth offered to go out intirely, but Lord North insisted he should do the same if Lord Dartmouth did so. Lord Dartmouth would not succeed Lord Weymouth as Groom of the Stole. Lord Rochford, who had frequently desired to retire, now made the offer. His department was offered to Lord Dartmouth, who declined it. It was then agreed to offer it to Lord Weymouth, and, in case he refused it, the offer was to be carried to Lord George Germain.

“Lord Suffolk, who had pressed for Lord George Germain to be a Secretary of State, was content with this, as his object was to have him in the Cabinet, to add to his own weight there, and forward his secret purpose of being one day minister. Lord North was not ignorant of Lord Suffolk's views, but wishing to get clear out himself, he seconded them, that a successor being ready, and an able assistant in the House of Commons, he might find it the easier to quit when a proper time came.

“Lord Weymouth accepting the Southern Department made all easy. Lord Dartmouth then got the Privy Seal, and Lord George Germain became the American Secretary. A difficulty had formerly been made by Lord Weymouth of considering the American Secretary as a Secretary of State. Lord Hillsborough had never been so considered by the other Secretaries; he was only held to be first Lord of Trade with Seals and Cabinet; his commission confined his efficiency to the Colonies. Lord Dartmouth's commission was the same, and Lord Weymouth had refused the Department when Lord Dartmouth got it on that very account. Lord George Germain being a commoner, it became necessary to make some alteration in his commission, for the former commissions made it a new office, and consequently excluded him from the House of Commons. A commission in the terms of those of the other Secretaries obviated this difficulty, for there were precedents of three persons being at the same time Secretaries of State. A difficulty in giving Lord George Germain such a commission, 'twas apprehended, would be made by Lord Weymouth and Lord Suffolk. Lord Suffolk, however, we supposed, would acquiesce for the sake of his own plan, and with him the Solicitor-General would concur. The Attorney-General and Lord Weymouth were supposed to object together.

“The King, by one of those minute strokes for which he is so eminent, removed all difficulty. When the Council was met to swear in the new officers, Lord Gower, being Lord President, moved the King, of course, that Lord Weymouth might be sworn Secretary of State. The King replied, “there are two Secretaries of State to be sworn; let them both be sworn together,” which was done accordingly. Lord Weymouth perfectly understood the King, and finding his Majesty would have Lord George considered as a Secretary made the best of it by taking Lord George Germain aside, and telling him he understood there was some difficulty about his com-

mission, but to him there appeared to be none for if his commission was in the same terms as the others, there could be no objection to his sitting in the House of Commons. The commission has accordingly been prepared at Lord Suffolk's office, and no difficulty has been made by anybody to its passing." 2½ pp.

### Proceedings in relation to the AMERICAN COLONIES.

1774, 1775.—“Secret of proceedings respecting America in the new parliament. The Bill for shutting up the Port of Boston, passed in the last session, was the step proposed by Pownall to have been taken. It was for an alteration in the Council; Lord Dartmouth went with it, but neither of us wished to make any further alterations in the charter. Sir Francis Bernard unluckily came to town, and, with his old papers, infused the opinion into Lord North that the juries should be also regulated. The preventing town meetings came also from him. He had produced these papers to Lord Hillsborough in the year 1770, and when I was appointed Under-Secretary, Lord Hillsborough, Sir Francis, Mr. Pownall and myself had a meeting upon them. I gave my opinion then against any alteration but that of the Council. The others were for all, and for my dissent in his case, I was ever after excluded by Lord Hillsborough from all consultations whilst he staid in office.

“There had been no accounts from General Gage which looked hostile when the resolution was taken to dissolve the Parliament. I was at Spa when it was done, but the motion came from Lord Suffolk. There was good ground to have hoped that if no alteration had been made in the Massachusetts charter the tea business might have been settled, but the Regulating Bill secured them the support of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and encouraged them to resist.

“When the hostile accounts arrived it was proposed by P[ownall] to send out Sir Jeffrey Amherst and two Major-Generals. Lord North approved the proposition; I liked it well, and so did Lord Dartmouth, only he had difficulties on account of the harshness to General Gage, who was to be continued in his government and second in command. Lord North shewed it to the King, who stared at it, and asked who could have thought of doing so unjust and cruel a thing to General Gage. The Cabinet had it afterwards under consideration, and rejected it, but ordered the three ships of the line and a detachment of marines. What turned us all so much against Gage was his telling Governor Hutchinson that, in his opinion, the only thing to be done was to suspend the Acts, and, in the mean time, make preparation for enforcing them by hiring Hessians and Hanoverians, for it was absolutely necessary to make an entire conquest of the New England Governments, and not less than twenty thousand men could venture to take the field.

“We were flattered with hopes by the merchants that the General Congress would come to no resolutions respecting trade. The New York, Jersey, some of New Hampshire and Pennsylvania were said to be against all violent proceedings. A letter from Dr. Franklyn advising such measures brought over the Pennsylvania delegates, so the resolutions were taken. We were astonished at

them when they arrived, as we so little expected them, and then determined to say nothing to General Gage, but let all rest till we knew the opinion of the new Parliament. This speech was the only one we were ever consulted upon. Mr. Pownall, with my assistance, drew the American clause. I afterwards made some alterations in what they had adopted, with Mr. Cooper, in the Address, which we had also been consulted upon and amended. The very great majority in the House of Commons for the Address raised our spirit, and gave a firmer tone to our measures, but however determined we all were that the Colonies should obey the sovereign authority of Parliament, we all thought taxation ought to be given up in practise, and that the Colonies should be invited to make some proposition as an equivalent. I went further, and thought there were many unjust as well as impolitic restraints on the foreign commerce of the Colonies, which ought to be taken off, and endeavoured to comprehend Ireland in whatever indulgences might be given to the Colonies. Our conversations on this matter led to Mr. Pownall framing a Bill to be brought into Parliament, appointing commissioners to meet deputies from the Colonies, to discuss and settle all claims, and Parliament to confirm, if approved, what they should agree upon. This proposition was approved of by the Cabinet on condition that they approved what was to be given in charge to the commissioners. Mr. Pownall wanted much to be a commissioner. Sir Jeffry was named as one, and Mr. Jackson another, but no encouragement was given to Pownall. He then changed his plan, and instead of three commissioners, proposed one High commissioner, to whom he intended to be secretary. This ruined the whole, for when he drew up his propositions of the manner of meeting, the authority to be given the high commissioner, and the extent to which they were to carry their discussions, it carried so much the appearance of an American Parliament that the whole Cabinet revolted against it, and would never hear a word of a commission afterwards. I had warned Pownall of this, and entreated him to keep his proposition as much under as possible, and to avoid all appearance of parade or dignity, and to adhere to the three unimportant commissioners, not only to avoid the jealousy of people here, but, lest the Colonies from seeing the good effects and practicability of such a general Assembly, and flattered by the dignity of being delegates, should make the regular convoking of such an Assembly the object of their demands, and thus become form'd into a systematick combination which must lead to Empire. Lord Dartmouth still insisted that something should be held out to the Colonies." 5 pp.

#### THE FIRST COMMISSIONERS to the AMERICAN COLONIES.

[1776, March].—An account of proceedings previous to sending Lord and Sir William Howe out as commissioners. Objection made to Lord Howe being sole commissioner. He agrees to have his brother joined with him. Eden and Knox suggested as additional commissioners, but refused by Lord Howe. A secret wish that Knox should go as secretary, but the idea rejected by him. Diff

ies concerning the Instructions. Lord George Germain desired acknowledgment by the Colonies of "the supreme authority of the Legislature to make laws binding on the Colonies in all cases whatsoever" as a *sine qua non*. Lord North agreed that such acknowledgment must be insisted on before matters were finally adjusted, but not as a preliminary. Lord Dartmouth against its being required at all. Lord George thought North also meant to bring it up at the last, and so stood to its being done "before any colony should be relieved from the late Act, or restored to peace." Instructions drawn up by Pownall. Cabinet decided that the words "in all cases whatsoever" must stand, as they were in the Act. Debate "whether the declaration should be a preliminary or an ultimatum." Knox proposed a middle way—viz., "that the Assemblies should be called by the Governors and acquainted that they might pass an act appointing delegates to meet the commissioners so soon as all congresses, committees, or conventions in the colony were dissolved, and legal government restored, and all bodies of armed men disbanded, but that they could not be restored to peace or relieved from the late Act until they made the declaration." This was not approved. Lord George insisted that they should not send delegates until they made the declaration; Lord Dartmouth was resolved to "speak out" against Lord George's plan, and to quit his office. "Lord North was to speak his sentiments and his resolution to proceed no further in conducting the public business, if such measures were adopted, than until his Majesty could make a new arrangement." Lord George thought it would be highly unfit for the King to suffer Lord North to decline acting, and that it was much better that he (Lord George) should say, "The truth was, Lord George having now collected a vast force, and having a fair prospect of subduing the Colonies, he wished to reduce them before he treated at all," and feared that if peace were once restored, neither ministers or Parliament would renew the war for the sake of the declaration.

Knox did not wish hostilities to be suspended against the New England Colonies, who had so despised the power of Great Britain that they ought to be made to feel her strength before terms were made, but he desired that the Southern colonies "might have the door opened to them, as well to divide them from the others as to draw supplies from thence for the troops employed in the North." He therefore drew up a paper proposing a mode of contribution by the colonies, which was much liked, and he believes will be adopted. *Probably the "Project" calendared on p. 289, below.]*

A Cabinet was appointed for Monday, March 18, but, on Sunday, Lord North proposed to Lord George to talk to Lord Mansfield on the matter, and the Cabinet was put off. Lord North and Lord George went together to Lord Mansfield, and it was settled to postpone the difference, "and instead of instructing the commissioners to demand of the Colonies, they were now to wait for the Colonies making offers, and in case the colonies did not make the declaration, the commissioners were not to restore them to peace until they received further instructions, but if they did so offer, they were then to receive them. The Commission was



altered from the general powers it gave to such specifications as were conformable to these ideas." 8 pp.

*Also :—*

Suggestions for a circular letter to be sent to the Governors of Provinces, in accordance with Knox's proposal above. 3 pp.

### The KING'S SPEECH to his Cabinet.

1779, June 21.—“ This morning all the members of the Cabinet were summoned by a message in the King's own handwriting to meet him at the Queen's House at one o'clock. They assembled accordingly. He desired them to walk into his library. He sat down at the head of his library table, and desired, for the first time since he became King, all the ministers to sit down. He then began by saying Lord North had desired to know why they were summoned, but he had not thought fit to tell him, as he meant to tell it to them all together. (Here Lord George Germain, who gave me the account, said he began to think they were going to be dismissed, and very probably they all thought the same thing.) The King went on to say he had, ever since he came to the crown, made it his study and endeavour to discharge his duty conscientiously to God and his people ; and he had the satisfaction to find, upon the strictest examination of his conduct, that there was no one action of his life that he could blame himself for, but his changing his ministers in 1765, and consenting to the repeal of the Stamp Act. The ministers he then brought in did not, he said, intend to repeal the Act until Lords Chatham and Camden made their declaration, and they adopted that fatal measure. Could he have foreseen the consequences, he certainly would not have passed the Act, but it was to the repeal he imputed all the subsequent misfortune. He declared to God he had never harboured a thought of injuring the constitution, or abridging his people's liberties in the smallest instance, nor had he suffered himself to be led by prejudice against any man to oppose his coming into office if he approved of the principles he professed to act upon. He called upon Lord North, Lord Weymouth, and the Chancellor [Thurlow] to say if, to the knowledge, he had not given leave to enlarge and strengthen administration in particular instances upon that ground (this Lord George supposed alluded to some late negotiations with Lord Shelburne and his party which were a secret to him) ; that he considered himself particularly obliged to Lord North for taking up Government when the Duke of Grafton deserted him, and expressed his thanks to Lord Sandwich for the respectable footing he had put the Navy upon, which, he said, had been let down too low after the Peace of 1748, and not sufficiently provided for after the last. That great praise was due to the Treasury for the very abundant manner in which the war in America had been supplied, and that, for his own part, he had sent the officers which were thought the best in the service to command the troops. That when Howe, Clinton and Burgoyne were named, everybody approved. Lord George Germain, who was not then amongst them (meaning the ministers) said, in the House of Commons they were the fittest men for the service.”

the army. From a consciousness of the rectitude of his conduct and intentions, therefore, he had confidence in the favour and protection of Almighty God, and trusted that He would support him against his enemies who so unjustly attacked him. It was his principle, and it was [his] resolution to part with his life rather than suffer his dominions to be dismembered, for he held it to be his duty to God and his people to preserve them entire at whatever hazard or inconvenience to himself.

He therefore expected firmness and support from his ministers. If they thought they wanted strength, he was willing to enlarge the scope of his administration, but in all events he expected they would support him.

This, as well as I could collect, was the substance and the words of this discourse, tho' much longer, for it took up near an hour in delivering, not, as Lord George said, by way of speech or formal arrangement, but as a plain narrative, delivered in conversation." 3½ pp.

#### LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

1779, July 27.—“Lord H[illsborough] told me L. N[orth] had written the [King] proposing him for S[ecretary] of S[tate]; that the [King] answered in these words: ‘L. N[orth] you could not propose any person more agreeable to me for any office in my administration, except, L[ord] L[ieutenant] of I[reland] than L. H[illsborough].’ Before L. N[orth] had communicated this to L. H[illsborough] the [Attorney] G[eneral] was informed of what had passed, and by message by Mr. E[den] told L. N[orth] that if Lord H[illsborough] was appointed, he should resign. The secret is, Mr. E[den] wants to be ambassador to Holland in the room of Sir Joseph York, who for that reason they wish to make S[ecretary] of S[tate]. Their retire plan is to remove L. G. G[ermain] and Lord S[andwich], to make L. W[eymouth] Privy Seal, to make Lord D[artmouth] Sec. of S[tate] for A[merica], Lord Stormont and Sir J. Y[orke] the others, and to bring Lord Sh[annon ?] Lord Howe or Ad[miral] Keppel to the Admiralty, by way of strengthening Lord N[orth], but in fact to fix their own shackles upon him. 1 p.

#### “CURIOUS POLITICAL ANECDOTES.”

##### (1) *Lord Rockingham.*

1779, May 8.—“Lord Rockingham had desired an audience of the King last week, and was a considerable time in the Closet. What pass'd was related to me this day by Lord George Germain, as he had it from the King. His Majesty said he perceived him to be much confused at his entrance, and endeavouring to recollect a set of words prepared for him to speak, and as soon as he began, he saw he was to make a long set speech. The subject, Ireland. He endeavoured to paint the distresses of that country, and to allude to the want of attention in administration to her circumstances. He said he had always made it his practice to inform his Majesty of his intentions before he moved anything in Parliament which, by the bye, said the King, I thought odd enough, when I had not seen him here (meaning his Closet) since he went out of

administration in the year 1766), and that as I (*sic*) now inter bringing the affairs of that country into discussion, he cam open his purpose to his Majesty. He, however, assured the I he was not impelled by personal considerations, for his estate t was so happily circumstanced that he always received his re 'As I found,' said the King, 'I was in to be treated with a harangue, I thought this was a good opportunity to make shorten it by diverting him from his subject, and asked him he managed so well. This made him talk a little about his affairs, and took him out of his speech; and when he came to res it again, he could not take it up in form, but huddled the substa together. The points he wished to carry, he said, were a gen liberty to import grain from Ireland into England, and a lib to export coarse woolen cloths from Ireland. The King's rem upon his propositions were, that he began in the wrong place, it was the House of Commons that was principally concern these sorts of questions. 'But,' says he, 'I could not help observ how people are affected by their particular interest, for I was tall of what Lord Rockingham proposed to Lord Hartford, and he the exportation of woollens would do nothing for Ireland; advant in the linen were the things wanting.' " 2 pp.

(2) *Sir William Howe.*

[1779].—"When the Howes' correspondence was moved Lord North was in negociation with Lord Howe, and wis him to take the command of the Western Squadron. He insis that his brother should be exculpated by Parliament, and sent I North a resolution to that purpose, which Lord North return saying he could not consent to it, and if he did, his friends would The Howes never gave out they expected thanks or approbat but only exculpation. When the papers were brought in printed they found the public opinion did not run in their favo they therefore moved for witnesses to be examined. This agreed to be refused, as there was no accusation, and a negat was put upon the question for calling in Lord Cornwallis in committee. Sir William Howe had made his speech in justificat of his conduct before the papers were read, to which no reply been made. Lord George intended replying when the debate up Lord Cornwallis being called in came on, but was prevented by Attorney General desiring him to let the Advocate speak bef him, and the debate taking a different turn. Opposition renew the subject in the House some days after, and then Lord Geo spoke, and retorted upon Howe. He still meant no witnesses sho be examined, but Rigby and the Attorney General joined in sayi as there was a difference of opinion respecting the causes of failure of the American War, it was proper the examination sho go on; upon which Lord North acquiesced. Witnesses were th agreed to be called on the part of administration, but a doubt ar whether it were not best [rather] to suffer the examination to only *ex parte*, and on that ground to combat a vote of approbati than to call evidence to disprove, and so join issue and trust to merits.

“General Grey, in his examination, declared so positively that the force sent to America was always inadequate, and the people so generally indisposed to the Government of this country, that it was judged absolutely necessary for the justification of administration to examine evidences to take off the impression Grey’s had made.”  
pp.

### (3) *Lord Hillsborough.*

1779, May 12.—“Lord Hillsborough, in a long conversation with me this day, gave me the history of his own conduct and situation. His object was to fall in with what he knew to be the King’s plan, that each of his ministers should hold of him and not of one another of the first. He was at the head of the Board of Trade in 1775 [*sic*. 1765]. Upon the breach between the King and the Bedfords which ended in the ruin of Mr. Grenville’s administration, Lord Halifax, boasting to the King of the strength of their party, told him that Hillsborough and his whole Board would resign if he did. The next time Lord Hillsborough went to Court, the King passed him by without speaking to him. Lord H. felt shocked and surprised, not knowing the cause, but apprehending there might be some mistake, he went next levée day. The King passed him in the same manner. He then concluded some injury had been done him, and asked an audience. He told the King his great concern at finding himself ungraciously looked on, as his Majesty’s gracious acceptance of his services was the great comfort and happiness of his life; that he was unconscious of having in any the smallest instance departed from that line of conduct which he thought would be most pleasing to his Majesty, and could not in any way account for the change in his Majesty’s behaviour towards him, and therefore he requested an audience to be informed of his crime. The King told him what Lord Halifax had said, upon which he solemnly protested nothing had ever passed to give Lord Halifax the least ground for what he had said; that, for his own part, he should not resign in compliment to any man so long as he could concur in the measures of any minister his Majesty might appoint, and that, as to his Board following him, he did not know the sentiments of anyone there, nor did he believe he would resign with him, go out when he would. The King then said he suspected Lord Halifax had spoke without authority, and that he had changed his behaviour to Lord Hillsborough with the view to bring about an explanation, as he expected he would ask an audience in consequence of it, as he had done.

“When the Cabinet Ministers went out, Lord Hillsborough did not resign. He went to Bath with Lady Hillsborough, and there he received a letter from Mr. Conway, the new Secretary, informing him the King had no further occasion for his services. The same post brought him a message from the King, thro’ Lord Barrington, telling him that nothing had ever given him more concern than being obliged to consent to his removal, but such was the present necessity of his affairs that he could not refuse, but that he might depend upon being brought in the first favourable occasion.

“When Lord Chatham came in, he had a private intimation from the King that he would be appointed First Lord of the Admiralty,



but that, for particular reasons, Mr. Pitt thought it necessary to make an offer of it to Sir Edward Hawke, who would certainly decline it. The King was mistaken, for Sir Edw. Hawke did accept it. Lord Hillsborough then went back to the Board of Trade. In 1768 he was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Lord Clare First Lord of Trade. Lord Weymouth, who was then a Secretary of State, disapproved of the new office, and all the Bedfords, who had some time before been brought in, disliked Lord Hillsborough's coming into the Cabinet, probably from remembering his staying after them in 1765. Lord Hillsborough, in pursuance of his system, gave all his aid to Lord North, he being the King's minister. When the Falkland Island business was agitated, the Cabinet were divided about the measures to be taken. Lord Chatham had then recovered from his long delirium. Wood, who was Lord Weymouth's secretary, wished to bring him in and to make Lord Weymouth the acting minister. A war with Spain he thought the certain means of effecting his purpose. Lord Weymouth's conversation with Prince Massarano was rough and hostile, but that good man did not seek an occasion to involve his country in war, and was not irritated. A squadron of men of war under Harland was going to the East Indies; Wood prepared instructions for him, authorising him to commence hostilities and seize the Philipian Islands. Wood thought himself so sure of war by this stroke that he sold stock to a great amount in expectation of the funds falling when the secret came out, but he was the dupe of his own policy, and lost considerably, for the instructions were rejected by the Cabinet, Lord Hillsborough taking an active part against them. Lord Weymouth upon this resigned, but had a promise from the King of the Blue Ribband and the first Cabinet office that fell. Things went on till 1772, when the Ohio grant became the cause of dissension in the Cabinet. I have detailed that business in a separate paper, upon my own knowledge.\* Lord Hillsborough parted with the King with great regret and marks of affection on both sides. The King made him an English Earl and Lord North promised him the first Cabinet office after Lord Weymouth was gratified. Lord Weymouth had the gold key in 177[5]. Sometime after, Lord North called at Lord Hillsborough's twice in one day, when Lord Hillsborough, who was not at home, imagining he had something particular to say to him, writ to know if he wish'd to see him. Lord North came to him, told him Lord Talbot was dying, and that he intended his place for him. Lord Talbot, however, recovered. When the Lieutenancy of Ireland was to be filled up in 177[9], Lord Hillsborough had heard generally that he was proposed by Lord North. He read it in the newspaper one morning when Charles Townshend call'd upon him, to whom he jocosely shew'd the article. Mr. Townshend asserted it was true, and that he was Lord Lieutenant. Lord Hillsborough dressed, and went to Court to find Lord North, and taking him aside, asked him if he had any intention of naming him for Lord Lieutenant. Lord North said he had. Then, says Lord Hillsborough, I will go

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\* See p. 253 above.

and ask the King for it. Lord North told him it was not come at length yet, for there were difficulties started about his estate in Ireland, but that he did not doubt they would be got over. Lord Hillsborough desisted, and heard no more of it untill Lord Buckingham's] appointment. Then he was told the King made the objection, or allowed it to be a good one, of his having his estate in Ireland. Lord Hillsborough, however, thinks the King would not have made or allowed that objection if he had asked it of the King himself, and he thinks he had before hurt himself with the King by a note he had written to Lord North, professing his attachment to his lordship's administration, which note Lord North shew'd to the King. From what I have been told of the matter by Lord George Germain, the proposition was made by Lord North to the King, who made the objection above stated and persisted in it. Every minister in the Cabinet except Lord North, and particularly Lord George Germain, were against Lord Hillsborough, principally or at least ostensibly because his appointment would open a door to all the Irish nobility to become candidates. The Duke of Leinster [and] Lord Shannon could no longer be objected to on account of their local connexions. The Earl Gower and Lord Weymouth possibly had other reasons, tho' they did not give them; they might wish to pay him off the old score, and I am confident there is not a man but Lord North, and I am not clear with regard to him, that desires to see Lord Hillsborough among them.

"When Lord Buckingham applied, Lord North told him by letter there were two who he must propose, but if they were not accepted, he did not accept, his lordship should be the man. These two were Lord Hillsborough and Lord Rochford. The latter refused to go, and the former was objected to by the King. Lord North, upon the King's objecting to Lord Hillsborough, delayed to name any other for several weeks, and the King would not name one, as he said it might then be supposed he had objected to Lord Hillsborough to make way for that other. In the meantime Lord Carlisle was mentioned by Lord Gower, and the Duke of Northumberland was sounded to go. Lord Buckingham, hearing of this, claimed Lord North's promise under his hand, which Lord North pleaded against Lord Carlisle, who he did not desire should go, and Lord Buckingham was appointed." 6½ pp.

(4) *William Eden.*

1779, June 1.—"Mr. William Eden,\* having become an object of ministerial jealousy, and already made some figure in the political world, and probably will have considerable influence hereafter, I will set down what I know of him and his movements to the present time, when the commission he was appointed in just expired. He was bred to the law, had been called to the Bar, but being a bad orator had made no figure there. He became known as a man of talents by a treatise upon criminal law, I think it was entitled; and when Mr. Whately died, Wedderburn, Solicitor-General,

\* The proper names in this paper were erased by Knox, as he states in a note, "lest it should fall into improper hands," but afterwards restored by him.

recommended him to Lord Suffolk to succeed him as Under-Secretary. He possess'd a most insinuating, gentle manner, which cover'd a deeply intriguing and ambitious spirit. Lord Suffolk who had great innate pride that only shewed itself in a dignity of conduct which led him to be most generous and friendly to all those he patronised, was fond of Eden, and seemed resolved to make his fortune. He soon brought him into Parliament, obtained a pension for him, and afterwards got him the Auditorship of Greenwich Hospital. But the powers of the Secretary of State were too limited for Eden's views. Lord North was his object. He took a house in Downing Street to be convenient to his Lordship, and when Robinson was ill he undertook the secret business without quitting his situation with Lord Suffolk. He allied himself to the old system of Carleton House, which, since the Princess of Wales's death, have been distinguished by the name of King's friends, or supporters of the Administration for the time being, without regard to those of whom it is composed, by marrying Sir Gilbert Elliott's daughter. Robinson unexpectedly recovering and resuming his office, Eden was appointed a Lord of Trade in consideration of his services and disappointment. He continued, however, to carry on the foreign secret correspondence, and to be the confidential friend and intimate of Lord North, and pander to his amours. When the measure of appointing commissioners to treat with America was adopted in 1778, Eden procured himself to be named one. The Solicitor-General, who prepared the Instructions, was very desirous his friend should succeed in the negociation, and the Instructions were most liberally framed for that purpose, so diametrically against his former conduct. When the resolution of the 20th February was drawing up Eden determined to get possession of the first commissioner, Lord Carlisle, and he soon carried his point. His powerful connexion was a bait too alluring not to be snatched at, and as he, from his former situations, was presumed to possess the confidence of Administration the others paid him great attention. His ignorance, however, of the orders for evacuating Philadelphia was a severe blow to his importance, and he felt the mortification so sensibly that he could not help expressing his spleen in his letters and in a manner that exposed his character to the King, and Lord Suffolk, who had kept the Under-Secretary's [place] vacant, took him at his word and appointed; for he became jealous of his preferring the connexion of Lord Carlisle to him. He came home in disgust, but chose to conceal it, and affected to sink the consequence he had assumed. I had escaped his resentment through mistake but when he was set right he shew'd his ill-humor by official inattentions. When he found it necessary to transact with me he again became civil, but he was foiled in all his purposes; he aimed at having a seat at the Board of Trade, tho' without emolument that he still might have the honor of making the Peace should it come about. Lord G[eorge] was determined to get rid of him, and did everything to prevent his continuance there, and succeeded. He detected a scheme, which he immediately imputed to Eden, to get the Board of Trade from him. He stated it to the King, who had conceived strong prejudices against Eden, and, upon this

occasion, told Lord G[eorge] that he had found Lord Carlisle was jealous of Eden, so he had a mind to know how the matter stood, and in his conference with Eden he asked about Lord Carlisle; that Eden's answer was an intire panegerick on Lord Carlisle, but he added that he wanted somebody to produce him and conduct him; 'that is,' said the King, 'he meant I should understand Lord Carlisle would do very well under his management.'

"Various intrigues were reported to be on foot at the ending of this session for producing a change. Lord G. Germain and Lord Sandwich were the objects pointed out, but they came to nothing. The Spanish declaration on the 15th occasioned the session to be protracted some days, of which it was supposed the Attorney-General and Eden would avail themselves to make their bargain. On the 21st an event happened which served to clear away all suspicion of private negociation from the King at least, and shows his character is developing, and that his difficulties will make him soon act the part of a great Prince. I transcribe the narrative of the transaction from the paper on which I set it down immediately after I was told it by Lord G. Germain. [*See the King's speech to his Cabinet, p. 260 above.*]

"The 24th, Lord George had an opportunity of asking the King what he meant by his references to Lord North, Lord Weymouth and the Chancellor. He said he had heard of negociations going forward, and he supposed his Majesty alluded to them. The King said it was no late business; that Lord North was often wishing to go out, and, at the time the Chancellor came in, he pressed very much for leave to quit; that he therefore gave the Chancellor leave to sound Lord Shelburne, but that he found his demands extravagant, and his principles not to be trusted. If anything was now negotiating he knew nothing of it, but whoever wished to go out, he thought, had better go, not stay. Lord George said he thought he would be distressed to fill Lord North's place. 'So I should,' answered the King, 'for altho' he is not intirely to my mind, and there are many things about him I wish were changed, I don't know any who wou'd do so well, and I have a great regard for him and very good opinion of him.' " 7½ pp.

(5) *Alexander Wedderburn, Lord Loughborough.*

"The promotion of Mr. Wedderburn to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and a peer was the consequence of a fortunate concurrence of circumstances which rarely happens. He had been bred to the Law in Scotland, and derived no pretensions to preferment from family or fortune. His sister, a very fine woman, was taken to wife by Sir Harry Erskine, and on the credit of that connexion the brother quitted the Scottish bar and came up to England. His knowledge of the Scotch law brought him business in the appeals from that Kingdom, and he laid himself out to be employed in the Colony causes before the Privy Council. When Lord Bute became minister, Sir Harry Erskine assumed to be his chief favourite, or, as he styled himself, *sous ministre*, and of course Mr. Wedderburn grew into importance. They set up the *Briton* and *Auditor*, in



defence of Lord Bute, but the conductors complained of being ill-furnished with materials, and both were dropt. I first knew Mr. Wedderburn in Paris, in the year 1763, the summer after the Peace. He attended Andrew Stewart there as his council in the prosecution of the enquiry into the supposititious birth of Mr. Douglas. He was then only distinguished by his assuming and forward manner. He perhaps felt his own superiority, tho', as he had made no extraordinary exhibition of talents, others were unwilling to allow his claim, and hence was that behaviour deemed arrogant then, which would since have been thought sufficiently modest. When Lord Bute went out, he attached himself to Mr. Grenville, and he took a considerable share in the business of the House of Commons, where he was soon allowed to be the least of a lawyer, as a speaker, of any man who had been bred to the Bar, but he did not acquire the character of a great Parliamentary speaker until that Administration was changed, when the acrimony of disappointment gave a zest to his declamation, and he indulged his talent for satyr (*sic*) and railing at the expence of the new ministers, to the great entertainment of the House, and raising his own reputation. Upon Mr. Grenville's death, he connected with Lord Suffolk, and paid court to Lord George Germain. When Lord Suffolk became Secretary of State, Mr. Wedderburn became Solicitor-General. Thurlow, who was the Attorney, had wished to be Chief Justice of Chester, from dislike of business, and a negociation was actually set on foot with Morton to resign it to him. Mrs. Morton would not, however, consent to her husband quitting Chester, and thus has the caprice of a woman become the occasion of Thurlow obtaining the great Seal, and depriving Wedderburn of it.

"While Bachurst continued Chancellor, Wedderburn was impatient of his office of Solicitor, but upon Thurlow's promotion, and himself being made Attorney-General, he expressed still greater eagerness to quit the House of Commons. He wanted a peerage, tho' he has no child, nor is his wife ever likely to have any. He wished to have been Secretary of State in the room of Lord Suffolk, with a peerage, and he long solicited Sir William de Grey's resignation, in order to succeed him. Lord George Germain offended him deeply by having said he thought his office of Attorney-General ought to content him for some time, and that a peerage was too much for him to expect so early. He, with Eden, schemed Lord George's removal from the Board of Trade, and placing Lord Carlisle there, and meant to have carried his Lordship into the Cabinet, but could not obtain it." 2½ pp.

(6) *Thomas Hussey's mission to Spain.*

"In the spring of 1780, a Mr. Hussey, who had been one of Massarano's and, afterwards, Almadovar's chaplains, and had lately returned from Spain, became acquainted with Mr. Cumberland, and convey'd thro' him to Lord George Germain his opinion of the pacific disposition of the King of Spain and the Chief Spanish ministers; that they had conceived apprehensions of our purpose to attack them and to make peace with the Colonies by assisting

tem to conquer some of the Spanish territories, which was the reason of *their* making war, and that if they were assured of our desire to be at peace with them, he had no doubt but matters might soon be accommodated. Lord George, in several private interviews, endeavoured to convince Mr. Hussey that no such designs as Spain imputed to England had ever been entertained, and Hussey offered to go to Spain to inform the Court of what his Lordship had said, and try the effect, if his expences were borne and he had a letter given him, authorising him to give such assurances. A letter from Lord George to Mr. Hussey was accordingly prepared by his Lordship, and Cumberland and I carried the draft to Lord North for his approbation, who approving it, the letter was signed, and, with 200*l*, given to Mr. Hussey, who set off for Madrid immediately.

“ On his return, he shew’d a letter from Mr. Florida Blanca to him, of a similar nature to that he had received from Lord George Bermain, and, in his conversation, he declared it to be his opinion that Spain would immediately make a separate peace with us, if we ceded Gibraltar and West Florida, and would give us equivalents in America. Upon further conversation, and finding no negotiation could be begun if the cession of Gibraltar was to be a preliminary, he expressed his hope that a treaty might take place without such a preliminary, and that, as Spain was very eager to have West Florida, if she found us disposed to exchange it for Porto Rico, it was not impossible matters might be accommodated upon that footing. I rejoiced in the idea of this exchange, for I had long before proposed purchasing Spain’s friendship by giving her West Florida, as the best means of preventing the Americans from settling the interior country, or availing themselves of the navigation of the Mississippi, but Hussey pressed that some person might be sent back with him to Spain, to receive and transmit correspondence, in the quality of an agent, as the Spanish Court had objections to corresponding on the subject thro’ our minister at Lisbon, and affected the utmost caution to keep the whole a secret, especially from France; and as Mr. Cumberland was already interested, Mr. Hussey wish’d he might be the person.

“ Mr. Cumberland went with him accordingly, but instead of going in a private manner, he carry’d his wife and daughters to Lisbon, and instead of waiting there for a private invitation into Spain, he set off with Hussey and them, and was received on the frontiers and conducted in the King’s carriage as a public minister come to sue for peace. France presently got information of the business, and, of course, contravened it.” 2½ pp.

(7) *Lord Chancellor Thurlow.*

“ When the tea was sent out by the East India Company to America in 1774, no communication of the project was made to the American Secretary, nor any orders or even notice sent to the Governors respecting it; but when the account of its destruction at Boston arrived, the ministers appeared determined to act with extraordinary vigor; Lord Dartmouth, who was then the American

Secretary, taking the lead, to exculpate himself for having formerly moved the repeal of the Stamp Act in the Lords. The Cabinet met at his office, and the Attorney and Solicitor-General, Thurlow and Wedderburn, attended. It was agreed to issue a warrant under the hands of six Privy Counsellors for apprehending Cushen,\* Hancock Warren, Adams; to send Mr. Hay, who was then returned from Quebec, as director of the business on board a frigate which was to bring over the culprits, and the Attorney and Solicitor-General were directed to prepare the proper warrants. They all met the following day, and Mr. Pownall and myself were sitting in the outer room, waiting the result, when the Attorney and Solicitor came out. 'Well,' cried Pownall, 'is it done?' 'No,' answered Thurlow, 'nothing is done. Don't you see,' added he, 'that they want to throw the whole responsibility of the business upon the Solicitor-General and me; and who would be such damned fools as to risk themselves for such—fellows as these. Now if it was George Grenville, who was so damned obstinate that he would go to hell with you before he would desert you, there would be some sense in it.' He walked off, and the project was dropt.

"When the failure of Burgoyne's expedition was threatened to come under discussion in the House of Commons, Thurlow, who was then Attorney-General, came to me at the office one day and told me he was informed by all the Ministers that I could give him the information he wanted about this expedition. There were three things he wanted to know: the motives and reasons of the expedition, the measures that were concerted for its execution, and the occasion of its failure. I told him I would put into his hands a paper I had drawn up for the Cabinet Ministers according to my annual custom, which was a *precis* of the whole correspondence of the preceding year, which would give him much of the information he desired, and accordingly brought him one of the copies. He turned over the sheets and examined them, and then said, 'Why, this is the very thing I wanted, and you have done it already; pray, do the Ministers know of this?' 'Yes, Sir, they have all had copies of it.' 'Then, by God, they have never read it, for there is not one of them knows a tittle of the matter.' He took home the paper, and came to me a few days after with a sheet of remarks and desired me to hear him rehearse, that he might know whether he understood the business, and went thro' the whole with wonderful accuracy. He asked me what was Burgoyne's reason for sending Germans to Bennington instead of English, for that, he observed, seem'd the first cause of his capture, and I had said nothing about it. I answer'd that as the General had given no reason for it, I could not set down any, but I believed I could tell him how it happen'd, for I remembered, when Sir William Howe was blamed for placing the Hessians at Trenton, the excuse made for him by military men was that every corps had its situation in the line of march, and when detachments were made, if they were not taken from the wing on the side on which they were made, it would be a breach of rule; and the Brunswick troops happening to be on Burgoyne's left, as the Hessians were upon Howe's, they were, of

\* John Cushing, Speaker, of the Massachusetts Assembly.

course, the corps to be detached on that side. 'So,' says he, 'because one damn'd blockhead did a foolish thing the other blockhead must follow his example.' The enquiry, however, was dropt, and Thurlow had no opportunity of shewing his talents for military operations, which, I am sure, would have appeared far superior to any of our commanders. From that time he was very civil to me, and when he became Chancellor I always visited him at his Levées, while he continued to have any, and at length a closer intercourse arose."  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

#### STATE OF THE DUTCH BUSINESS.

1780, December.—Memorandum headed as above. The Armed Neutrality being projected by Russia "soon after we had declared our treaty of 1674 with Holland void," and fears being entertained that Holland would accede to it, it was judged best "to lay in round of a separate quarrel with Holland" on that matter, and rather to go to war with her than to suffer her to carry for our enemies. "The discovery of a project of a treaty among Laurens' papers between Amsterdam and the Congress furnished a sufficient pretext for this purpose." Sir Joseph Yorke was, therefore, directed to complain of the town of Amsterdam and demand punishment of the Burgomaster. The States disavowed any knowledge of the matter; a second demand was then made, but, meantime, a majority having declared for the Armed Neutrality, Yorke was at once recalled, "before the notification of their accession to the Neutrality could be signified to him, that so our offence might be imputed to the Treaty only." 2 pp.

#### *Further Memorandum.—*

When the account was received from Sir James Harris of the intention of the Empress to offer her mediation a messenger was despatched to Vienna. The death of the Empress Queen happened in the meantime, but Sir Robert Keith wrote that the Emperor seemed not averse to the mediation. Holland having meanwhile resolved to enter into the Armed Neutrality and to ratify the treaty, an immediate decision became necessary. "The Ministers who met were Lord North, the Chancellor, President [Bathurst], three Secretaries, Sandwich and Amherst. The first and third fell asleep as soon as the business was opened—Lord Hillsborough nodded and dropped his hat; Lord Sandwich was overcome at first, but rubbed his eyes and seemed attentive. Lord Amhurst kept awake, but said nothing. Lord Stormont, the reader of these important papers, the Chancellor and Lord George Germain only gave them consideration, but when the others awoke they approved of what was proposed. My opinion went against coming to extremities with the Dutch, because I thought it might impede the return of America and cut our fleet out more work by having the North Sea to guard. The supplies they would carry to the French and Spaniards those nations had always found means to get, and the making them pay more for them was not to be put in comparison with the increase of our expences by adding a Dutch war to our present disbursements. I would, therefore, have temporised



until an agreement could have been made with the Emperor to assist us by holding out to him the free navigation of the Scheldt and other advantages to be taken from the Dutch." 1½ pp.

#### CABINET COUNCIL.

1781, Jan. 19.—Despatches having come from Sir James Harris giving an account of a conversation with the Empress on the subject of the Armed Neutrality and her mediation, the King summoned Ministers to the Queen's House on the 19th, "where, being come, he ordered them to be seated round a table, himself at the head opened the business and desired their opinions separately. One asked who his Majesty would chose to speak first. The King said he should not point to anyone. Lord Sandwich, afraid the Chancellor should begin, said the usual way [was] for the youngest to begin, which, being acquiesced in, Lord North, forgetting that he stood above Lord Amherst, began without rising. He was followed by Lord A[mherst] and the others standing. The Council continued from half after eleven till three, and it being Levee day the King then sent to put it off." 1 p. *Headed "17 January" by mistake.*

#### Removal of LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

"Account of what passed in consequence of Lord Cornwallis's surrender, brought down to the 17th January, 1782, and 1st February, 1782.

"The loss of that fine army, after General Burgoyne's, impressed the country gentlemen with an idea that the reduction of the colonies was impracticable. It was in vain the misconduct of the Generals and Admirals were urged as the cause, for the answer was ready and not to be gainsay'd: 'Have you better to put in their places; and if with the force you had you have failed, can you expect to succeed with what remains, &c.' Many were for relinquishing the American war altogether, but they soon fell into the opinion of others, that we ought to maintain what we possess'd, and act offensively by sea only. It was, therefore, agreed that the troops now in America should remain there and be kept up by recruits, but no new corps to be sent out. Lord George Germain was called upon by the King to propose his plan for employing those troops and bringing back the Colonies to the sovereignty of this country. He put down his ideas on a paper which I drew up in form and extended. A copy was sent to the King, and another to each of the Cabinet ministers. In the meantime the Bedford party were busy concerting a change in the Administration, and Rigby and the Lord Advocate of Scotland [Dundas] made an attack upon Lord North in the House of Commons for suffering himself to be over-ruled by others, meaning Lord George Germain, who they recommended to Lord North to turn out. The ground they took was Lord George's declaration that he never would consent to any treaty with America by which the sovereignty of it was given up, while Lord North kept aloof about the terms, but declared his wish for peace. Nothing was said upon Lord George's paper for three

Ministers, and by various accounts there was reason to believe a re-association was going on for an alteration in the Ministry, and particularly for the removal of Lord Sandwich and Lord George. The Opposition had moved for an enquiry into Lord Sandwich's conduct, and it was said he was to be supported by Lord North; and lest Lord George should give any handle against the Admiralty, by throwing the blame of miscarriages upon the Navy, it was proposed he would be removed into the House of Peers, and Mr. Anson was intended to succeed him; but he having a petition depending against him was not capable of a re-election, and therefore the American Department was, in the meantime, to be thrown into the Southern Office, and all the foreign business given to the Northern.

Clinton's friends, finding so strong a run against him, had thought it prudent to desire he might have leave to resign the command, which Lord George had informed the King of, and desired to know who his Majesty would have to succeed him, to which the King answered that the appointment of a Commander in Chief was so connected with other matters that he could not immediately determine. This Lord George took for a hint that a change of Ministry was in contemplation, and soon after, hearing that Sir Guy Carleton had been sent for to the Queen's House, he concluded he was to be employ'd, and that his own removal was decided upon. The next audience he had of the King, his Majesty told him he could not yet tell him who was to be Commander in Chief, 'for,' said his Majesty, 'I really cannot get at the bottom of Lord North's intentions respecting America.' His Lordship then told him what was said of Carleton, and owned that after his former correspondence with him, as the King's Secretary, he could not possibly bring himself to open another in the same office, without something was done by Carleton to take away the former offence, which he considered not so much as a personal insult to him as a disrespect to his station and appointment. The King declared he had thought of him cursorily, but had not taken any step in the business. Lord George then told his Majesty that he thought a proper time for him to go into the country, and wait till his situation was decided upon; that he had come into office in the hope of being of service, and that, if his Majesty found his going out would be of service, he was ready to take his leave. He requested his Majesty to be sure of his ground before he moved, and whatever he judged necessary to do for the strengthening of his government, not to defer it on personal considerations for his Ministers, for his case and theirs was very different, and affairs were now in such a situation that he must look to himself. After much conversation of this sort, the King agreeing that Lord George might properly go into the country, he took his leave and set off for Drayton. It was while he was there I was informed of the proposed arrangement, which I communicated to him, and in return was desired to deliver a message to Lord North [*space left for message*]. When I began to read the message, Lord North stopped me by asking who told Lord G. Germain that he [*was*] thinking of a plan for American affairs, or of making any alteration in Administration. It was an

alteration of measures and not of men that was wanted, but perhaps Lord George thought the measures would be such as he should not approve. I made no answer, but pursued the delivery of my message, and when I had done, he said warmly, his own Department gave him full occupation without attending to other matters. Where, could I tell him, was he to find taxes to produce 800,000? He had engaged to the King and told the Cabinet, last year, to support the war only one year more, and he had fulfill'd his engagement, and now he wish'd he was out. I replied, if matters were at that pass, had he not better make peace now than wait till our distress was notorious. He answered they would not make peace with us. 'Have you tried,' said I. 'Why keep off with Holland by demanding of her to give up liberties which you must allow other nations to take? Why not try to buy off Spain, offer the *uti possidetis* and a truce to America?' 'Oh, they won't treat with you,' said he. 'Try them with the offer. If they refuse then it will be evident to the people that it is France which prevents them having a peace to their wishes. That will give you good ground to negotiate separately and revive your interest. Send a proper person to manage the business.' 'Would Lord George agree to that?' 'I believe he would, but if nothing else will do, take the advantage of the disaster of the French fleet and your own superiority in the West Indies to ask France what she will have. You can do it now with more dignity than you will next year if you can make no further exertions!' He walked about the room and call'd for his post chaise, which I took for a civil way of bidding me get out of the room, and did so accordingly.

"Lord George came to town on Tuesday, the 15th, when I reported what pass'd. He determined to speak out to the King the next day, but the next day the King was indisposed, and had no levée nor was there to be any court on Thursday, and Friday was the Queen's birthday. A Council, however, was necessary for the Irish business, and the King agreed to have it on Thursday at three o'clock. To this Council Lord George went, and after it was over had an audience, and here follows his report to me of what pass'd.

"The King received him very kindly. Lord North had just gone out from him. He talked of the matters which had been the subject of the Council and of other matters for some time. At last, Lord George, finding an interval, ask'd him plainly, 'am I out?' 'Out,' replies the King, 'What should make you suppose you were out?' He then assured him no proposition had been made to him for his going out. 'Why then, Sir, am I not told what are to be the measures? Why does not Lord North tell me what he intends?' 'He saw Knox,' said the King. 'Yes, but he gave him no answer. I sent Knox to him as I knew he had a kindness for him and used to talk confidentially with him, and upon the footing he is with me it was the same as going myself, and I avoided that negligent manner of his which must have given me offence; but instead of sending me an answer, he call'd up his post chaise.' 'Well,' says the King, 'he will send to you.' Lord George then went into a repetition of the motives of his conduct, professing that as he came in with the hopes of being of service, he was ready either to continue a

all hazards or retire, as his Majesty thought proper; that his wish was to retire now, rather than be forced to it some time hence, as he was sure must be the case if vigorous measures were not taken. The King answer'd, 'Conduct like yours occasion a removal but to your own satisfaction.' He then asked about Fisher, how he went on, and how Knox liked him, and so ended a conference of full hour with that easy familiarity which meant to express satisfaction and to convey it.

"The next day, a card came from Lord North, desiring Lord George to come to Downing Street the 19th at eleven o'clock. He went, and came away in a monstrous passion. I had that morning written to Robinson to warn Lord North not to be inattentive in the conference, and to tell him that I had disposed Lord George to treat with America upon the foot of a truce and the *uti possidetis*, and that the King would come into it (for so Lord George told me), but that Ireland must be called upon to fulfill her promise. Robinson had hastened to Downing Street, but Lord North, when he came down, did not go into his own room but into that of the meeting, which was call'd upon Admiralty business, and to which, and not to a private conference, Lord George had been summoned. When Lord George found what was the business, he waited it out, thinking Lord North would then speak to him, but finding no appearance of such an attention, he came away in disgust. He immediately sat down to write to the King, when I took the opportunity of slipping down to Lord North's in search of Robinson, who brought up with me to Lord George. He had almost finished his letter to the King, telling him how he had been treated, and that it being evident Lord North meant he should go out, he desired his Majesty would acquaint him with his pleasure when he should bring the Seals, or to whom give them. Robinson entreated him not to send the letter, assuring him there was some mistake, and that Lord North would send to him to appoint a conference before Monday, upon which he consented to keep back the letter till Monday. On Monday morning he received a very civil letter from Lord North \* declaring he had no recollection of the King desiring him to converse with Lord George, and appointing Tuesday morning. On Tuesday Lord George went, when Lord North told him he had been right in supposing the King had desired them to have a meeting, for upon his writing to the King to tell him what Lord George had said the King refer'd him to a note in the box he had returned to him on Thursday, where he found one, desiring him to make the appointment, but he considering the box as containing only office papers had not opened it when it came back. The conference lasted an hour, and the report Lord George made to me of it was to this effect. Lord North said it was impossible to continue the war; that America was lost, and it was vain to think of recovering it. Lord George offered to treat upon the *uti possidetis*, but that, Lord North said, they would not accept; nothing but Independence would do, and that, Lord George said, would never be given by him, and, therefore, if such was his purpose, he must look out for another

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\* See Report on the Stopford-Sackville MSS (8vo edition), vol i., p. 76.



Secretary of State. He talked of the office merging in the Southern Department, but that, he said, could not be, for he must have an efficient man in the House of Commons. Jenkinson was named who, he said, would not accept it, as his object was Cabinet, with the War Office. Lord George pressed to be told before he went to the House to-morrow (the 23) whether he was to continue or not, and his Lordship promised he would inform him. In the conversation, Lord North [said] there was no objection to Lord George's person, but to his declared principle of never consenting to Independence, which made the difficulty, 'and yet,' says he, 'your being out of the way wont mend matters, for the King is of the same opinion.' I think he intends the Lord Advocate to succeed Lord George, and its probable he will find difficulty in obtaining the King's consent, for he told Lord George that he had told Lord North he never should forget the Lord Advocate's behaviour. Nothing further having passed for some days, Lord George Germain spoke to the King upon the disagreeableness of his situation and the injury his service received. The King told him Lord North had spoken of the necessity for his going out, because of his avowed principle of resisting treaty with America upon any footing but preservation of sovereignty. 'If you mean by his going out,' said the King, 'to relinquish that principle you must make other removes.' 'No,' replies Lord North, 'for no one else has declared that principle.' 'Yes,' says the King, 'you must go further; you must remove ME.' Lord North may be supposed to have been struck with this declaration, and for some days nothing was heard from him. The Advocate and Rigby left the House whispering their intention not to go there while Lord George was in office. Lord George now thought it time to write to Lord North\* for the answer he promised him ten days ago. No answer came, but the next day, the 31st, as Lord North came out from the King, he said to Lord George Germain: 'My Lord, your desire is the most proper and reasonable that can be, but the worst of it is, Jenkinson won't take your department.' This decided Lord George to consider himself as out, and meeting Lord Hillsborough he was told by him that he was commissioned to sound Mr. Ellis, and if he did not take it the office was to merge into his. Considering Lord George's removal as the first step to relinquishing the American War, offer'd to go out Governor of South Carolina and one of the Commissioners to endeavour to save that country for the nation, and preserve my own property in Georgia, but he would not agree to it.

18 pp.

#### LORD THURLOW.

"My first acquaintance with Mr. Thurlow, then Attorney-General was upon the occasion of General Burgoyne's calling, in the House of Commons, for an enquiry into the cause of his miscarriage at Saratogo. The friends of the Howes had got about Burgoyne and persuaded him to lay the fault upon Lord Sackville, as neither having supplied him with sufficient force or furnished him with

\* See Report on the Stopford-Sackville MSS. (8vo edition), vol. i., p. 77.

Instructions sufficiently discretionary, instead of imputing his failure to the want of Howe's co-operation, which Burgoyne well knew was the true cause, assisted by his own imprudence; but as he was no friend to the Administration he thought it was better to injure them than Howe.

"There certainly was a weak place in Lord Sackville's defence, which was the want of an official communication to Howe of the plan and Burgoyne's Instructions, with orders for his co-operation; of which I was not only innocent, but it was owing to my interference that Howe had any knowledge of the business. Mr. D'Oyly, my then colleague, having been some time Deputy-Secretary at War, and the particular friend of Howe, had the entire conduct of the military business; and Burgoyne and he had settled the force and Instructions, and Burgoyne had gone in to the King and obtained his consent for having the command and everything in his own way; even the specific detachments and corps were all named and not left to Carleton to select.

"When all was prepared, and I had them to compare and make up, Lord Sackville came down to the office to sign the letters on his way to Stoneland, when I observed to him that there was no letter to Howe to acquaint him with the plan or what was expected of him in consequence of it. His Lordship started, and D'Oyly stared, but said he would in a moment write a few lines. 'So,' says Lord Sackville, 'my poor horses must stand in the street all the time, and I shant be to my time anywhere.' D'Oyly then said he had better go, and he would write from himself to Howe and inclose copies of Burgoyne's Instructions, which would tell him all that he would want to know; and with this his Lordship was satisfied, as it enabled him to keep his time, for he could never bear delay or disappointment; and D'Oyly sat down and writ a letter to Howe, but he neither shew'd it to me or gave a copy of it for the office, and if Howe had not acknowledged the receipt of it, with the copy of the Instructions to Burgoyne, we could not have proved that he ever saw them. I applied upon this occasion to D'Oyly for a copy of his letter, but he said he had kept none. I then desired he would get one from Howe, who had the original, but he would not ask for it, and Lord Sackville did not call upon Howe for it. Thurlow would, however, have called for it if the enquiry had gone on, as I had told him all the circumstances. When he came to me he said he was sent to me for information respecting Burgoyne's expedition, for that all he had talked with upon the subject seemed to know nothing, but told him he must come to me. [Here follows the account of the interview already given. See p. 270 above.]

"I had once before met him and Wedderburn, then Solicitor-General, at Lord North's, where Mr. De Gray and myself were carried by Lord Sackville to a consultation upon the Instructions to be given to Lord Carlisle, &c., as commissioners. Those we had prepared for them had been by Lord North refer'd to the Attorney and Solicitor-General, and Wedderburn, being the patron of Eden, wish'd much that he might succeed in making Peace, and therefore was for giving the Commissioners much larger powers than we had intended. When the concessions to be made were spoken of, I

said that the Northern Colonies were rather to be considered as the rivals of this country and Ireland than their dependants; that they were much less advantageous than the Southern, and more difficult to be retained, and that, in my opinion, Great Britain would be better without them if they could be annihilated; upon which Thurlow observed that, as I seemed to think the Northern Colonies were not worth keeping, if that were the case he was sure the Southern ones were not worth fighting for. The consultation ended in submitting to Wedderburn to manufacture the Instructions and bring them to Lord North, and he framed them in such a manner as, if the Colonies had accepted the offers the Commissioners were impowered to make, the people then would have had all the advantages of British subjects without any share of the burdens of the Empire, and consequently Britain and Ireland would have been depopulated and reduced.

"After Thurlow became Chancellor, I visited him at his levées and was always well received, and when the Marquis of Buckingham came from Ireland, I writ to the Chancellor upon the state of that country, and had a very handsome answer. I afterwards sent him my several publications, and, in consequence of my conversations with Lord Rawdon, I requested a conference with him upon the views of that body, and my motives for attaching myself to them, which he much approved, but gave me to understand that the King did not feel the manacles Pitt had put upon him, or was not willing to hassard the inconvenience of attempting to break them. He said: 'This man (meaning Pitt), who he gives his confidence to for every thing, is utterly incapable of such a trust; he does not know how to do his own business, much less all the business of the Nation, which he takes upon him nevertheless.' I left him with assuring him that whenever the King thought fit to remove Pitt, he would find no difficulty in forming a respectable administration. It was in pursuance of this idea that I drew up and printed the *Considerations on the State of the Nation*, a copy of which I sent to Lord Thurlow before publication, and when I afterwards waited upon him in an evening, we had a long conversation upon the former subject. He approved greatly of the pamphlet, but seemed to think the King would not make any change; but wish'd Lord Rawdon and his friends would fairly come forward and avow themselves the supporters of the King. I mentioned this to Lord Rawdon, who, in answer, writ me a long letter declaring his sentiments, and renouncing all office during the present King's reign. I thought it right to communicate that declaration to the Chancellor, as I had given him reason to think differently of Lord Rawdon's purpose, and I also, from that time, gave up the idea of connecting myself with that party, which I foresaw would soon be melted down into the Duke of Portland's, and I gave the Chancellor my reasons for so doing. It was upon this occasion he told me the history of the Regency business, which I will set down in his own words:—

"'I scarcely knew the Prince of Wales, having never seen him but in public, and still less had I seen the Duke of York. When the King was taken ill, they were all frightened, and knew not what to do with him. The Prince thought it not fit to write to me to

desire I would come to them, but sent the Duke of York. I went immediately, and upon the Prince asking me what was to be done, I told him that the King, in his present situation, was to be considered as any other man so circumstanced, and treated accordingly. Whatever, therefore, the physicians, who were all there, advised, was to be done without scruple. All the physicians agreed in the hopelessness of his case. After this, the Prince asked me what was for him to do. I told him his situation was a delicate but a plain one. Everything must flow to him of itself; he could only interrupt its course by impatience to receive it. He had to think of the King in the double condition of father and sovereign, and in both capacities, his present situation called for his utmost tenderness. The Prince appeared convinced, and expressed great obligation to me, but, after he saw Sheridan, he adopted the contrary course, and I believe he now thinks he would have done as well if he had followed my advice, for when we meet, he tells me, laughing, he is not angry with me for the opposition I gave to his friends' propositions. The Ministers were all in a puzzle what to do; my advice was to go on as they were until the King's state was found irrecoverable, and to treat his disease as a common severe illness, which rendered him incapable of giving any orders. They, however, chose to declare the King's state to Parliament, and to appoint a Regent. As Keeper of the Great Seal, the whole responsibility of the measure was thrown upon me, and I saw that among all the Councillors that were given the Queen, I should be the object of the malevolence of the Regent's party. I would not have taken the Great Seal under such circumstances, for I am not a brave man, but, having it, I could not reconcile it to myself to quit it.

"I told him the public did justice to the motives of his conduct, and look'd up to him as the stay of the Constitution and the firm support of the King's authority. He said what he had done deserved no praise, for there was no merit in not being a rascal, which he must have been if he had acted otherways than he did.

My first care,' he added, 'was that the King should not be in the hands of the Regent's Ministers, and that no obstacle should be thrown in the way of his recovery, and, as I foresaw the objections they would raise to any symptoms of his recovery, I took the mode of proof out of their power; but still, with a Parliament at their back, what might they not do to prevent his recovery. They might so intimidate the Queen's Council that they would be afraid to declare the King convalescent, and if I stood forth as I should have done, at all hazards, in the King's support, an impeachment would probably have been my reward.'

"I expressed my own happiness and that of the Nation in his having been Chancellor at the time, and hoped I should never see the Great Seal in other hands. All this passed while we were at breakfast, which he made for me, and got up thrice to ring the bell for toast for me, not thinking that which was brought up was to my liking." 13½ pp.

CHARLES TOWNSHEND.

"When the peace of 1763 was made, Huske was busy collecting information respecting the new acquisitions in the City. He dined



with Machray, where I was, and the conversation taking that turn I spoke of the advantages to be derived from the Floridas. Husk soon after asked me to let him introduce me to Charles Townshend and I became very intimate with him. I writ to him from France and I have a letter from him in answer. He brought me home with him from the House of Lords after the debate upon the Cyclopædia Bill, against which 40 Lords voted, which he thought a death blow to Lord Bute's administration; and as Lady Dalkeith and I sat at supper, which he never eat, he walked about the room, entertaining us with his observations upon what had passed that day in his eccentric manner.

“ ‘The Burial is gone by, Knox (says he); Lord Pomfret and Lord Denby the two black staves men. Whose funeral is that, Lord Bute's. Then comes Lord Hillsborough, tolling the great bell—bum, bum.’ Those three were the only lords that had declared themselves attach'd to Lord Bute in the debate, and their manner of speaking, which he took off, made the allusion highly ridiculous. ‘Do you know (says he again) the meaning of the other speeches you heard? The Duke of Newcastle said, My Lord Bute, you thought it was an easy thing to govern this country thro' the King's favour. Now, I can tell you that altho' I had as full possession of the late King as you have of the present, I found it necessary to take the great connexions of the country with me, which you are endeavouring to break and oppose; but, take my word for it you will find your seat at the Treasury an uneasy one if you don't change your plan, of which what passes here this night is only a specimen. Then Lord Mansfield. My Lord Bute, you gave me no reason to think I should be of your Cabinet, but you have neglected me, and paid less attention to my recommendations than you ought. I will now shew you that I can punish you if I chuse to do it, but as I don't mean to break with you, but only to teach you to behave better for the future, I will bring you off now.’

“His manner of reading a book was curious. He turned over the leaves at the beginning extremely quick, first glancing at the middle of each page. ‘That's all preface,’ says he. He then ran over the facts with more attention, and when he had gone through them, turn'd over the remainder of the leaves as he had done the beginning, saying, ‘that's all conclusion, I can do that myself’ and he received oral information in the same manner, always confining the narrator to the fact. I was with him one morning at the time the Master of the Rolls was vacant by the death of Sir Thomas Clark. Mr. Yorke was then out of office, and Sir Fletcher Norton was Attorney-General. Mr. Grenville had offered Mr. Yorke his choice of being Attorney-General or Master of the Rolls, and he had not given his answer, but was to come that morning to Charles Townshend to consult him. ‘That is (says he to me) he wishes much to take one of them, and to throw the blame of his quitting the Opposition upon me. We are very good friends, but I'll be cursed if he makes me his stalking-horse to get into office. So go into the next room when he comes and stay till he is gone, and then I'll tell you what has pass'd.’ When he call'd me in, he began with laughing most heartily. ‘My poor friend (says he) came to me

under great embarrassment for my advice, and I think I have sent him away ten times more embarrassed than he came. I soon found he meant to take one of the two, but could not decide which was the most certain road to the Great Seal, which his heart, I know, is set upon. So, to puzzle him effectually, I began with telling him that the government of this country must come to him and me. Lord Temple can't live a year, and then George Grenville must go up to the Lords, and there will be no one but me to manage the House of Commons. Lord Hardwick can't hold out long, and then you will be Earl of Hardwick, and must have the Great Seal when Northington dies or becomes incapable, or we may turn him out. Norton is no Chancery man, so if you take the Rolls, you will probably succeed to the Seal even if Northington should die before Lord Hardwick. Indeed, the Attorney-General is the more direct line to the Seal than the Rolls, and Norton is so useful and thoroughgoing [a] fellow in the House of Commons that if he should insist upon the Seal, a Minister dare not put him by, especially as it is the usual course for the Attorney-General to get it. Now, if you took the Attorney-General and sent Norton to the Rolls, you would be in the direct line, but then Norton, by being at the Rolls, would learn the Chancery business, and he is such a damned able fellow that he would presently make himself so useful to Northington that he would devolve most of the business upon him, and he would do it so well that every one would say he ought to be Chancellor in case Northington should die or retire; and, as the Rolls is for life, the Minister would have no power over him, and, if he refused him, he would go into opposition and plague his heart out, so he would probably put you by and give it to him.'

"Mr. Yorke acted as Charles Townshend expected. He could not decide, for he was no able man, and wanted firmness as well as judgment. He hesitated so long that Norton heard of what had been offer'd him, and came to George Grenville to complain that he should be at the disposal of Mr. Yorke, and desired to resign his office of Attorney-General. Mr. Grenville then gave Sewel the Rolls and thought no more of Charles Yorke, but Norton refused to continue Attorney-General unless the King should desire it, as his Ministers had used him so ill. He had an audience of the King accordingly, and upon his Majesty expressing his satisfaction in his services and his regard for him, he took the occasion to ask to have his son appointed Minister to the Swiss Cantons, to keep him abroad some years, and he had it, with 800*l* a year salary." 6½ pp

#### LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

"The account he gave of his resignation or rather dismission from the Board of Trade in 1765." Substantially the same as that on p. 263 above.

#### MARQUIS OF LANSDOWN.

"1785, July 6.—My first acquaintance with the Marquis of Lansdown was at the time he was preparing his speech introductory of the motion for an Address of the House of Lords, approving the

preliminaries of the Peace of Paris [Dec., 1762]. The acquisition of Florida and Louisiana was treated by Opposition as of no value to this country, and it happened that the Ministers had no information respecting those provinces but what they could derive from Charles Vouges and Mitchell's map of North America. I was lately returned from Georgia. . . . Dr. Francis having found me out, carried me to his then common friends, Lord Holland and Lord Lansdown. I drew up by Lord Lansdown's desire a defence of the preliminaries, and presented [it] for his Lordship's use, and Dr. Francis got a copy of it from me for Lord Holland, who was so well pleased with it (though he said it was numbers and not argument that he depended upon for carrying the Address) that he desired Dr. Francis to ask me if I wished for any office in the new acquisitions, as he meant to consider me; 'for' says Dr. F., 'he is a man that expects nobody to do anything for nothing, and it is his maxim to live and let live. I, however, declined the offer, because I could not endure to be obliged to a man who I heard so ill-spoken of everywhere.

"Lord Lansdown did not put me to the like trial, but he had frequent conversations with me, and I digested into a pretty large paper my remarks upon the defects in the Constitutions and modes of government of the North American provinces, and put it into his hands, he being then first Lord of Trade. A copy of this paper was afterwards given by Lord G[rosvenor] to the Earl of B[ute] who, his Lordship told me, observed upon it some days after that he thought we ought to set about reforming our old Colonies before we settled new ones. Lord L[ansdown] soon after gave me a commission to execute at Paris, where I went with Lord G[rosvenor] in June, 1763, of a pritty hassardous nature, and might have prevented me from ever returning. It was to procure for him, out of the French King's beaureaux, some of the maps and plans of the French islands and fortifications in the West Indies, and for my security, and as a means of introduction to the *Comis*, gave me a letter to Mr. Nevil, his Majesty's Minister at Paris, requesting him to take me under his protection and to assist me in the business he had charged me with. I proceeded so far in the execution of his Lordship's commission as to find out the person who had purloined a draught for the late Duke of Cumberland some time before, but he told me that, upon that draught being missed, or more probably upon the secret being promulged here, as we are very apt to boast of our achievements of that kind, all the plans and draughts were removed out of the reach of the lower orders of *Comis*, and nothing could now be obtained.

"I acquainted Lord Lansdown by letter with these circumstances and he wrote to me in return that it was now of no importance to him, for he was no longer at the head of the Board of Trade. I was prepared for the intelligence by what I had perceived before I left England; a strong jealousy of his intriguing and ambitious spirit was entertained by both Lord Halifax and Lord Egremont, but especially by the latter, who was guided in all Colonial affairs by Governor Ellis, and whose influence Pownall could not endure. He therefore stimulated Lord Lansdown to underwork Lord Egremont, while Ellis incited the latter to thwart

Lord Lansdown. I was consulted by both Ellis and Pownall, and saw into the whole intrigue. The Under-Secretary, Wood, was neutre in this contest. Ellis had purchased his acquiescence by his influence with Lord Egremont by pointing out to him a valuable office in the new island [? Cape Breton], but when Wood discovered that he had taken a better to himself, which he did just before Lord Egremont's death, he broke with him, and I found them bitter enemies when I returned from France.

"My connexion with Mr. Grenville having now commenced, and as I could not think of leaving him, either in or out of office, to return to Lord Lansdown, I had but little intercourse with his Lordship while he held the Seals of the Northern Department, nor until he brought those of the Southern and American Departments to Whitehall in 1782, where he found me in the twelfth year of my Under-Secretaryship, having served with four successive principals. His Lordship recognised me as an old acquaintance; he told me the American office was to be absorbed, as well as the Board of Trade, into the Southern Department, and that it was his intention to select all the ability and efficiency of the three offices, and form out of the whole one complete establishment; that, therefore, he could not yet say who he should keep or who remove, but that whoever went out should have ample compensation for their loss of office; that he should, in the meantime, depend upon me for the care of everything, and desired I would give him my opinion of the abilities and characters of every one in the office. I told his Lordship I had no wish to remain, having obtained his Majesty's permission to retire, but that my devotion to the King's service would oblige me to continue as long as his Lordship thought I might be useful, and that I should exert my best endeavours to do my duty. He then went away, desiring me to tell Fisher, who was coming to make his bow, not to come in his way—for he could not bear to see anybody that he meant to part with; a fair confession, I thought, of weakness of nerves, notwithstanding all his bustle and high tone. Pollock's terror, and Sir Stanier Porten's exclamation of 'God be thanked I am not to be under you again' made me feel happy in the reflection that I was at liberty to withdraw from him. Indeed, I had no reason to imagine that upon such a change as that which had taken place, I should be suffered, much less desired, to stay, for the zealous part I had always taken against the Americans, the pamphlets I had written, and my activity in office, had made me so obnoxious to the whole party, that none of them were likely ever to place confidence in me; . . . I had requested Mr. G[renville] to take his Majesty's pleasure whether I should withdraw or continue if I was desired to stay, and he had acquainted me that I might withdraw if I chose to do so. Sir Richard Sutton had long ago told me that of all ministers, Lord Lansdown was the most difficult to please. He was never satisfied with what anyone did, or even with what he did himself, but altered and changed without end. As an instance, he mentioned his having prepared a draught of a despatch for Tuesday's mail. His Lordship directed him to alter and write it over again for his signing in the evening. He did so,



and he then took it to consider further of, and altered it and sent it to him to write over again, which he did, and brought it to his Lordship, who told him that as it was then late, he should keep it till the next mail. He accordingly kept it till Friday, when he gave it to Sir Richard with fresh alterations, and he assured me, before the letter was sent off, it had been nine times transcribed, and the Friday night's mails were detained for it till two in the morning. My own experience soon proved to me that it was not without reason those who had served with him in office abhor'd him as a principal. I attended him by his orders, day after day, with a 'pressee' of the unanswered dispatches, without being able to obtain his instructions for preparing the answers, and, perceiving that I was looked upon by those who frequented the house rather as a spy than an Under-Secretary, I beg'd his Lordship to send for me when he chose to see me, and from thence refrained coming. On the following Sunday night, between ten and eleven o'clock, I received a note from his private secretary, desiring me to come immediately to Berkeley Square, and bring all the unanswered dispatches with me; to which I return'd for answer that I had never been requir'd to do any business on Sundays that did not require immediate attention; that I was then going to read Prayers to my family, according to my usual custom, but that I would attend his Lordship very early in the morning. He made me explain to him and Sir Guy Carleton the reason and purpose of every order and movement during the progress of the war in America, and I informed him of everything that was proposed to be done in the next campaign, with which he appeared to be much gratified, but he was so ill-informed of the geography of America that I was obliged to lead him thro' the map, and describe the country as I went along. Sir Guy Carleton, when we were alone, gave me to understand that the mode of conducting the war and the condition of peace were to be confided to him, and in that belief he embarked. Not many days after Sir Guy had sailed, Lord Lansdown express'd to me his great apprehensions for the safety of Quebec, and his earnest wish that Sir [Guy] could have the command in that province. I told him, smiling, that I should rejoice to hear Washington had crossed the Lakes, for I was very sure Sir Guy would never suffer him to come back again; but his Lordship, appearing deeply affected, and assuring me that all the secret intelligence agreed that the most positive directions had been given by France for the expedition, I brought him Mr. De Vergenes' intercepted letter to the Marquis Lucerne, instructing him to use his utmost endeavours to prevent any attack upon Canada. His Lordship was much surprised and embarrassed by that letter, but recovering his looks of apprehension, he went on to ask me about the means of transporting troops from New York and Charleston to Quebec, and of giving Sir Guy the command there. I now clearly perceived the purpose of his affected apprehension for the safety of Quebec, and proposed to him a means of giving Sir Guy the command without disgracing Haldimand, which made him happier than I ever saw him. The next day I told him that, to prevent his suspecting some of those about him of divulging his

crets, I thought it right to inform him of what passed at Lord Hillsborough's table, where I had dined with a large company. Lord Denby, who was there, call'd to me aloud, 'Knox, what are you going to do with all the troops you are taking away from Charles Town and New York.' I said I knew nothing about taking any way. 'No,' says his Lordship, and then swore he knew they were to be taken away, for that one of the Cabinet told him so. Lord Lansdown appearing to take what I had told him good-humouredly, added, 'Your Cabinet, my Lord, is too numerous for secrecy, and especially as there are some in it who were never in the habit of keeping secrets, and they cannot resist the pleasure of the display of their importance by communicating what they know, but for my own part, I must request the favour of your Lordship not to talk with me upon any matter with which I am not to be trusted, for I am so well acquainted with every part of America and with everything in it, that you cannot open to me ever so small a part of any plan without enabling me to penetrate the whole, and if it gets wind, as, from the state of your Cabinet, I think it must, I shall probably be fixed upon as the betrayer of your secrets.' He replied, laughing, that he was very much obliged to me for the caution I had given him, but he was very sure whatever I might come to the knowledge of would be very safe with me.

"A very particular conversation respecting the American Office which his Majesty was so gracious as to join me with Lord Lansdown in, at the Drawing Room one Sunday, led me to imagine his Majesty would be pleased with my continuing with his Lordship, and therefore I determined to do so, and upon the following Tuesday, when Mr. P[ownall] was lamenting to his Lordship that I was not to continue, and his Lordship exclaimed that he hoped I had no intention of leaving him, I bowed consent, but the next morning I saw Mr. Dundass carry in Mr. Ord to his Lordship, and on Thursday I found Mr. Ord in my room at the office, not one word having passed between his Lordship and me upon the subject after Tuesday. He could have no other motive for acting with this duplicity towards me but the gratification of his own mind, as I had so early expressed my wish to retire; however, when he came to the office, he was so good as to tell me that Mr. Ord did not come to succeed me, for that I had no successor, my office being suppressed, and assured me pathetically my whole behaviour had been the most proper he ever knew, and particularly the pains I had taken to inform Nepean had made a most lasting impression upon his mind, and that I might depend upon being amply compensated by Parliament for the loss of my office, and that, if I wished for any mark of the King's favour, he would request it for me. I made my acknowledgments for his Lordship's kind expressions, but said that his Majesty's goodness to me had been so great that I could not think of making any request for further pecuniary favours; that were I restored to the possession of my estate, I should have humbly solicited an honorary mark of his Majesty's approbation of my conduct, but that as I could not be certain of having any considerable income to subsist myself and family, except what I derived from his Majesty's bounty, it would

ill become me to ask for an honor. His Lordship assured me he would make a faithful representation to his Majesty of what he was pleased to call my very proper sentiments; but I fear he kept that promise as ill as he did the other he made me, of considering me when the Parliamentary allowances should be settled for the secretaries and clerks of the suppressed offices. He was then at the head of the Treasury, and gave to every dismissed clerk his full salary; to Mr. Cumberland, who had been only two years Secretary of the Board of Trade, the whole emoluments of that office, 750*l* per annum, clear of all deductions, and to Mr. Fisher, who had been my colleague only six months as Under-Secretary, 400*l*, but he passed me over without notice, only directing Mr. Rose to tell me that his Majesty had been so generous to me that there was no occasion to ask Parliament for any allowance for me; thus appropriating his Majesty's bounty, extended to me in consideration of the loss of my American offices, as a compensation for my being deprived of that of Under-Secretary, also, after twelve years service in it." 11½ *p*.

#### IV. MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

##### MARQUIS DE MONTCALM.

1. Extract, in English, of M. de Montcalm's letter of April 4, 1757, to M. Berryer, with note by Knox. "This advice of Montcalm's made the French at the Peace insist on the Isles of St. Pierre and Miquelon."

2. Translation of Montcalm's letter of Oct. 1, 1758, to M. Berryer.

3. Translation of Montcalm's letter of Aug. 24, 1759, to M. de Molé, president of the Parliament of Paris, from the Camp before Quebec. [*These letters, which were published in 1777, have been generally considered spurious.*]

##### COMMERCE.

[1763 ? \*].—A paper by Knox, headed "Hints relative to our Commerce." The main points are as follows:—As the Treaty of Peace has left Great Britain in possession of several of the French Colonies, and given security to her former possessions in North America, an increase of her American trade may be expected. By a greater demand on the part of her Colonists, England's manufactures will be increased and more employment given to her people, but "as her Colonies are part of her Empire any gain which is made by the individuals who carry on the direct trade with them cannot be said to be an addition to the national wealth. The trade between two counties in England may be very profitable to the individuals who transact it, and yet the Nation cannot be the richer for it. Our trade with foreign nations is the only traffic by which the nation, as well as individuals, can

\* Apparently written shortly after the conclusion of the Peace of Paris. See also letter to Granville, p. 89 above.

enriched." Foreign trade divides itself into two branches, port and carrying. British exports have been increased by the war, but the carrying trade has been ruined. For although our fleets were everywhere triumphant, the enemy's privateers exposed our merchant ships to such risks that the ships of neutral nations could be hired at a much cheaper rate, and the loss of this trade occasioned a prodigious diminution in the number of our shipping, of great importance when our very existence as a state depends upon the superiority of our naval power.

As regards the effect of the war upon France, her maritime trade being entirely ruined by it, the State has been deprived of almost all revenues from imports and exports, and has been reduced to borrowing for the expenses of the war. The same cause which obliged her to go deeper into debt having deprived her of security to her creditors, foreigners refused to trust her with their money, and therefore the money in the country was all the State had to avail itself of. If they had been carrying on only a defensive war, this would not have so much mattered, but the offensive war in Germany entailed payments for the subsistence of the armies here, no part of which payments returned to the French people. To make her money last the longer, France stopped payment of foreign bills and of the interest on her old debt, and thus, with what she got from her people, raised money for the carrying on of the war that year. Next year she resorted to the same methods, and with the same success, "for the people generously gave her their all," but it was impossible to continue to support her armies on such a footing, and therefore her ministers judged it best to accept the conditions offered by England. England, on the other hand, seemed to flourish under the pressure of the war, for her conquests increased her trade, and with it her revenue. But her ministers "are not dazzled with the splendour of this false riches" knowing that the money they have been spending was borrowed and that the nation must one day be able to re-imburse it or be utterly undone. By the war with Spain, we have lost an influx of nearly a million per annum in specie, and by the attack on Portugal, are likely to lose a million and a half more.

The distress of France is greater, but temporary; the burdens of England not so pressing but perpetual; therefore France is more likely to re-establish her foreign commerce than England, and will try to indemnify herself for the loss of her colonies by wresting from England her foreign trade. If France can undersell our manufactures in foreign markets and get the carrying trade into her hands, our acquisitions in America will be but poor compensation for our loss. To prevent this, England must reduce her expenses, be "extremely economical in the receipt of her Revenue," and lighten her burdens by distributing them amongst the several members of the Empire. Suggestions for economy in collecting the revenue, and simplifying the assessing of taxes. The writer had meant to urge the taking over of the care of the poor by Government, "but as the great utility of such a regulation is fully pointed out in an excellent pamphlet published this day," he will only declare his opinion "that the collection and disbursement of the Poor



rates are subject to so many abuses that a general tax, laid and collected by Government, though no heavier than the rate paid by the lowest rated parish in the Kingdom, would not only maintain every really necessitous person " but leave a considerable surplus; government officials being so much more controlled by adverse criticism than those appointed by the people.

The paper ends by discussing how far Ireland is able to assist Great Britain in supporting her necessary burdens, and by what methods she may be induced to give her assistance. 22 pp.  
2 Copies.

#### ON THE FORTIFICATIONS AT CHERBOURG.

[After 1763].—Notes for a letter to a newspaper, defending the right of the English Government to protest against the fortifying of Cherbourg, on the ground that—while repair of damages and augmenting defensive works are pacific measures which no nation has a right to take offence at—"the construction of works in time of peace which can have no use but to give an advantage in time of war, is a direct avowal of intended hostility." 7 pp.

*Endorsed by Knox, "not published."*

#### REVENUE.

1764.—Discussing the various methods for employing a surplus in the National revenue, and advocating the granting of bounties upon exports in time of peace, which, ceasing at the breaking out of hostilities, would leave free an additional war revenue without increased taxation. 12 pp.

#### MARRIAGE ACT.

[1772, April \*].—"A speech intended to be spoken upon the Introduction of Mr. Fox's bill to repeal the Marriage Act."—Urging the importance of parental control to prevent premature and unwise marriages, and advocating the age of 21 in men and 18 in women as the period of emancipation from such parental restraint. 13 pp.

#### AMERICAN CONGRESS.

1774.—Abstracts, by Knox, of the Resolutions of Congress, 14 Oct., 1774; the petition to the King, 26 Oct.; and a second petition, undated; with marginal notes upon the contents. 8 pp.  
[See *S. P. America and West Indies*, vol. 278, f. 471.]

#### Population of the AMERICAN COLONIES.

[1774 ?].—"Number of [European] inhabitants in North America":—

Nova Scotia	17,000.	Virginia	300,000.
Connecticut (1774)	191,392.	Pensylvania	<i>no figures.</i>
Massachusetts	400,000.	Maryland (1762)	114,332.
Rhode Island	35,939.	Georgia	18,000.
New York	148,000.	N. Jersey	77,000.
New Hampshire	100,000.	S. Carolina	60,000.

\* Fox brought in his Bill on April 7, 1772.

A rough calculation below brings the total to 1,911,000. but the numbers do not exactly tally with those above. Also Maryland is omitted and Connecticut given twice. The population of Pennsylvania is put at 300,000. 1 p.

#### PLAN for Carrying on THE WAR.

774.—Suggestions by Knox for the distribution of troops suggested by him as "delivered to Lord Dartmouth, 1775." 1 p.

#### CANADA.

[1775, April].—Plan for Canada, in Knox's hand, and noted by him as presented when Burgoyne went out. Suggestions for giving commissions to Canadian officers, their men to be raised by recruits from the Militia for a short term of service, and for forming a Roman Catholic regiment in Canada in which, it is believed, Irish Roman Catholics would readily enlist. 2 Copies. 2½ pp. each.

#### PLAN OF THE WAR.

[1776, March \*].—Arguments to show that in the American War the British have "begun at the wrong end"; that the Southern provinces, being easier both to acquire and retain, should have been first attacked and reduced, and thus formed a base for attacking the Northern ones. With suggestions for the methods to be employed. 5 pp.

Also

Another paper on the same subject. 7 pp.

#### INSTRUCTIONS for LORD AND GENERAL HOWE.

1776, May 6.—Orders and Instructions. Copy. 10 pp. [*Another copy calendared in Report on Dartmouth MSS. ii., p. 417.*]

Also

"Additional and separate Instructions for the same. Same date. Copy. 3 pp.

#### PROJECT FOR A SETTLEMENT with the Colonies.

[1776, summer of ?].—After showing that the Colonies, in treating with Great Britain, are at a great disadvantage as compared with Foreign States, seeing that whatever terms are given, when they have once returned to their allegiance, they can have no security for their fulfilment but England's good faith, Knox goes on to propose an Act to the following effect:—

That whereas it is only reasonable that all British subjects who partake of the advantages of the constitution should contribute in due proportion to charges incurred for the general good:

And whereas the annual charge of the army, fleet, &c., and of such civil expenses as concern the whole empire amounts to about millions, exclusive of Ireland:

\* Cf. Knox's proposal on page 259 above.

And whereas the population of Great Britain is computed at 8 millions, and that of the British provinces on the coast of the Atlantic in North America to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions, and that, therefore, the just proportion to be contributed by the latter would be five sixteenths, or 1,250,000*l* (this still leaving the whole burden of the Public Debt upon the people of Great Britain): Nevertheless as it has ever been the desire of Parliament to promote the prosperity of the Provinces, and because "very great advantages are derived to the Inhabitants of Great Britain from their exclusive commerce with the said Provinces, which commerce it is intended shall always remain confined to Great Britain as heretofore, or carried on under such regulations and restraints as Parliament shall impose," it is proposed that "the sum to be contributed by the said provinces shall be no more than 8 per cent. of the rated value of all commodities exported from the same in every year," which, at the highest rated value of the exports in the past, would not exceed 300,000*l* for several years to come, *i.e.*, not one thirteenth part of the aforesaid charge of four millions. 12 pp. *Imperfect*.

#### BROOKLYN.

[1776. August].—Minutes of letters from Sir Peter Parker and Sir Henry Clinton, apparently relating to the attack on Brooklyn in August, 1776. They explain how by reason of contrary wind and getting aground, the frigates destined for the service were prevented from assisting in the attack which was made "on the 28th (*sic.*)."  
2 pp.

#### LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

[1778, February ?].—Draft by Lord George Germain of part of a letter to Sir William Howe, concerning the surrender of Burgoyne's army, and Sir William's desire to quit the command. With many alterations in Knox's hand, and endorsed by him: "Lord G. G. paragraph for a letter. . . altered by me in the letter upon this occasion."  
3 pp.

#### SIR HENRY CLINTON.

1778-9.—Minute of orders sent to Clinton in 1778 and 1779. With note by Knox that it is to be copied in "a large black hand" and to be kept secret.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

#### PEACE OR WAR.

1779, October 14 —Paper dated and endorsed as above. States that as the French and Spanish fleets will have 36 ships of the line while Parker and Arbuthnot have only 23, it will be necessary "to give us equality," to send out 13 ships of the line at once. If this cannot be done, Spain should be detached from France by the offer of West Florida, and even, if necessary, by a surrender of our intercourse with the Musquito Shore.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  pp.

## PEACE PROSPECTS.

1781, January.—Paper endorsed by Knox "Ideas" on above title. Urging that the negotiations for peace should be, not between Congress and the British commanders, but between the people at large" and persons with plenary powers, who derive nothing from the war, and expect their reward from the making of peace. As regards Europe, the Emperor and Russia in best help against the House of Bourbon. The Emperor, being ambitious and poor might be prevailed on by money, and some advantages at the expense of the Dutch. Russia is desirous of a port in the Mediterranean; Minorca would be highly acceptable to her, and in her hands would be "an everlasting cause of jealousy between her and France and Spain," and consequently would bind her to England. This alliance would draw in Denmark and perhaps Sweden, and the Dutch might also be admitted. So formidable a league would impel France and Spain to treat, "and then would be our time to lay our plan deep for reducing their naval strength and augmenting our own." Spain might be persuaded to yield her part of St. Domingo in exchange for the restitution of the Floridas, and with the Spanish part of the Island in our hands we might master the French garrisons before they could be strengthened from France. This great point being gained, the exchanges with France might proceed upon the foot of the Treaty of Paris or of the *uti possidetis*. 6 pp.

## GEORGIA and the CAROLINAS.

1781, June.—Arguments in support of the view that the people of Georgia and the Carolinas are favourable to England, and that their holding back from joining the King's forces is the effect of intimidation, not of disloyalty. 8½ pp. *Endorsed* "Defence to be made in the House of Commons."

## EAST INDIA COMPANY.

1784.—Notes on "the occasion of the East India Company desiring to borrow 1,500,000*l*"—*i.e.*, "the failure of the arrivals expected in the course of the last year." 1½ pp.

## NATIONAL DEBT.

1785, Oct. 4.—Notes and calculations, endorsed by Knox. Materials: National Debt, 4 Oct., 1785." *Drafts, much corrected*. 9 pp.

## PROPOSALS [by WILLIAM KNOX ?].

1787, Dec. 9.—Paper (stated by Knox to have been sent to Mr. Fox on this date, to be laid before Mr. Pitt), concerning the evils of emigration, and offering to conduct an undertaking for the "Colonizing" of the Hebrides, Orkneys and Shetland islands, and the unimproved tracts in Wales. 3½ pp.

## SLAVE TRADE.

1788, May 25.—Notes for introductory remarks on making a motion in relation to the Slave Trade in the House of Commons—



defending the trade on the ground that negroes that were slaves in Africa are better off when brought to America, their temporal condition being no worse, and their spiritual state (owing to the opportunity of receiving religious instruction) much better; but praying for information as to what has been done by Government and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to render their condition more comfortable and "to remove all reproach for retaining them in servitude." 4 pp.

#### FLORIDA.

[Undated.]—"Hints respecting the Settlement and Culture of East Florida." Describing the soil, vegetation and climate suggesting the cultivation of cotton as its special product (as being "the material for a great variety of manufactures," and one with which the market cannot easily be overstocked), also of indigo and silk, which would succeed much better than in Georgia, owing to the absence of frost. Florida is said to be not only in nearly the same latitude as Egypt, but to have much the same climate and soil. 19½ pp.

*Also:* Another paper, partly to the same effect as the above, but proposing an alteration of its boundaries, the importation of Christian Greeks from the Archipelago to populate it, and provisions for government, granting of lands, &c., especially deprecating grants on a large scale.

*Ends.*—"Pen's and Lord Baltimore's success in colonizing has tempted many people to become American proprietors, not considering that Pennsylvania became considerable by being made a sanctuary for the persecuted of all religions, the Roman Catholic excepted, in very zealous times, and that Maryland is the only colony where Roman Catholics are entitled to the rights of men." 11 pp.

#### EXPORTS.

[Undated.]—Advocating the abolition of the export duties charged on goods, both foreign and of home manufacture, sent from Great Britain to the Colonies and the United States. 2 pp.

#### HEMP AND FLAX.

[Undated.]—"Reasons for granting a bounty on the importation of hemp and flax from the British Colonies." At present nearly all the hemp used in England is exported from Russia. The balance of trade with that country is "near five hundred thousand pounds against us," the value of the imports being nine hundred thousand pounds and that of the exports thither only five. Hemp being absolutely necessary for shipping, England is at Russia's mercy, and also at that of Denmark, whose forts command the Sound. When Sweden, in 1703, refused to let us have any naval stores save in her own ships, Parliament granted a bounty on the importation of such stores from the colonies, with the result that tar, pitch and turpentine were presently brought

ience in such quantities as almost wholly to supply the demand and were sold at one-third of the price formerly paid to Sweden.

Hemp and flax are now being grown in the colonies, and if a bounty were offered on their import into England, we might soon be independent of Russia, and might also check the colonists from manufacturing, for "there is no other method of preventing a free people from manufacturing their own materials than by purchasing those materials and giving such a price for them as shall afford them a compensation for their labour in raising them, and enable them to purchase your manufactures." *Draft.* 4 pp.

#### AMERICAN PRODUCE.

[Undated.]—Notes on the consumption of sugar and molasses in the northern and southern provinces of North America, and especially upon the danger of allowing corn distilleries to be set up there, whereby the West Indian planters would have to pay in specie instead of in rum (as they mostly do at present) for lumber and provisions and would have nothing for a return freight. 5½ pp.

#### THE CURRENCY.

[Undated.]—Notes on the Proposition of the Board of Trade "to take away the lawful tender from all paper currency in the Colonies." 16 pp.

*Also*

Another short paper on the same subject. 1½ pp.

### V. PAPERS RELATING TO PRESENTS TO THE INDIANS.

#### PRECIS.

1775-1779.—Precis of orders for sending out Indian presents from England 1775 to 1779 inclusive. Total value (except 500*l.* sent to Nova Scotia in 1779), 87,484*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* 9 pp.

JOHN STUART, Superintendent for the Southern district, to  
WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, March 10.—The competition between himself and the rebel agents for the friendship of the Indians has been very great. Mr. Galphin's weight with them has been added to by the plentiful supply of goods, arms, &c., brought over from the French islands. Besides giving and promising them large presents, Mr. Galphin has assured the Cussita Indians that they "could have no trade from hence," all the London ships being intercepted by the [American] cruisers. The Chehaws have attacked and defeated "a party of the Georgia scouts, and returned home just at the time that the English traders arrived with a plentiful supply of goods,

which determined them all to engage in his Majesty's cause. Yet, if they should be hard pressed, they would probably attempt to make their peace with the rebels, and therefore posts should be established in their country, where supplies could be kept and where their wives and children might find protection upon any emergency. *Extract.* 2½ pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to GEN. HALDIMAND.

1781, April 7.—Sends invoices and bills of lading of a supply of presents for the Indians according to the demands received, save that a considerable reduction has been made in the total amount. The Indian officers who prepared the demands gave no estimate of the cost, and upon computation the three lists were found to amount to little short of 55,000*l*, without reckoning the charges of freight and delivery. Mr. Guy Johnson's demand was almost half of the whole, although he has not "near so great" a number of Indians to deal with as Mr. De Peister. "It should seem he imagined the importance of his services would be rated by the greatness of the expence he put the public to." Col. Campbell's packages, which will be under his Excellency's immediate direction, Col. Johnson's for Niagara, and Major de Peister's for Detroit, have all been marked, for convenience sake, with distinctive initials, but the Treasury Commissioners leave it to his Excellency to make any alterations in their destination which he may choose.

The supply being very ample, their Lordships hope no expenses will be incurred by purchases in the country. 4½ pp.

#### *Enclosing :*

List of presents sent for the Indians at Niagara, including pieces of many sorts of cloth and cotton materials, linens, blankets, sheeting, laces, coloured threads and ribbons, "very gaudy feathers," combs, sponges, needles, looking glasses, cutlery, arms and ammunition, shirts and shifts, hats, vermilion, tobacco, kettles, pipes and handmills.

Also in silver: medals with the King's bust, arm bands and gorgets with the King's arms, wrist bands, shirt buckles and earrings. 3 pp. [*The other two lists are wanting.*]

#### GENERAL HALDIMAND to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, Oct. 23. Quebec.—Believes that the best way to control the expence of the Indian department would be to appoint some person of rank, influence, knowledge, activity and perfect honour to superintend the Northern Confederacy, and to annually visit, examine, and if necessary make reforms at the several posts. Sir John Johnson in every respect fulfils the above requirements, and although he formally declined the office, he is now, "in consideration of the ruinous state of his private affairs," willing to undertake it. If promoted to the rank of Brigadier General, he would have command of the Lieutenant Governors and Superintendants, who

are too apt to consider themselves independent with regard to the expenses they incur.

"It is not in nature" that Haldimand himself, far away from these posts, can have personal knowledge of the contingencies which amount to such amazing sums, and when "after writing volumes upon the subject of economy," he is told that such and such expenses are absolutely necessary, he must submit, or stand by the consequences. *Copy.* 4½ pp.

#### WILLIAM KNOX to GENERAL HALDIMAND.

1782, April 23. Whitehall.—The goods for presents to the Indians, supplied by direction of the Treasury Commissioners, have been shipped on the *Amazon* and *Maria*. The greatest care has been taken in providing them of the best quality, and the estimate for Niagara "was made out with Sir John Johnson's assistance, and chiefly taken from Col. Campbell's demand, Mr. Pollard having declined giving any information upon my rejection of his proposal of laying a profit upon the cost of the goods which he computed would amount to about six thousand pounds and dividing it between us." This shows the danger of employing traders to do business for government, as their own interest "suppresses all feelings for the public service." *Draft.* 4 pp.

#### GENERAL HALDIMAND to the RIGHT HON. THOMAS TOWNSHEND.

1782, Oct. 28. Quebec.—Sends Sir John Johnson's general estimate of Indian presents for the ensuing year, and praises his zeal in entering upon his office. Encloses a copy of Mr. Knox's letter of April 23. As Mr. Pollard is on the spot they will be able "to hear the parties, and determine upon the merits of the proposal recommended by the Superintendent and Inspector-General of the Indian department." *Copy.* 1½ pp.

#### EVAN NEPEAN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, Dec. 17. Whitehall.—Sends a copy of Gen. Haldimand's letter to Mr. Secretary Townshend and of two papers relative to the Indian presents supplied by Knox, and desires him to state fully, for the Secretary's information, such reasons as he may have to offer "for justifying the charges which appear on the face of the account upon several articles to be much above the usual price." 1 p.

#### Memorial of WILLIAM KNOX to the TREASURY COMMISSIONERS.

[End of 1782].—In the spring of 1781, having, by order of the then Board of Treasury, purchased a supply of presents for the Indians, he was directed to erase from his invoices the customary charges made at the several offices for fees upon the warrants,



as their Lordships wished to regulate these fees before paying them. He has since then sent out two further supplies of presents, and the claims of the several officers are as follows :—

*Upon the 4 warrants of June 19, 1781, sum 38743l. 7s. 5d.*

Treasury fee, 5l. 12s. each	...	...	22	8	0
Entering Clerk in Pay office	...	...	16	16	0
Paymaster, 2 gns. per 1,000	...	...	60	7	6
Controller of army accounts for examination and report on the invoices	...	...	18	18	0

Total	...	...	£118	9	6
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*Upon warrant dated Oct. 28, 1781, sum 7721l.*

Fees [details given]	...	...	28	3	0
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*Upon 4 warrants dated Aug. 7, 1782, sum 63861l. 17s. 7d.*

Fees [details given]	...	...	198	8	0
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For all these fees the officers hold Knox responsible, and he therefore prays for a warrant for the whole or such part thereof as their Lordships shall think fit. *Draft. 4 pp.*

#### WILLIAM MOLLESON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1784, June 13. Upper Brook Street.—Informing him—in case he inclines to be present—that Lieut. Houghton is to be examined by the Comptrollers on the morrow at one o'clock, relative to the Indian presents shipped in the spring of 1782. 1 p.

#### Memorial of WILLIAM KNOX to the TREASURY COMMISSIONERS.

[No date.]—Explaining the way in which it had been customary to proceed in the provision of money for the Indian presents and the distribution of the “Bills of Parcels” for them. *Draft. 3 pp.*

THE MANUSCRIPTS  
OF  
CORNWALLIS WYKEHAM-MARTIN,  
OF THE HILL, PURTON, WILTS, ESQUIRE.

LADY CORNWALLIS to her son, the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.  
[1761]. April 18. London.—“ . . . We had the satisfaction of having Lord Brome arrive safe and in perfect health on Tuesday last. Harry came with them as far as Munster, but was not very well, and they persuaded him to remain there three or four days longer. . . .

“We talk here of peace, however I doubt our military young folks will stay but a very short time with us, for it is supposed all things will be carried on with the same spirit till the peace is actually concluded, indeed appearances confirms that supposition. As our expedition sailed since these strong reports of peace. Nothing with any authority has been heard of them since, which is rather surprising, as it is imagined they have been in Quiberon Bay these ten days.

“I shall be very impatient to know how you like your new command and your new shipmates . . . .”

CHARLES, 1ST EARL CORNWALLIS, to his son, the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1761, May 3. London.—“General Parslow going to Gibraltar gives us an opportunity, as we hope, of sending letters to you by a safe hand. I am very sorry that I must relate to you a misfortune that has befallen our family, which has given us all the most distressing affliction; your poor brother Harry, who was on his road, coming home from Germany, was seized with a violent fever, which occasioned his death. We believe it was contracted by the great fatigues he underwent the latter end of the campaign, and lying frequently out in the open air. But misfortunes that it pleases God to send must be submitted to, and I hope time will relieve our present affliction. Your brother Lord Brome is at present here, and seems to be in perfect health, and a great comfort to us all, as he seems to be a very promising young man, and, if he lives, likely to be a great blessing and of great benefit to his family. He has just got to be Lieutenant Colonel to an old regiment, which is in Germany, so that he must go again there. But peace is so much talked of, and so much believed, that I hope his stay there will not be long. I don't know whether the word peace is an agreeable

word to you seamen. But it is a happy circumstance that you have got the step of being a lieutenant before it takes place, and I hope and believe, you are very likely to do well in your profession, and be a comfort to us all. Your brother Jemmy is at Oxford and seems to do very well there. Molly is very well. We are very glad to hear from you whenever we can."

LORD BROME to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1761, May 4. Hill Street.—"My father has certainly sent you the melancholy account of poor Harry; you cannot imagine what a shock it has been to me, and to us all; but as these kinds of misfortunes admit of no remedy, we must try to bear up against them as well as we can. Life is so very uncertain, and happiness so seldom to be met with, that I question very much whether the loss of life can be looked upon as a very great misfortune; but the loss of a brother and friend that I loved so sincerely as I did my dear Harry, is a most shocking and irreparable stroke. My only comfort is in you and Jemmy. I am vastly happy to hear so good accounts of you; I dare say you will one day or other make a figure in your profession. All I can say is, that nobody can love you better than I do, that I shall always endeavour to prove myself worthy of your esteem and friendship, that I shall at all times and on all occasions do all in my power to serve and promote you, and that half the contents of my purse will be always at your service. Excuse my writing any more on this melancholy occasion."

EARL CORNWALLIS to his son, the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1761, June 27. Culford.—". . . I am very sensible it must be more expensive to you now you are a lieutenant. I am very willing to allow what is necessary to you, and would by no means have you live worse than your brother officers. I suppose you will not be able to do with less than a hundred a year. . . . We had lately a letter from Lord Brome. He was within two days of joining the army. They had not then begun any operations. At the taking Belle Isle, the marines behaved very well and gained much honour. They talk now of some other expedition going on. We have had a French minister at London for three weeks. It was thought his coming was sure to produce peace, but as far as the public can see, it does not seem to go on very fast. . . ."

The SAME to the SAME.

1761, August. London.—"Your mother has wrote you so long a letter that I shall only add a line to testify my sincere joy at your happy escape in so dangerous an engagement as you have had. I am very glad you have seen such a close engagement, as it may be of use to you, and you will gain reputation by having been an officer in a ship that has behaved so well. I have desired Lord Carysfort, brother to Captain Proby, to recommend you to him, though I dare say the Captain would naturally be kind to you. I desire

ou to make my compliments to him. I have but one piece of advice to give you at present, which is to endeavour to keep company with the captains of ships and your superior officers as much as you can. It will certainly be of advantage to you. Pray make my compliments to Admiral Saunders, with my thanks for his kindness to you, likewise my compliments to General Parslow, who is a very good sort of man; and if this letter gets to you before my letter to Colonel Edhouse, tell him I am infinitely obliged to him for his kindness in writing us word of your safety."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1761, September 1, London.—"I hope before you receive this, you will have received a letter from your mother and me, congratulating you upon your safety, after the sharp engagement you had been in. It was owing to Colonel Edhouse's kindness in writing the moment the *Thunderer* came to Gibraltar that we were relieved from our anxiety about you. It is said the *Stag* is come in, we expect by that ship a letter from you. You can't imagine the pleasure we had in hearing of your safety. I don't know whether this engagement of the *Thunderer* may occasion her coming home sooner than might have been intended, but, be that as it will, I wish you all happiness. In my letter, joined to your mother's, I recommended much to you to keep, as much as you can, company with the captains of ships, and your superiors. I can't help repeating that recommendation to you, as I am very sure it will be of the greatest advantage to you, in every particular, to your future promotions, to your good character in your profession; and the knowledge the Admiral and Captains have of you is a very essential thing for you, as in all professions the character superior officers give of young men is all in all. Your brother Lord Brome has found the benefit of it; he is known to every General in the army he serves in, and has their universal good word and approbation, which has helped him with ease to be a Lieutenant Colonel very young, and will carry him on with applause. I had a letter from him yesterday, he was very well. Peace is talked of very much, and it is said a week will determine either peace or another year's war.

"Your brother Jemmy has been ill, very oddly, the use of his limbs taken away. It came gradually, he complaining a little for five or six days, growing worse, until he was quite lame, and had no use of his fingers. He is better, and his physician assures us there is no doubt of his being well again before it is long. I came now to town in expectation of paying my duty to our new Queen. But the wind is perverse and contrary, so that we don't know when she may arrive, and Lord Anson will be very cautious, having such a charge. I wish you all happiness, and all I can do to promote it you may be sure of."

JAMES CORNWALLIS to his brother, the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1762, June 23. Bristol.—Announcing their father's death.



ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

[1762], July 13. Hill Street.—“The heavy affliction that has lately happened to us, has made me incapable of writing to you of some time. My happiness is for ever gone, but it is in all my children's power to lighten my misery by behaving well in the several stations. I have no doubt of having this comfort. I am left by your father's will guardian to Jemmy and you. Molly told you that I had applied to Lord Halifax for a sloop for you and yesterday I had a letter to acquaint me you were appointed to command the *Wasp* sloop. Upon enquiry I find it is at Plymouth therefore I hope I shall have the satisfaction of seeing you soon at home, as I suppose a notification will immediately be sent to you from the Admiralty. Till that comes I imagine you are to take no notice of the information. . . . As it is of great consequence to you to get the rank of Captain before a peace, I don't question that you will be so careful in your conduct in this command and it will make it easy for your friends to get you soon to be a Post Captain. You are very young, but I hope have sense and prudence enough to consider your whole future happiness consists in getting an established character of a good officer, and a sober man. You will then rise by your own merit, which is ten thousand times more satisfactory than the doing it by the assistance of friends, supposing you should have them, which is not always the case. Not a word of this is said from the least suspicion I have of you, but comes purely from the anxious anxiety of my heart for your doing well.”

The SAME to the SAME.

1763, May 5. [London].—“Your last letter was received with sorrow. I am afraid I ought to call it a foolish sorrow, as my reason tells me the sooner you go the better your chance, both in point of health and preferment. I shall be glad to hear you have reached Portsmouth and hope they will not detain you long there.

“I have sent the letter to Admiral Tyrrel, and shall make all the enquiries in my power who is to be the other Admiral employed in the West Indies. . . .

“Mr. Wilks refused to be bailed, and as the legality of the commitment was a nice point to decide upon, the judges of the Court of Common Pleas ordered him back again to the Tower, and said they would give their opinions on Friday next. People are impatient for their decision; many imagine he will then be discharged. He made an excellent speech, with great respect to the Court before whom he was, and what pleased me most, with great respect to His Majesty, to whom I think he has been very wanting. I believe he is thoroughly convinced nobody approves of anything that looks like disrespect to the King. He treated the Ministry with his usual contempt. Tom Scot dines and sups with him, and says he is the merriest gentleman he ever saw.”

## The SAME to the SAME.

[1763. May], Saturday, the 7th.—“Poor Mrs. Harding has lost her son in the East Indies; he died of a fever. I hope you will be so careful of yourself as to do all in your power to make the West Indies more lucky to your mother. . . .

“I saw by an advertisement in our morning paper that the *Craftsman* of to-day had everything in it relating to Mr. Wilks, upon which I have sent for it, in order to enclose it to you. There are some misrepresentations in the morning paper in excuse for the Secretaries of State, but not very material ones, perhaps the *Craftsman* may not be more correct. After positively saying there were some misrepresentations, it is very possible the paper may be right and I wrong. I did not remember to have heard that the close confinement which was ordered by the warrant was ever mentioned in the Court of Common Pleas, and then they could be no judges whether the warrants were proper or not, but my attention might be faulty, as you know, when I am not much interested, is often the case. . . . Everybody is going or gone out of town, and we poor souls who inhabit this place all the year round are quiet kind of animals, [so] that all noise and quarrelling will soon subside.”

With Postscript by Lady Molly, that the *Craftsman* is not to be had, so they send the newspaper instead.

## The SAME to the SAME.

[1763], May 10. London.—“I have this moment received your letter and am glad you are arrived at Spithead. How poor I am in joys when I can say I am glad you are at a place that is farther distant than you before were, and that it is with the hopes of your going still farther, and what is worse to a place I dread; but I trust you will for my sake keep your blood cool as you know into what sort of a climate you are going. I have sent a note to Mr. Adair to acquaint him with your being at Spithead, and after having expressed my earnest wishes that you might not be detained there, have desired him to acquaint me as soon as he knew whether you were to be dispatched directly, or to wait for to convoy the transports. You are apt to suspect my saying too much always; I assure you I mentioned nothing from you but only that you were at Spithead, the rest was only my own curiosity, as he knew what strong reasons I had to wish you might be dispatched immediately.

“Your brother has just sent me word he is come to town; I have not yet seen him. I was told this morning that the prosecution was begun in the King’s Bench against Mr. Wilks, and that he had been summoned to appear before them to-day; whether he did or what passed there I have not yet heard. They say Lord G. Sackville looks melancholy upon its being determined he is not to be Secretary of War; some other place it is supposed he will have, but he had set his heart upon that particular post. I received a letter from Jimmy at the same time with yours; he is impatient to hear you have begun your voyage. He says the Oxford politicians

are angry at Wilks's being discharged, and think he deserves a halter. I wish all my friends would keep their opinions to themselves upon that affair."

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1763, May ?]—Mr. Winkley has not yet brought the lease of the house, and heard yesterday that the old lady has married a Scotch officer of nineteen years of age. "The lady is turned of 69. She had an estate come to her about six months ago of 1,500*l* a year." Mr. Winkley says she cannot refuse to let me her house, "but what dependance can you have upon such a foolish old woman . . . There was to be a meeting last night at Lord North's to consider what was to be done about the Middlesex election. I suppose the result was put in execution in the House of Commons to-day."

*Postscript by Lady Molly.*—"I am obliged to you for your good wishes in a certain affair. You know my sentiments upon that head; prudence and a horror of dependance are the inducements. How this will end I cannot pretend to guess, he has so far obtained his wish in having had a sight of me; how his inclinations may now stand I know not. . . . You may depend upon my not exposing myself in showing too great eagerness.

"I was at Almack's last night, and such sort of doings which you will say *pish*, was I to give you account."

The SAME to the SAME.

1763, August 7. London.—"It was vastly kind and good in you to remember your poor old mother, in catching an opportunity of letting her hear you were safe and well as far as Barbadoes on your voyage. I received your letter dated from off that place the 23rd of June, on the 5th of August, with as much satisfaction as I am capable of receiving, and was highly pleased with the contents. I should vindicate myself a little upon your aspersions as if I did not pay due honour to the gentlemen of your profession, but as you know I am very vain and love to display my own merits, you will not be surprised that as I have at this time a little to brag of, all other subjects must give way. Now for the history of my great acts.

"As soon as I heard Admiral Burnaby had kissed hands for the command of the West India squadron, which (having no acquaintance in town) information came from the newspapers, I wrote to Miss Ottley, whose aunt he married. This was on a Friday, and the Monday following Mr. Ottley brought Sir William to me, who expressed great civility, and desire of obliging me. You may imagine I did not omit the giving him to understand Post was the favour we wanted. Some few days afterwards, by a letter from Miss Ottley, I was informed that Sir William wished I would get a letter of recommendation to that purpose from either Lord Halifax, or Sandwich, to prevent their recommending some other person to be

appointed Post Captain, as in that case, he should be obliged to obey them, although his inclination would be with you. Upon which I dispatched a servant to Frogmal for advice. My brother\* (who, I desire you would remember, has been very kind in this affair) bid me write immediately to Lord Halifax, and yesterday I sent a servant with my letter to Bushey. I asked the favour only from myself, mentioned no other person's name, and had the following words returned with a letter sealed enclosed to Sir William Burnaby. "I have great pleasure in obeying your Ladyship's commands, and in endeavouring to be of further service to your son. I shall therefore enclose a letter to Admiral Burnaby, which I heartily wish may have the desired effect."

"I think now we have so many strings to our bow we cannot fail of succeeding in this very desirable point, and I hope I have nothing further to wish about you but that you may have your health, and that I may be so fortunate as to have you soon at home again."

"Your brother James is very happy with having succeeded at Herton. Your brother [Lord Cornwallis] is still in Scotland. As soon as I informed him that Admiral Burnaby was appointed to that command, he got you recommended to him by some of the Admiral's friends. I wrote to you this day was sevennight, the letter is probably still at the Admiralty, in which I told you all the news I had heard, except the Duke of Bedford's having asked for the first vacant regiment, and that Mr. Wilks, who is gone to his daughter in France, had last week an execution taken out by his creditors upon all his goods and effects. This looks as if the generosity of the Opposition was a little tardy towards their champion. I have taken care your bills shall be answered whenever you draw for money."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1763, August 29. London.—" . . . [Sir William] Burnaby on his first visit to me seemed very well inclined, and in his last, after he had received Lord Halifax's letter of recommendation, gave me an absolute promise that he would make you a Post Captain. I am now writing by a merchant-man, as I hear there are two to sail for Jamaica soon; I shall send duplicates, one by each ship. Take care of your health and do not be out of spirits. Things should remain in the same situation. You are very secure of being promoted, and indeed there is at this time so great a probability of a thorough change, that I am at this instant very sorry you went to the West Indies for what it is very likely you could have had as soon at home. There are none of my friends in town, so I can get no secret intelligence how things go on; but it is certain, that Mr. Pitt was alone with the King from twelve o'clock till three yesterday noon at Buckingham House, numbers of people waiting at the gate with anxious countenances the whole day to observe him when he came out. What passed between

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\* Charles, 3rd Viscount Townshend.



His Majesty and him is out of my reach to learn, but I have since heard that Mr. Pitt was first sent for by His Majesty on Thursday last, and that he insisted upon some preliminaries that were not agreed to, and that His Majesty sent for him again yesterday. This should be true it looks as if they came into his proposals. It is a very remarkable proceeding their choosing this conference should be made so public, as such things are usually kept quite private till they are settled. The park at that time was at the fullest his [*sic.* ? he] coming through in his gouty chair,\* which was left a great part of the time in the court, at last they took it into the hands of Mr. Grenville and some others came during this conference, but were not let in. Steel was at the door of Buckingham House when he came out, who says he looked pleasant. A few days will unfold this affair, but these two letters must go, I'm told, to-morrow morning, and I don't know how I shall be able to send another letter till Admiral Burnaby goes, which will not be these three weeks as I am afraid of being too troublesome at the Admiralty. I never saw Mr. Stephens, but my impatience to send you a letter gave me courage to write to him and send a letter to you enclosed, which in his answer, he promised to do in a most civil manner. I think I am a strong instance in many particulars that an insignificant person with great attention may be of some use, although far short of their wishes. . . .”

*P.S.*—The Duke of York and Hervey would have begun the voyage last week to the Mediterranean, if, as I'm told, Hervey's instructions had been signed before Lord Egremont's death; but now they say they are to wait till a Secretary is appointed to that department.”

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1763, September 17. London.—“I shall send you enclosed a newspaper which has a list of the great offices lately filled; you see what all the conferences came to. Mr. Pitt however has gained great credit by his behaviour upon the occasion, and the minorities are not dejected. You perceive Lord Egmont has now the Admiralty; my Lady is our relation, but very nearly so to Lady Ferrers, and a great intimacy from their infancy.† Upon her coming to me yesterday and saying the Admiral would now be more obsequious than ever, for her interest with Lord Egmont, I thought this looked as if she expected I should say something about you upon which I told her the situation, and then said you went to the West Indies for this step, and that Sir William Burnaby had promised to promote you upon Lord Halifax's recommendation, and I hoped you would be no sufferer by these changes. You had in my opinion paid a pretty good price for your advancement by suc-

\* See “Letters of Horace Walpole” (*ed.* Toynbee) v. 365.

† Charlotte<sup>a</sup> Baroness Ferrers, in her own right, was only child of James Compton, 5th Earl of Northampton; Catherine Lady Egmont was daughter of Charles Compton, the Earl's brother. Lady Ferrers was the wife of George Viscount Townshend.

a voyage. I should think I could by her means have a recommendation also from Lord Egmont, but I am doubtful after what Sir William Burnaby said to me whether it would be civil to ask for any more; it would have the appearance of mistrusting him. Lord Shelburne resigned just at the time of the negociation with Mr. Pit, which made people think he was leaning towards the other side, and he has no share in the late promotions, as you will see by the newspaper, yet they say he continues in favour. There is some mystery past my finding out. Your brother is at last got to Culford, and James, the Fellow of Merton, by this time with him. He is to make me a visit for ten days or a fortnight the beginning of next month. I have already paid all due upon your account, except part of Regnier's bill, which will be paid in full this Michaelmas. I have long ago taken care that any draft of yours shall be accepted. I know you will not be extravagant, and I hope you know I shall both readily and willingly assist you with what money you want. I am careful for no other purpose but to be able to have it in my power to be useful, and shall take it unkindly if you do not apply to me for any wants you may have. James by this acquisition will soon be off my hands, therefore shall be very well able to help you.

"When I wrote so far, I thought it might prevent all disappointment if I wrote to Sir William Burnaby to say I hoped the late change in the Ministry would make no alteration in the promise he had given me of making you Post Captain the first vacancy. To which he answered that he would have me by all means acquaint Lord Egmont with Lord Halifax's recommendation, for, if Lord Egmont should recommend any other person, he should be obliged to prefer him before you. I immediately employed Lady Ferrers, a very near relation, and intimate friend to that family. Her Ladyship was very good and kind, but I imagine could not suppose that there could be any favour in doing of nothing, which was all I wanted of his lordship, yet by the answer she brought me I found he had puzzled the affair most extremely, for I could not guess what she had asked. However, by a letter I wrote to Lord Egmont, and the friendly assistance of Admiral Rodney, I have had a very civil letter from Lord Egmont, and I think a full security of his not interfering; therefore if you are not already a Post Captain, I make no doubt you will be so upon the first vacancy after Admiral Burnaby comes to his command."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

[1764], January 15. Hill Street.—James and Molly will tell you the news. "I will therefore only mention that Isaack Townshend was reported this week to be dead, and that the King said Rodney should have Greenwich. The report was premature, but it is said he can last but a very short time, when the promise to Rodney will be fulfilled. Our relation,\* I suppose, is much mortified, after having [been] so long a strong advocate for every minister in power, to have an Admiral so much younger than himself preferred to the very thing he most wished for; but I hear he bears it silently."

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\* Admiral George Townshend.

LADY MARY CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1764, January 17. Hill Street.—“. . . I have deferred writing till the last minute that I might have it in my power to give you some account of the Royal Wedding.\* The ceremony was performed last night in the Drawing room at St. James. Peers and peeresses, their eldest sons and their daughters, Privy Counsellors and their wives, and all the foreigners were summoned. There was so great a crowd that I could see but little of the ceremony. The Hereditary Prince arrived in England the 13th, three days before his marriage. He has had a levée every day at Somerset House, which you may conceive were much crowded. His very affable, agreeable manner has pleased exceedingly all kinds of people. It is said they will not leave England for ten days or fortnight. The Princess will take no English with her to stay. It is very sensible in her. It is not to be expressed the joy everybody seems to show upon this occasion; the whole town was illuminated. . . . Little else has been thought of. The Parliament did meet yesterday, but I fancy no business was done. It is believed Mr Wilks will return into England this week, much against the opinion of his friends. . . . We have had incessant rain these four or five months, with terrible high winds.”

The SAME to the SAME.

[1764], March 26. Hill Street.—“. . . Lord Townshend died at Rainham ten days ago; he has left everything to his eldest son. The lady he kept was not mentioned in his will; what he gave her in his life-time does not appear, nor is it known whether he has any children by her living. People seem to think it hard that he did not leave anything to his son Charles, for the sake of his children. . . . The Parliament, it is said, will be up the 14th of next month. It began to sit so early in the winter that people will be in a hurry to get out of town as soon as they can. Lord Townshend's death occasions a vacancy of a member for the county of Norfolk; it is expected Mr. de Grey will be chosen without any opposition. Madrid Charles† is gone to attend the meeting appointed for that purpose at Norwich to-day. The election of High Steward of Cambridge in the room of Lord Hardwick, deceased, comes on the end of this week. The two candidates are Lord Sandwich and the present Lord Hardwick; the first supported by the court. It is yet very doubtful who will carry it.

Lord Bute is come to town this week; looks much the better for having lived quietly in the country these two or three months, but I believe now has the lead just in the same manner as usual.”

\* The Princess Augusta to William Frederick, hereditary Prince of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel.

† So called to distinguish him from his namesake and cousin. He was secretary to the Madrid Embassy 1751-56, and in 1761 was elected M.P. for Great Yarmouth. Created Baron Bayning in 1797.

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON.  
WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, the *South*, JAMAICA.

1764, April 11. London.—“There never was less news than we have had of late. The heads of the Opposition have for a long time been confined to their rooms by illness: the Parliament therefore has afforded none, which will now be up in about a week. The election for High Steward at Cambridge it is supposed will come over again after this next term. In this dearth of public news the town would have been at a loss for conversation had not Lady Susan Strangways married last Sunday Mr. O'Brien the actor. Lord and Lady Ilchester, her father and mother, are much to be pitied: she was reckoned both pretty and clever. Your brother had some time since a letter from the person who has the care of Cornwallis Island for you and James, in which he says it is very much improved, and desires a letter of attorney to empower him to act for you. Ever since I knew this I have hurried the affair as far as I was able, have signed it myself as your guardian: and it is now to be sent to James for the same purpose, he being of age. As it was let for 5*l*. a year, and nothing has been received for three or four years, I hope there will be something coming to you; however, things at that distance are not much to be depended upon. But you may be very secure of 10*l*. a year from me if I live: when I die you know I have nothing to leave, and indeed the pleasure of my being able to be of some use to you is a great comfort to a kind of life that has not many pleasing things in it.”

Admiral the HON. A. KEPPEL to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1764, July 11. London.—“I am very sorry to tell you how ill your hopes have succeeded in this country. Sir William Burnaby's having given *commissions* and not *orders*, as I understand he meant to do upon what I said to him, has prevented the meditations of some in power from helping you, as the point in question then lay, whether or no the commissions should be confirmed or not: and, in case of refusal, it was thought impossible to confirm even Sir William's act to his son, so that, in fact, it was the attention the Admiralty had to his son that secured Captain Cotton. Your friends and relations are much hurt at your failing, and think Sir William Burnaby has not used them as they expected. They seem, especially Lady Cornwallis, extremely anxious for your return to London. I am not so much of that way of thinking, at least I would by no means be too hasty in that step, as I am of opinion you have not much to expect from those in power when you get here, and therefore would wish your pressing Sir William to allow of a change with a Post Captain. Such an act would be no expense to the public, and, if the professions of some can be depended upon, I should imagine would succeed. If it does not you are only where you was, and must get home as fast as you can. But you must remember, if you can bring it about, in case of a change, that it will be absolutely necessary that the officer changing with you should proceed directly to England in the sloop; a commander-in-chief



can always find reasons for such occasion. I beg my compliments to Sir William. I have no objection to your showing him the letter."

CHARLES, 2ND EARL CORNWALLIS, to his brother, the HON.  
WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1764, October 14.\* London.—"We have been in great anxiety about you, as the first report was that your ship was entirely lost; we thought this would vex you exceedingly, especially as I really think at present you are pretty sure of the first vacancy. I hope by this time you are got to Jamaica, and that the *Swift* is in a fair way of being fit for sea again. If you have lost anything by the accident, or are at all in want of money, I beg you will draw on me. I must again repeat my entreaties, that you will not now or at any other time be at all scrupulous about it, as I can assure you it will always be a very sincere pleasure to me to contribute all in my power to your comfort and happiness.

"Keppel talked to me much about your procuring a change with some Post Captain there; I cannot thoroughly understand him, but if anything of that sort can be done, I believe Lord Egmont will be inclined to serve you. If any sum of money should be necessary for it, for I have heard there are sometimes bargains of that sort, I will answer any draft that you may find it necessary to draw a month after sight. Perhaps I am talking very ignorantly, but I am so very anxious to have you made Post, that I would omit no possible means, and I think you could not lay out a sum of money to greater advantage. A thousand thanks for your mahogany spar; let me know if I can send you anything from hence. Adieu, fortify your mind against all misfortunes and disappointments, and be as happy as you can."

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1764, October 19. Hill Street.—"I was so fortunate not to hear of the accident that befell you till I had it from your brother, who had a great deal of company at Culford, and was informed by Admiral Keppel. He instantly came post to London to inquire all particulars. I assure you I was not more affected myself than he was; nobody was ever received with more joy by us both than Mr. Hore, the master of the merchantman. Your brother would have made him a present, besides the freight, for bringing the mahogany, but he would not accept it. He was so civil as to come twice to Hill Street from the farther part of the city, to be questioned by us. I received your letter yesterday, which came by the *Mail Ann*. I believe we both felt for the situation you had been in, nor were we easy at the description of your present; the ship broken to pieces, and upon an uninhabited island, not a house to shelter you from that scorching climate. His countenance was

\* Should be Oct. 18. See postscript of Lady Cornwallis' letter below.

uneasiness while he was reading your letter, it cleared however a little when he came to that part of your sending a boat full of your people on shore; 'very handsome,' he said, 'in William.' He gave me a letter for to send you last night, and is returned to Culford this morning, and has left orders with me to send you some porter.

"Your brother says he told you in his letter that he was of opinion that Lord Egmont wished to assist you. Lord Townshend, who is now in town, assures me of this, and indeed I think his whole behaviour of late has had that look. I am not apt to be sanguine in things I much wish, but I am told by everybody you certainly will be promoted the next vacancy. I suppose if the sloop is by this misfortune rendered incapable of service, you must come home, and there will be an end of those expectations. Molly wrote from Culford to me, and my brother T[homas] T[ownshend] from Frognall to say they supposed you must have suffered by this accident, and desired they might assist you with money. I told them both that I was able to assist you with whatever money you wanted, and I would give up that pleasure to nobody. I must repeat again, my dear William, that I hope you will draw for what you want. Be assured I shall not only be able to answer your drafts, but shall have great pleasure that it is in my power to be of any service to you.

"I have not heard yet from the island at Halifax. I am told that you might have a thousand pounds for it, that is between you and James, who is now sitting by me, and bids me inquire of you whether you should approve of its being sold, if a purchaser should be found. It cannot be parted with but by your signing; if that should happen, and you approve, I suppose the writing may be sent to you. Most probably nothing may be done about it before you come to England. James is very sorry for your accident, and will write soon. If any annuities should be part of the scheme for raising the money this year, should you like to have part of your fortune laid out that way? You know you will be of age in March, when you will have 4,500*l*."

P.S.—Your brother mistook in the date of his letter. It should have been the 18th.

LADY MARY CORNWALLIS to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1764, October 28. Barton.—"I was exceedingly happy to hear of your safety in the imminent danger you had encountered; and a very great satisfaction it was in my concern for the distress you must have suffered, to hear your behaviour and conduct in this trial met with so much approbation; a great comfort to your friends, as well as to yourself, after the consciousness of doing right oneself, to be approved by others. I hope your loss has not been very great, which I beg may not be the least inconvenience to you, as I shall very readily and gladly contribute whatever you require towards refitting you. I would have lodged some money immediately in Mr. Hoare's hands, to be ready for you whenever you drew upon him, but my mother desired I would defer it till I knew more particularly what supply you might want. I am sure

it is needless to assure you you will ever be most heartily welcome to whatever assistance in money you may want, as I shall have the greatest pleasure in being of the least service. Therefore I hope you will be ingenuous in letting me know what sum you should require to reinstate you in your former possessions, that I might supply you with it directly, as I shall be excessively glad to have it in my power to accommodate you in the smallest degree. I think this way would be more useful to you than buying myself things to send you, as I can be no judge what you would like, besides the uncertainty of their ever reaching you.

"I have been in Suffolk these three months with Lady Sarah Bunbury and my old friend Miss Bunbury. I was last week at the meeting at Newmarket, where I saw Admiral Keppel, who talked to me a great deal about you, and joined with me in my sincere wishes for your promotion. He is excessively happy with his sister's marrying Lord Tavistock. The Duke of Cumberland, who has been extremely ill, was well enough to go in his coach upon the course. The Suffolk people are much displeased with the Duke of Grafton for having no hounds; as the Duke of Cleveland has left this part of the world, they have no opportunity of fox-hunting, at all, which you know to sportsmen is a greivous mortification."

LIEUT.-GENERAL EDWARD CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the  
HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1768, July 23. Gibraltar.—Requesting him to give a passage home to Lieut-Colonel Preston, of the writer's regiment, who has leave from the King to dispose of his commission.

LADY MARY WHITBREAD\* to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

[1769], Dec. 20. Bedwell Park.—On the subject of her marriage, praising her husband, and hoping often to see her brother at the house they have taken in town, in Charles Street, Berkeley Square.

The SAME to the SAME.

[1770], February 24. Charles Street.—"I wish you would let me know when you would like to have me send the hogsheads of porter, and what direction I should give about the forwarding it to Plymouth. Was you now in town you would be amazed at the excessive eagerness and anxiety of almost every body about the masquerade. Those who have been so fortunate as to have got tickets are entirely engrossed in their thoughts and time, in making the preparations for their dress for this important entertainment, in endeavouring to excel each other in finery, for which purpose they borrow all the jewels and pearls they can of their friends,

\* Married on Aug. 18, 1769, to Samuel Whitbread the brewer; died in childhood Dec. 27, 1770.

and those who have not been able to obtain tickets, or whose fathers will not consent to let them go, look so disconsolate that it would raise your compassion. The Bishop of London has endeavoured to prevent this entertainment taking place, in going to the King—to represent the perniciousness of allowing it. His Majesty said he did not approve of it; that this was quite a private thing, therefore he had not forbid it.”

### The SAME to the SAME.

[1770, March. Charles Street.]—"I have this instant received your letter. I had some time ago ordered two hogsheads of porter to be sent you by the first vessel in the river for Plymouth, which I take for granted is done; however Mr. Whitbread will when he goes to-morrow morning to the brewhouse enquire of his clerks about it. . . . I regret the not seeing you again in town before you sail. I heartily wish you a most prosperous voyage, and all the health and every possible good to attend you.

"Dr. Madan \* brought his son to town ten days ago, to put him to Westminster School, where he is now placed. I had him in the house with me till he was settled in the school. As Dr. Madan was only in a lodging, I apprehended he might be distressed what to do with the boy. He is indeed a very fine boy, has a very remarkable open good countenance, he seems very lively and good humoured, and, as far as I can judge from his appearance, I should flatter myself he will do well. I have taken him quite into my care, as I am to have the educating him. Dr. Madan preferred Westminster, which he was of himself, and I think, considering all things, it is the most eligible for him. As his parents live at so great a distance, I and some other of their friends will have it in their power to give them accounts of him, which they could not do was he at Eton or at any other school distant from London. Charlotte takes the opportunity of Dr. Madan's absence to inoculate her youngest son, as the Doctor has never had the small-pox. Mr. Whitbread is in the House, upon the corn business."

### The SAME to the SAME.

[1770], July 20. Bedwell Park.—"I was much pleased to hear by my mother of your having got well to Jamaica, and that you had a good voyage. My mother tells me she writes constantly, and as she is more in the way of getting intelligence by living always in London I refer you for all news to her. Mr. Whitbread has taken great pains to persuade her to come to Bedwell, and would feign [faîn] have brought her with him the last time he was in town, but she was immoveable. I am surprised she will not, as she must know we should be extremely glad to have her company, and I want to have the pleasure of shewing her this place I dote so much

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\* Dr. Spencer Madan, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, had married Lady Charlotte Cornwallis.



upon. Mr. Whitbread visits her constantly when he goes to London, and, he says, he finds her always very cheerful and well. Mr. Whitbread has been in great uneasiness for his eldest daughter, who has been dangerously ill for some time past, and I am afraid is not yet thought safe by the physical people. She is in London, at her grandmother's, to be nearer the assistance and advice of the faculty; as our house in Charles Street is small and inconvenient and our house in Portman Square not yet habitable, Mr. Whitbread thought it better for her to be with her grandmother, where she can have all proper care taken of her. We have been strongly pressed to come to visit at Culford by my brother and Lady Cornwallis. I have a great mind to shew Mr. Whitbread that place as well as some others in Suffolk. I believe we shall, if Miss Whitbread does not grow worse, accept of their invitation next week for two days. We have managed so as to render it impossible for us to stay more than that time with them.

"I should be glad to hear you have received the two hogsheads of porter we sent to Plymouth after you. If you wish to have more remember that we shall supply you with great readiness and pleasure. Mr. Whitbread wants to get some genuine Madeira, could you put him in a way of getting it? If you could procure him a butt he would be glad, and would pay the person you send it by. I don't mean to put you to any inconvenience or trouble about it; I only mention this, in case it is in your power to procure it us. James is likely to become a domestic family man. When shall you think of settling? General Cornwallis is going to add [to] and improve his house at Birds Place; he visits us often."

J. BLANKETT to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1771, December 15. London.—"Now indeed that I am come to peep in London, I can write to you that Stott has been to Falkland Island and taken possession, has left it to take care of itself, and is returned unhurt to Plymouth. Mr. Banks is going on another expedition to the South Seas with two sloops, the *Drake* and *Rawleigh*; the first commanded by Cook (who is to be made Post), the other by a Mr. Furnace, who was formerly Lieutenant with Byron.

"Cotton still continues idle in regard to our service and is entered into that of a wife (though he denies it), which probably may be attended with as many storms, hurricanes and tempests as any frigate in the West Indies. It is said the Ministry are angry at Mr. Rodney's making the seizure of the schooner a serious matter, and intend sending him some further instructions in regard to the Spaniards. The Princess Dowager still continues alive, but cannot last long; she has a cancer in her mouth and risings of the viscera, and is quite irrecoverable. As to minority, the extravagance and luxury of the times makes it necessary to be well with a minister, and their opposition will be very feeble; they possibly may try a question or two and dwindle to nothing. City patriotism has changed hands, and who has it now I cannot determine. Johnny [Wilks] is most furiously attacked and badly

defended; he loses ground daily, which he is sensible of. The Duke of Cumberland, who has long diverted the town, is just arrived in Pall Mall with his Duchess; they are forbid the Court, but that probably wont last long. As to the Turks and Russians, it is expected they will come to a peace this winter; they are both much exhausted in men and money, and unless the Emperor of Germany interferences, will be glad to make peace on any terms. As to ourselves everything appears truly pacific; the Ministry seem resolved not to quarrel, and the state of France will not yet suffer them to be troublesome.

“Extravagance, luxury and gaming are the fashionable vices of the town, and it will astonish you on your return to see the vast improvements of the age. The Loterie, Macaroni, White’s, Almac’s, &c., are in the most flourishing state, and cards in all companies are the only things worth living for. A man of taste must play all the morning, or, at least, four or five games before dinner, which is shortened to give time for the exquisite pleasures of *Quinze* and *Vingt-un*. In fact idleness and debauchery are so far taken possession of all ranks in society, that opposition to the King’s measures is a piece of barbarity inconsistent with the manners of the present age. All wit is at Court, all knowledge at the gaming table.”

HON. JAMES CORNWALLIS to his brother. CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, the *Guadaloupe*, Jamaica.

1773, February 11. Clifford Street.—“. . . I am going to resign my place in the Tower, which is worth at present 200*l.* per annum, and my brother is to settle 100*l.* per annum upon my wife for her life. Spencer Madan is to have the place, and to pay (so long as he keeps it) 100*l.* per annum to my brother to indemnify him. . . . My brother and I are both of opinion that the place is not worth your acceptance upon these terms, and as the being able to dispose of it depends wholly upon my brother’s continuance in office, we think the present opportunity not to be lost. . . . It will be a great thing for young Madan.

“I shall be very happy to introduce my wife to you.”

The EARL OF SANDWICH to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1773, October 26. Hinchinbrook.—“Your conduct with regard to your profession in wishing for constant employment on a foreign station is highly laudable, and you may be assured I will attend to your wish as much as I can, consistently with what is due to other sea officers who have been a long time out of commission, and I am sure you will agree with me that justice requires they should have their share of the little employment there is to give in time of peace. I hope, therefore, you will not object to the remaining a reasonable time on shore, and you may depend upon it that I will make that time as short as I can with any degree of propriety.”

J. B[LANKETT] to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS,  
Commander of the *Guadaloupe*, Jamaica.

[1774, October ?].—"The city is the only place left in the world that pretends to support liberty; Wilkes and Townsend are the patriotic candidates, and it is generally believed Wilkes will carry his point and be elected Lord Mayor. This will at least plague the Court, as he will allow as many common halls as they like to have.

"A reduction of 5,000 men is expected to take place amongst us very soon, in which case, if guardships are included, Mr. Barrington, Hughes, and your humble servant will retire. . . .

"Captain Fielding (who is married to Miss Finch) is in the *Kent*, in the room of Colby; Mr. Hervey is expected here to reduce the Marines of his division; Sir Charles Knowles is coming home; Bethell has quitted the service; Watson has had two strokes of the palsy. . . . Glover, Herbert, and Gower are still idle men. . . . Cotton is married to Miss Aston, whose father is lately dead.

"Promotion is now as distant as at the beginning of the Peace. The hackneyed word Economy is used to stop the mouth of all applications."

The EARL OF SANDWICH to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1774, October 29. Admiralty.—"There is on board your ship a surgeon's mate, named Thong, whose relations at Huntingdon are my particular friends. I cannot, therefore, at their intercession avoid recommending him to your protection.

"I had a letter some time ago from the Duke of Leinster, who seemed much pleased with my having recommended his brother to you for a berth on board the *Pallas*, and saying he would set out immediately for Portsmouth, but I have not yet heard of his arrival in England."

CAPTAIN J. LEVESON GOWER to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1776, February 27. South Street.—"I shall send you enclosed a list of the ships for this summer's American service. It is likely much increased, and is increasing every week. About six weeks ago Lord Howe was applied to and told that it was the King's wish that he should take on him the command of the ships in America; this surprised everybody, as Shulldham had been so lately appointed, and it was certain his arrival there was not known by the Administration here. However Lord George Germaine was now taken into great favour, and was to take the lead in the management of all this American war, for such it surely may now be called. Lord Howe made many *requisitions* (his own word); the only one he has made public was that he should have his commission as Vice-Admiral ante-dated to that appointing Sir Hugh Palliser Lieutenant General of Marines, which we must suppose was granted, for his Lordship has actually accepted the command, though the *Eagle*

(the ship he is to hoist his flag on board) is the only ship of the line under his orders; the *Boyne* and *Somerset* being come back and reduced to guardships, and the *Asia* is expected soon. What makes this yet more extraordinary is that Lord Howe both hates and despises Lord Sandwich, and he has not spoke to Lord George Germaine since the expedition to the coast of France in 1758, and these two men preside at the head of the two Offices through which he must transact all business. A friend of ours says his Lordship has much more faith in things than he shall ever be able to persuade himself or any friend of his to have. Lord Sandwich fought hard to support and keep Shuldham Commander in Chief; it would not do, but, by way of *douceur*, a patent is making out to create him Lord Shuldham of the kingdom of Ireland.

"I should have set out with telling you that upon the death of my very good and valuable friend Sir Charles Saunders (even before he was cold) they appointed Sir Hugh Pallisser Lieutenant General of Marines, and he actually kissed hands the very next day. Sir Hugh should have shewn a more decent attention to his memory, considering the regard Sir Charles had always shewn towards him even in his will. As to Lord Sandwich, he never had any decency, and, shocking as it is, yet it is most true that he concealed the account of his son's death two or three days that it might not stop the amusements and entertainments which he was then making at Hinchinbroke."

#### EARL CORNWALLIS to the DOWAGER COUNTESS CORNWALLIS.

1776, September 2. Long Island.—On the 27th we gained a great and important victory; we killed and took prisoners about 3,000 of the rebels, the loss on our side does not exceed 250. They have abandoned all their works on this island, and I believe in a short time their army will disperse and the war will be over.

The unhappy people have been kept in utter darkness by the tyranny of their wicked leaders, and are astonished to hear how little is required of them by Great Britain. Judge of my happiness, having had a share in the late glorious action, and now being blessed with the prospect of being soon restored to my family.

P.S.—Brodrick acted as my aid-de-camp on the 27th, and behaved very well.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

[1777], November 29. Philadelphia.—"I have the satisfaction of assuring you that William has gained the greatest credit in the attack of Fort Mifflin in the face of the whole army and fleet; Lord Howe extols him to the skies, and will I am convinced represent his good behaviour in the strongest terms. This event will I am sure make you as happy as it has done me. The communication of the river is now open, and our campaign will finish in a few days. I have some hopes that Lord Howe will send the *Isis* home as she has suffered so much, if not, I am afraid he must go to Rhode Island for the *Chatham*, which will prevent our coming together; however,



I trust we shall both be with you very soon. Burgoine's disaster has greatly changed the face of affairs in this country. God only knows how this business is to end. It makes however no very material alteration as to the conclusion of our campaign."

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1777, December 6. Hill Street.—"I wrote you two letters on the 2nd instant. . . . I can think of nothing until the next account comes but of that detestable Fort Island, or, as some people call it, Mad Island. Major Cuiler said before the letters were given out he did not think any of the Captains had notice time enough to write. The Archbishop was told by Lord Sandwich that you were well; he spoke also with kindness, his Grace says, of you, and the *Gazette* names you and your ship often. These were lucky circumstances for me just at that time; but then by the *Gazette* I see the service you are upon, which both makes me impatient for, and at the same time dread the next account. That it may be a happy one is my most ardent prayer, all the comfort of my life depends upon it. People in general were much pleased with the successes of General Howe's army, it was followed the next day by Burgoin's [Burgoyne's] misfortunes, which gave a great allay to the joy. I suppose it is too late in the season to have any bad consequence with regard to our other forces in America. Lord Onslow tells me his cousin the captain has been all this time at New York, and that at present he has the care of Lee. You will be very angry with me if I confess just now that I wish you in that disagreeable situation rather than where you were. I sent to Captain Cotton's house to inquire whether he was come this morning; they said he was not, that when they heard last from him he was detained at Jamaica in good health. I can give no account of what passes here, all my thoughts are in America. Sure General Howe will send home as soon as this fort is taken; it is said here to be very strong. May it end happily, and I have the great comfort of a joyous letter from you, with a certainty of seeing both you and your brother this winter."

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Captain of the *Medea*, Bristol.

1778, July 8. Duke Street.—"I have just this moment the honour of your letter, and was so sensible of the propriety of William's attending you as soon as possible, that I made all haste to dispatch him to Bristol. I had not indeed *the one thing needful* to send with him as much as he ought to have; I therefore take the liberty of requesting you, when he is in want of money, to advance him from time to time as far as thirty guineas, for which he will give you drafts upon Messrs. Allen, Marler and Company, Ironmonger Lane, Cheapside, which shall be duly honoured. I cannot take my leave of you without once more returning you my thanks for your great kindness to my son, who, I hope, will never do anything to forfeit your favour."

## JEMIMA COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1778, September 3. Esher.—“I do not know how to wish you, out or detained; all I know is that these are really frightful times in all respects. As for *both sides*, the infatuation is something horrible. Opposition are actually rejoicing at their own miseries (for shall we not all fall together?) because they think they are proved in the right; and Ministry most gloriously resolve to continue to the end in plans which evidently rush to destruction, rather than allow they have been in the least mistaken. By this means I am really so *bilious* as to think that our army in America, fleets everywhere, possessions in the West Indies, &c., &c., will be frittered away and destroyed in about another twelve months; and not impossible that within that time we have commotions at home also. Don't laugh at my being political. I assure you I do not think a female *ought* to talk politics, but when it comes to husband, friends, &c., one must feel, and it will out.”

## EARL CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1778], September 5. New York Island.—“When the French fleet first appeared off the Hook, some of Lord Howe's ships were at the Narrows, and had they attempted going in the first tide, I think we were ruined; but they gave Lord Howe time to post all his ships advantageously at the Hook, and remained about ten days looking at him, when they went away to Rhode Island. As soon as they were gone, the *Reasonable* and *Centurion* arrived from Halifax, the *Renown* from the West Indies, and the *Cornwall* of Byron's fleet. With this reinforcement Lord Howe followed them to Rhode Island; when the French saw him off they came out to attack him; Lord Howe stood out to sea, whether to avoid an action, or to draw the enemy from Rhode Island is not known; however, in a few hours a most violent gale of wind came on which totally dispersed both fleets. The *Apollo*, with Lord Howe's flag on board, was dismasted. In a few days Lord Howe assembled his fleet at the Hook, and Monsieur D'Estaing did the same off the Capes of Delaware. In the meantime your old friend the *Isis* fell in with a French 74, and obliged her to sheer off. The French fleet suffered much by the storm; they returned for 24 hours to Rhode Island to take their sick on board, and then went away to Boston. Lord Howe, who was joined by the *Monmouth* of Byron's squadron, followed the enemy to Boston, in hopes of overtaking some of the disabled ships; the *Isis* is come in here to refit, being much shattered in her masts and rigging. Last week arrived Admiral Parker with the *Royal Oak*, *Fame*, *Bedford*, *Grafton*, *Conqueror*, and *Sultan*. The *Invincible* and *Guadaloupe* are gone dismasted to Halifax, and the *Albion* back to England; we know nothing of the *Princess Royal*, *Russell* or *Culloden*.

“The six ships that came with Admiral Parker have 1,300 sick. People think Byron kept too much to the northward, never coming south of 47; I submit that to your better judgment. I don't know whether I ought to wish to be at home before you get out, as time

is precious at the beginning of a war; I shall however be glad to see you. The frigates that were burnt at Rhode Island were the *Orpheus*, *Juno*, *Lark*, *Flora* and *Cerberus*, and *Kingfisher* sloop.'

JEMIMA COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to her brother-in-law, CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1778], September 14. Mansfield Street.—“I hope you are not sailed, that you may have the satisfaction of getting this to tell you I had a letter last night from my Lord, July 30th, a short one, having just heard of the ship sailing. He has wrote by the packet which sailed the same day, August 1st, and those letters of course we expect every instant. My Lord was well, writes from New York, but says he has a country house on Long Island, close to the encampment of the 33rd. I shall not enter into the news because I imagine Lady Cornwallis will, Lord Townsend having just sent it us all collected together. I do not know what to wish about you, except as usual that you were in Orders and Rector of Ingham. I am convinced that though we all *fancy* we know and expect it, we shall in a few days, upon hearing that Spain has declared against us and their fleet joined the French, be all as much astonished and thunderstruck as if we never had heard there was such a country as Spain in the world. I put not my trust in princes nor in any child of man; but I hope in the mercy and justice of God, that we shall not be utterly destroyed, and that our enemies, who are at least as wicked, will be as much punished by folly, obstinacy, and infatuation in their rulers as we are. Upon this great charitable plan of mine you will perceive what *peaceful happy* days we have to look forward to. Well, it *will end*. I am as yellow as an orange, feel very ill, am kept here by Sir John Fielding, who chooses to make my mother appear against some thieves (that stole a trunk of hers) on Friday. Hope to get away to Bath on Saturday.”

LORD HOWE to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1778, Nov. 12. Grafton Street.—Regretting that he has felt himself neglected since his return to England, but trusting that his appointment to the *Lion* will furnish him with opportunities, by his successes, to compensate for the mortifications he has sustained.

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1778, November 24. London.—“I hope you will excuse the trouble I now give you, but the misery I am daily witness of induces me to take this liberty. In short, Lady Mornington has been in the most violent affliction ever since she heard you were to be stationed in the West Indies; but I have most constantly withstood her entreaties that William should not go there, because I think it would be extremely ridiculous to make objections to a young man of his profession going wherever his duty may call him. The American climate certainly did not agree with him, therefore I

confess I think his mother has some foundation for her apprehensions about his going to a place which I take to be rather warmer than America. From the greatest reliance upon your friendship to this boy, and upon your humanity and good nature, I now request a favour of you, which is, that if, upon your arrival at the West Indies, you observe that the climate in the least disagrees with him, you will be so good as to send him home. I also beg that you will not mention to William the having received this letter, because I know his heart to be so much set upon remaining with you, that if he thought leaving you would be the consequence of his being ill, he would conceal any ailment he had till perhaps it might be too late to give him relief. I beg leave to offer my best wishes (which you are entitled to if I was not so nearly concerned as I am at present) for your happiness and success wherever you go."

EARL CORNWALLIS to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1778], December 22. Mansfield Street. Finds Lady Cornwallis in a very weak state indeed, but she thinks herself better. His mother seems better than when he went to America.

The SAME to the SAME.

1779, May 5. London.—"I have not wrote to you lately, as I knew you would hear everything about me, and my letters could only have given you uneasiness in reading and me pain in writing. I am now returning to America \* not with views of conquest and ambition, nothing brilliant can be expected in that quarter; but I find this country quite unsupportable to me. I must shift the scene; I have many friends in the American army; I love that army, and flatter myself that I am not quite indifferent to them. I hope Sir H. Clinton will stay, my returning to him is likely to induce him to do so. If he insists on coming away, of course I cannot decline taking the command, and must make the best of it; and I trust that good intentions and plain dealing will carry me through. I most heartily wish you all possible success, and that you may have an opportunity of acquiring great honour and some money. I don't think it impossible that we may meet in the West Indies, as I have signified my willingness to go thither, if any occasion should present itself, and there are not amongst our generals many volunteers for that service. My children are, thank God, vastly well; may all happiness attend you."

CAPTAIN J. LEVESON GOWER to ELIZABETH, COUNTESS CORNWALLIS.

1779, October 2. Eldon.—"I shall certainly do myself the honour of waiting on your Ladyship as soon as I get to town the latter end of next week, but I must tell you now that I have shown Captain Cornwallis' account of his proceedings to Admiral Keppel, who is clearly of opinion that he has gained great honour to himself,

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\* After the death of his wife



and that the most malevolent person cannot have the smallest cause for finding fault with him. I very sincerely and most heartily congratulate you on his safety, and the glory he has acquired."

THE HON. AND REV. JAMES CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, *Lion Man-o'-War*, Jamaica.

1779, October 3. Canterbury.—"We are at last fully relieved from our dreadful suspense about you, and I most heartily congratulate you upon having gained so much credit in the late engagement. Middleton, who was so good as to call upon me at Wrotham on purpose to assure me of your safety, spoke of your conduct in these terms. I have seen Admiral Barrington also, who said you were certainly gone to Jamaica, and in the most honourable way. You have gained one object then, and that certainly the first; but I cannot help now expressing a wish for the secondary one in your profession, that is, a good rich Spanish prize.

"Admiral Barrington is come home in very ill-humour, and represents our situation in the West Indies as truly lamentable where we thought ourselves strongest. Upon the whole, nothing can look worse than our affairs, although we have not yet had any great loss excepting Grenada, we are every day in apprehension of some bad news. How different from last war! when we were only accustomed to hear of victory. My brother, you must have heard long ago, is gone to America again.

"As to your friend Leveson, Admirals Keppel and Harland, find it to be the general opinion of all unprejudiced persons that their names ought no longer to remain in the list of Admirals and Captains. Admiral Keppel, who was the idol last January, is now very unpopular. Lord Howe's character is as much respected as ever, but General Howe's has suffered much by the enquiry last winter before the House of Commons, which he was weak enough to wish for. You know I am of no party, I therefore only write what I upon the whole collect. Whether my brother will be Commander-in-Chief is uncertain. But I hope there will be no occasion for such an officer in America, as I heartily wish for peace.

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1779, October 7. London.—". . . I have been in great anxiety for you and had no joy in the great commendations you have had here, until I was certain you were safe at Jamaica. Barrington came to me immediately upon his coming home. He said he was sure you were gone to Jamaica; by the situation your ship was in, it was he thought impossible you could reach any of the Leeward Islands, the current and wind would carry you to Jamaica in seven days. I believe he has done your behaviour great justice for before any other accounts could come, never anybody receive more general applause, nobody's conduct was ever more celebrated. I have had congratulations from all kinds of people. Lady Mornington had the other day a letter from Lord Longford, and

which he said that a person that was at Portsmouth was on board the *Lion* during the action, described the behaviour of the Captain and the ship, nothing could be more honourable than their conduct. I have heard from other hands that you are talked very highly of by our whole fleet, which has not yet been out again since they were chased up the Channel by the combined fleet. People were diverted with the humour of the sailors belonging to Admiral Ross's ship, which has a bust of George the 2nd upon it. They wrapped their clothes round the head of the bust, and said George the 2nd should not see an English fleet chased up their own Channel. However all thinking people say it was right not to run the risk; they were vastly superior, and had we been beaten, the consequence would have been terrible. They wait now till the French fleet comes out; they were ordered to avoid fighting before; now people think they are to fight. Ours is increased to 42 of the line. The combined fleet is said to be considerably lessened by sickness. Rodney is to command in the West Indies. . . .

"I had a letter from your brother two days ago dated August the 23rd; they had only heard of your action by a letter from Grant to Sir H. Clinton. He hopes I am, before I received that, made easy about you, and he is sure I must have heard you much commended. The Dean [of Canterbury, James Cornwallis], came to town on purpose to inquire after you."

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (FREDERICK CORNWALLIS) to his nephew, CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, *Lion*, Jamaica.

1779, October 9. Lambeth.—"Though I am pressed in time, having only just now heard that a mail is to be made up this night for Jamaica, I cannot let slip the opportunity of sending you a few lines in return for your very kind letter. After having been long under anxious doubts about your safety, it gave me the utmost satisfaction, I assure you, to hear that you had got safe to Jamaica. It was certainly very unfortunate that your ship should have been so early and so greatly damaged in the engagement. But it is no small comfort to us to hear from every quarter your courage and conduct throughout the transaction so highly extolled, as to establish your character of a brave and able officer among all ranks and degrees of people. I most heartily pray for success to you in all future operations, and that your laudable endeavours may meet with the encouragement and recompense they so richly deserve.

"I saw your mother yesterday, and have the pleasure to acquaint you that she is full as well, if not better, than when you left her. I was glad to hear so good an account of my friend Wesley,\* pray give my love to him."

EARL CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1779, October 21. New York.—"I have wrote to you several times from different places, but whether you have heard of me or

\* William Wesley or Wellesley, 2nd son of the 1st Earl of Mornington; took the name of Pole on succeeding to his uncle's estates in 1778; afterwards Baron of Maryborough and 3rd Earl of Mornington.

from me since you left England is I think uncertain. On recollection, however, you must have heard from Lieutenant Stone of my fatal loss, which has effectually destroyed all my hopes of happiness in this world. I will not dwell on this wretched subject, the thought of which harrow up my soul.

“Although I sincerely lament the miscarriage of Admiral Byron's squadron, the reputation which you have gained has given me the greatest satisfaction. Perhaps you have heard that I was near visiting Jamaica. Where D'Estaing is we know not, he certainly has been on the coast of Georgia, where I fear he has taken our troops. By a packet which we intercepted from Havanna to Oporto, Spain, we find that after he had done his business in Georgia he was bound to Halifax, and then that La Motte Piquet was to return with his squadron to Cape François; we know not where the remainder of D'Estaing's squadron is to winter. Pray let me hear from you by every opportunity. I heard from my mother the 26th June; she was then well, my children vastly well, and really I must say, although I am their father, they are charming children. James's family very well, his boy who was long in a very doubtful state, vastly better. God bless you; may success, honour and riches attend you; mind, I put honour first, which you will approve of.”

CAPTAIN J. LEVESON GOWER to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1779, October 28. [London.]—“I thank you a thousand times for your letter from Jamaica, which you wrote immediately after your arrival there, and gave me very great satisfaction in knowing you had escaped the millions of shots which you had fired at you. We long before had heard of the great share you had in that very severe action of the 6th July, and of the shattered condition of the *Lion*; but were kept a tedious length of time before we were relieved from our anxious suspense of knowing of you personally, except from Fanshawe, who had not an intercourse with the *Lion* sufficient to satisfy us so fully as we wished in regard to you. Lord Cornwallis sent me your account of the action, and of what happened to the *Lion* after it. I was then at Elden in Suffolk, and shewed it to Admiral Keppel, who spoke so handsomely of you upon it, as quite quieted all those fears you had raised in her mind of any possibility of your being blamed for bearing up for Jamaica. Since Fanshawe came to England I have had a letter from him in which he says that, after he had lost company with you, he found a most extraordinary windward current, without which he could never have got up to St. Kitts. More pleasant scenes I hope will present themselves to you, but more glorious cannot, for it is not possible for man to acquire more glory at any one period than you have acquired. At home we are in much the same way we long have been, without exertion, and scarce thinking of anything but to save appearances. I thought it was impossible that they could have trusted our fleet to Sir Charles Hardy, and could not doubt what I heard that Lord Howe would be called upon, knowing their hatred of Admiral Keppel was such as was not to be got the better of

to Lord Howe therefore I went and begged he would give me leave to serve with him as a volunteer or in any other manner he should think proper to employ me. He was indeed most obligingly civil to me, but he has not been called upon, not even in the moment when they were really frightened, I mean at the time the combined fleets were upon our coasts; nor was he the least taken notice of then when he went to shew himself at Court. At this time I thought it right that every living creature should do whatever he could for the salvation of this now poor country, accordingly I wrote to the Secretary of the Admiralty desiring him to acquaint the Lords Commissioners that, if they thought my service could be of any use in the present critical situation of affairs, I was ready to go on any service and in any manner they would employ me. The next day I received a letter from Mr. Secretary saying he had read and communicated my letter, and was my humble servant, and I have heard no more. I wish I could serve under anybody of character, but no such are now employed, and by not being employed I have avoided being an eye-witness to the very disgraceful retreat our fleet made from the combined fleets; and sorry I am to say that many disgraceful circumstances did attend that retreat or more properly flight. . . . Your old shipmate, Mr. Walter Young, has got himself made Post. He is Captain of the *Sandwich*, in which Rodney is said to be going to command in the West Indies."

EARL CORNWALLIS to ELIZABETH, COUNTESS CORNWALLIS.

1779, November 11. New York.—"I informed you by the *Daphné* that I had received your letter of the 7th of August; since that time no event of consequence has happened here, nor have we heard from the West Indies. D'Estaing has certainly been on this coast, but we have had no certain accounts of him lately. I have wrote several times to William, and, though the communication is very uncertain, hope one letter at least will reach him. The accounts of my children give me the greatest satisfaction. For myself I have in this world neither hopes nor fears; I will endeavour to do my duty to my country, and be honest, and then, with perfect resignation to his will, I put my trust in God's mercy."

ELIZABETH LADY CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1780, February 2.—". . . . I am constantly in a fret that I have wrote something I did not design in my letters to Jamaica and the same to those in America. I am too old to write. . . . Governor Johnson (they say to prevent his being in the House of Commons, where, although he means well, from liveliness he sometimes draws them into scrapes) had, when our home fleet was laid up, a command given him of five or six frigates, the *Medea* I believe was one, upon the coast of Portugal. I have never heard of their getting any prize, and Rodney has taken them with him to Gibraltar."



ELIZABETH LADY CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1780, June 4. London.—Her great sorrow on the loss of her brother [the Hon. Thos. Townshend]. “The hopes of seeing you in the autumn, and the commendations I have heard of you, has done me more good than all Mr. Partridge’s drops and julips. I am quite well. It is impossible for anybody of your rank in the navy to stand higher in character than you do. I hear this from all sorts of people. I have kept a letter of Lord Townshend’s upon this last affair with La Motte Piquet, to shew you when you come home. This has struck him certainly more than anything you have yet done, as it is the first time he has taken any notice of any of your actions to me. I think in general it has been more talked of. I suppose your having had the command is the reason; and indeed I think you deserve more commendation, as in this affair both courage and conduct was shown in a very high degree. The Dean has been in town ten days; he says he meets with congratulations from everybody. He is the only person I have entrusted with the great hopes you have given me of your coming home. I was afraid if it got about some stop here might be put to it. Mr. Westley [Wesley] mentioned it in his letter, but as I said nothing of it they do not believe it at Lambeth. . . .

“Politics has been in a strange way, and with those friends everything gives place to them. Rodney’s character is very high at present, I shall enclose the abstract of his letter as inserted in the *Gazette*. As some of the Captains under him must have done very well or we could not have had the advantage, it seems hard their names should not be mentioned. Captain Uvedale, from whom the intelligence should have come, particulars being referred to him, they say by something of great weight falling upon his head during the action has lost his memory. I am glad you were off of that station. The friends of the Captains in that fleet are in a very disagreeable situation, until the Admiral writes a more explicit letter. . . .

“Nothing is yet known of the dissolution of the Parliament; it is rather supposed to be designed. I am told Westley is Lieutenant on board the *Lion*, I suppose Cornwallis is preferred. You will be surprised to see how stout I am grown; drinking no wine and eating no meat suits my constitution vastly.

“Lord North’s having two questions carried against him made them determine upon dissolving the Parliament. He has now got a majority again, and people now think that design is laid aside. The Dean and his wife, who have been in a lodging in this street for a fortnight, go out of town to-morrow. I suppose you have seen Sir P. Parker’s letter upon your action with La Motte Piquet, therefore do not send you that *Gazette*. I have put it up in my pocket book, and shall keep it with care.”

EARL CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS

1780, July 4. Charlestown.—“I am very doubtful whether this letter will ever reach you; I shall therefore only thank you for

your letter of the 24th of May, which gave me the greatest pleasure and satisfaction. I am sure the action will do you the greatest honour. I hope, as soon as you have got upon copper, you will return to Jamaica, unless some more eligible service should offer; at all events let me conjure you to continue serving as long as the war lasts. I gave Admiral Arbuthnot a letter about a month ago, which he promised to forward to you.

"My last letters from England were of the 17th of March, and as I am now stationed out of the regular line of the packets, I expect to hear very seldom. The Province of South Carolina has totally submitted, and American affairs wear a better aspect than they have done for some time. The people of the back country, who are very numerous, seem most sincerely happy at returning to their union with Great Britain, and execerate the tyranny of their late rulers. Don't omit any opportunity of letting me hear from you."

EARL CORNWALLIS to ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS.

1780, July 14. Charlestown.—"I write this at a venture to New York; it is very uncertain when you may get it. I wrote about a fortnight ago the same way. We are here quite out of the world and hear nothing, and never shall, I fear, get our letters. I wished you joy before of William's very handsome action with La Mothe Piquet, and of his being to go home this summer; at the same time expressing my fears that some of his discontented friends would put him out of humour with the Admiralty and try to hinder his serving. As his reputation is now getting very high, and that he appears to be in the road to honour, and perhaps to fortune, I sincerely hope that will not happen."

SIR G. B. RODNEY to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1780, July 20. *Sandwich*.—"Nothing can make me more happy than having an opportunity of congratulating you on your gallant behaviour against La Mothe Pique; all the letters I have intercepted acknowledge his great superiority, and allow that he was fairly beat by an inferior number. To have you with me will make [me] very happy, as I should then be certain of being well supported. I hope Sir Peter Parker will let you go home with the next convoy, your ship will then be in time to be coppered and to join me by January. The enemy mean for certain to have all their naval power in these seas; here Britain must rise or fall. I dare say you have read my letter. I wish all had been published. I meant it should, and was it to be wrote again, I would not alter a tittle. Had you been with me you would have been shocked, it was really too bad. Once more I can only say to have you with me will be the greatest favour the Admiralty can shew me."

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1780, November 11. London.—"You know the impatience of my temper; the wind is consulted every hour of the day; and my good or ill humour depends entirely upon the going of the smoke.

I have had two letters from you since you met with Ternay, which made me give no credit to the applause given to your behaviour upon that occasion by the newspapers, until Mr. Pollock sent me the *Gazette* with your letter. I do not know which has been most commended, your conduct as an officer, or your manner of representing the affair. Both most highly I do assure you, and why did you not mention this event in your letters to me. I believe you feared I should grow too vain. Your pocket will not be much the richer for what you have been doing these two last years, but you are a great gainer in reputation, which in my opinion is much more valuable. No unlucky accident in your voyage home and I shall think the two years well spent.

"Your brother, with about 1,500 troops, has completely beat Gates, who had 6,500. It is impossible for anybody to have gained more honour than he has done; nobody talked of anything else for a fortnight. Ross, who came with the news, left London yesterday to return to America in the Packet.

"I hope this northerly wind will not blow you too near the French coast."

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1780], November 20. Friday.—"The wind has been in all points of the compass to-day, my head and heart is rull of you. . . . The more I think of your present employ, the worse I like it. Upon looking in the Red Book, I find a 40 and two 28 gun ships is all you are to have after you have passed the Bay, and the care of above two hundred merchantmen is not a very pleasant thing, when the French must know how small your force is, most likely they will send a much stronger to intercept you. They know exactly how far the large ships are to go with you. Without this alarming circumstance, the season of the year when storms must be expected which will probably separate them, would be full vexation enough. [I was so uncharitable as to think that if any accident happened to the convoy, it would be a great alleviation to the person who appointed it if any blame could be laid upon you.\* I fear all the care in the world may not be able to prevent some misfortunes happening. . . .

"When I got so far the Archbishop came in, wondered I could have any fears. He said the Ministry must know what ships the French had out, and where they were, that it was provided accordingly. He said Lord S[andwich] at dinner the other day, talking of this convoy, said you were the most promising young man in the service. The Archbishop said Lord North was present. Upon hearing of this I have scratched out all my uncharitableness, for so it must certainly be. He could have no view or interest in saying this when there was nobody belonging to you in company. I am quite reconciled to him, he has chosen you for this material convoy from the good opinion he has of you. May all my fears for you prove foolish and unreasonable."

\* This sentence is erased.

THE EARL OF SANDWICH to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS,  
the *Lion*, Portsmouth.

1781, June 15. Admiralty.—“Though I am overwhelmed with applications, and involved in innumerable difficulties with regard to the promotion of Lieutenants to the rank of Master and Commander, yet I think your title to every mark of favour in consequence of your great merit as a sea officer is such, that I will endeavour to oblige you in the object you have in view, by taking an early opportunity to give promotion to Mr. Stone.”

THE SAME to the SAME.

1781, June 20. Admiralty.—“As the *Canada* is at present without a Captain, I do not lose a moment in informing you that she is at your service; the enclosed letter will shew you the estimation in which [s]he was held by her last Commander; and as I understand from other quarters that she is the best ship in the navy of her rate, I am sure I cannot do my duty better than by offering her to one of the most distinguished officers in the King's service.

“It is intended that the *Canada* shall go with Admiral Digby instead of the *Valiant*, which, upon consideration, is found unfit for the coast of America on account of her very great draught of water. We shall therefore give immediate directions for her being fitted for a foreign voyage.”

SIR SAM. HOOD to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS,  
*Canada*.

[1781, October].\* Tuesday evening. *Barfleur*.—“Major Cochran got safe to Lord Cornwallis, and the boat in which he went is come back. She left York the 9th, at night. The *Charon* is burnt by red hot shot, and the enemy throw shells into Lord Cornwallis's works, but cannot move his Lordship, who is in high spirits, has plenty of provisions, and the only man he has lost of any consequence is the head commissary. This is all I yet know, which I thought would be some satisfaction to you. I expect to hear more to-morrow from head quarters. The ships are mostly at Staten Island and will be here to-morrow if the wind permits.”

CHARLES TOWNSHEND to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, February 6. Old Burlington Street.—“I am much obliged to you for your kind letter. The disagreeable news which it contained had arrived here before. I have the satisfaction to tell you that very few disapprove Lord Cornwallis's conduct, though Mr. Galloway and some of the refugees are endeavouring to write him down. The Duke of Chandos has moved for an enquiry into the causes of Lord Cornwallis's ill success, not with any ill intention to him. If this enquiry is not premature, it will turn out very much

\* Cochrane reached Cornwallis on Oct. 10. See letter from Cornwallis to Clinton of Oct. 11. *Cornwallis Correspondence*, i. 124.



to his Lordship's advantage, because the disapprobation of the few who condemn him is founded on false facts and the grossest misrepresentations, which however can not be confuted without producing authentic documents to disprove them. Lord Cornwallis is very well and in good spirits. He left my nephew H. Brodrick in North America, posted to a battalion of Grenadiers.

"The only public news which I have to send you is that Lord G. Germain is retired, and a peer. His removal does not yet appear to be attended with any change of measures, if we can credit reports. Arnold is to go out with a considerable command, and the American war is to [be] carried on with great vigour. The Commander-in-Chief is not yet appointed in the room of Clinton."

CAPTAIN LORD LONGFORD to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, March 3. *Alexander*, 200 leagues west from Madeira.—  
 "The *Agamemnon* and *Magnificent* being to part from us soon for the West Indies, I take that opportunity of sending my best wishes to my friend. I have the pleasure to tell you that I saw your brother Lord Cornwallis well in London the beginning of last month. We sailed to strengthen Sir Richard Bickerton and the India convoy the 7th of last month, and we have been so fortunate as to escape the French and Spanish fleets, both of whom we have reason to think have been out looking for us, the former 19 or 20 sail, and the latter 40 sail of the line and 15 frigates. The providential dispersion of the French fleet in December we are in hopes will save the West Indies, but with the force of French, Spaniards and Dutch, what is to become of Europe. I expect to return in a day or two with the *Renown* and *Assistance* under my orders, so I have a chance of picking up something in my way home; indeed, a little privateering seems to be all we have left to do. Pray tell Westly, if he has not heard it already, that his uncle Mr. Pole died in December last, and has left him his name and his estate. Times are so altered, my dear friend, since you and I went first to sea, that I find this is not what I bargained for; and as I see no prospect of things mending this war, I wish most sincerely we were well out of it; so wishing you patience and potatoes, and greens and good health, I remain, &c."

JAMES [CORNWALLIS] BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY to his brother, CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, April 1. Wimpole Street.—"I have received your two letters; and am sorry to find that after all your endeavours St. Kitts is gone. But although the public have sustained a loss by this expedition of the French, you have gained: I mean by a farther increase of reputation.

"The great inattention of the late Ministry to public affairs, and our many consequent disgraces, at last overturned them in a constitutional manner, and I have conceived great hopes that we should now have more vigour and activity. I am certain we cannot have

ess; and that we must have been totally ruined, had not our drowsy rulers been displaced. Some of them are rewarded, although most of them are bewailing their diminished consequence and receipts.

"My secretary received what was *due* to you last Christmas; and there is an end of *that* business. You will be member for Eye in a few days. My brother upon a supposition that Lord Sandwich would make a promotion, before he quitted, of Admirals, wrote to him for the Marines for you; he answered, that there would be no promotion. Skelton is to have or rather has a pension on the list, for it was done by Lord N[orth]. You are at present without any appointment, but entirely *at liberty in Parliament* and I have no doubt will be honourably taken care of, although some time may be required for it. I know your mind so well that I ventured to encourage my brother in this.

"It was absolutely necessary for him to get rid of Skelton, as he had entangled himself with him, and I have nothing now to regret, but that you should at present be without any appointment. It is, however, much better now that things were not attempted before. My brother stays in, but very few others, as the sweep is very general. I want you either to be in the Admiralty, or to have the Marines, which is most desirable.

"The King spoke very handsomely of you the other day to Tommy Townshend, the present Secretary at War."

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS, commanding the *Canada*.

1782, April 2. London.—"I received your two letters dated the 4th and the 7th of February, and had the great pleasure of seeing your name in the *Gazette* (in consequence of the accounts that came at the same time with those letters) mentioned in the most honorable manner, but my vanity was flattered before that paper came out. Your brother had a note from Lord Mulgrave in which he said you had distinguished yourself as usual; and he likewise had seen both Admiral Hood's and Affleck's letters to their brothers, who both spoke of you in most honorable terms, which soon circulated all over the town, and I had many congratulations before the *Gazette* came out. I have received your letter of the 21st of February, which gave me great pleasure to find you continued well. We had hoped Rodney might have been with you before the date of that letter; they say here that he stopped at the Madeira to take in wine, which people are angry at. Our continual losses and heavy taxes has put the people and Parliament so much out of humour that upon a question being moved which meant to address the King for a total change of Ministers, the Court had but nine majority. His Majesty then thought it proper to dismiss the administration and put it into the hands of Lords Rockingham and Shelburne; there is to be a total change in all the offices. Before I finish this letter probably all the new appointments may be made. The Boards are already fixed; Keppel at the head of the Admiralty, Harland, Pigot, T. Townshend, Lord Duncannon, Hopkins, Bret.

This last is reckoned particularly conversant in naval affairs. Leveson has called on me since this was fixed. I was not alone; those that were with me thought he did not express the joy in his countenance they expected. I will endeavour to get a list of all the changes before this letter goes. You mention the receiving but one letter in December. I have written two by every packet. When Minorca was taken from us some years ago it made a great noise; we are now so used to lose islands, we heard of its having capitulated without being the least concerned.

"Since I wrote the above Leveson has been with me again and seems in very good spirits. He is to have the *Bombay Castle*, which will be ready in six weeks, without some other ship he likes better should become vacant. I asked if Lord Howe was to command the great fleet, he said nothing as yet was settled. In his manner of answering there was nothing that looked like any suspicion of Lord Howe's objecting to it. In the course of the conversation, after having told me Admiral Keppel was very particularly pleased with my card of congratulation to him, he then talked of what it was probable the French would do when Rodney had joined you. He said they would either go to leeward (by which I suppose he meant Jamaica), or to America, or come home, which last he thought more likely; in that case, some of our West India fleet would come home. He then asked me if I wished the *Canada* to be one of those? I answered 'I shall always be happy to see him.' You have told me often never to meddle with your destinations; I cannot ever give a greater proof of my obedience than I have done in this case. Perhaps he meant nothing by this question; but it was a subject my heart was so interested in, that if my fears of disobliging you had not been very great, I could not have conquered the extreme desire I had of knowing whether it was a thing thrown out by chance, and likewise eagerly expressing the happiness it would give me, but I withstood this great temptation. I suppose you will write by the first opportunity to congratulate perhaps both Admiral Keppel and Mr. Leveson, most certainly to the latter and then, if you think it proper, you may tell him how much his question (from my fear of offending you) perplexed me. My answer would have come with great alacrity had I only consulted my own inclinations upon it. Leveson talks of you always with the most cordial friendship. Barrington as usual made me a visit upon the accounts we had of your action with the French. He told me if there was a possibility of distinguishing himself Captain Cornwallis would always do it. He was ordered down to Portsmouth the end of last week, by which it is plain he is now to serve. . . .

"Only a very few which were particularly named by the King keep their places. . . . Lord North is well off; he has the Cinque Ports for life made up to him 4,000*l* a year, and this likewise gives him the bringing in four members of Parliament. I hope our new Administration can give us a peace they will be very well with me.

"Your brother talks of writing, but he has got his children with him in Albemarle Street, and I wish they may give him time. They are always with him when he is at home."

ELIZABETH LADY CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1782, April 3 [London].—"My letters will discover how stupid I grow, indeed much too old to correspond with any one that will pay any further regard to her letters than the inclination she has to show her affection. . . . The first audience Mr. T. T[ownshend] had upon his being appointed Secretary at War, his Majesty was very gracious, and talked a great deal to him. He commended your brother and you, but what surprised me very much, spoke handsomely of me, so I was told. I suppose my merit was producing two such sons. Lord Shelburne and your brother have been upon a very friendly foot ever since he came from America. Lord S. has the Home and Colonies province, C. F[ox] the Foreign. Lord de Ferrars is much pleased with Lord Shelburne. He had never applied to him; his Lordship sent for him, inquired what he wished to have, which was the Band of Pensioners; he had it the next day. The spirits of the people, they tell me, are much raised with the change of Administration; if they can bring about peace, they will be very popular. The money by the last Administration was little attended to; they had not the least thought of preventing everyone squandering what they pleased. The people who felt the weight of the taxes resented this neglect so strongly, it is the opinion of many we were in danger of having commotions at home, had the ministry not been changed. . . . I suppose they are not pleased at Lambeth with this change of the ministry. The Archbishop told me he should support government, which I was glad to hear. The Duke of Portland is to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Carlisle is to have Lord Talbot's place. Steward of the Household. You do not care a farthing about all this."

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1782, April 6.—" . . . Lord Howe has not kissed hands, but I believe it is very certain he is to be an English Peer, and it is confidently said he will have the command of the Home fleet. Everything here is so changeable that what is truth to-day may be false to-morrow. Keppel's advertisement was published in the newspapers for his re-election for Surrey, for two or three days; so sudden was the determination to make him a peer. I have been told, upon mentioning Lord Howe's being made an English peer, his Majesty of his own motion proposed making Keppel a peer. Lord Altrop stands in his room for Surrey. Lord Spencer has a large estate in that county. Your election at Eye was upon Wednesday last. They were all in high good humour upon the occasion . . . Duke of Portland is to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and General Burgoyne to be Commander in Chief in Ireland."



[1782, April.]—VERSES on the fight between RODNEY  
and DE GRASSE.

On April the twelfth, by the dawn of the day  
The French fleet were discovered to have borne away ;  
The loss of a foremast to one of their fleet  
Gave cause to us Britons our prospect to greet.  
We formed our line, boys, in haste to be sure,  
For a sudden attack is the dread of Monsieur.  
Our tacks they were different, the French on the larboard,  
With a full sail to meet them, we stood on the starboard.  
Drake commanded the van, whose ships were all good,  
The rear (some of whom had suffer'd the ninth) under Hood.  
The French suffer'd most in passing the tack  
And the *Glorieux*, a 74, lay a mere wreck ;  
The top-sails of the French Admiral\* were both of them shot down,  
And he seem'd then to lie ready our honour to crown.  
Many more of their ships were brought very low  
And with their wood bottoms scarce able to go.

It was now only ten, my brave boys, 'twas no more ;  
Had e'er England a prospect so glorious before ?  
Our Admiral seized the moment a maintopsail to bend,  
But for masts, sail and rigging, there seemed no need to mend.  
The *Formidable* look'd all so spruce and so new  
A bold leader she wanted and seem'd to call for Sir Hugh.†  
This maintopsail when bent, my brave boys, alack,  
What use did they put it to ? Why laid it aback !  
The French fleet were beaten and put to the run  
And the English with copper bottoms look'd on the fun ;  
To larboard a sweep did Hood's squadron make  
And the *Cæsar* and *Ardent* did both of them take.  
Our Chief he lay quiet, with good ships around him,  
Some willing to move, but, the devil confound him,  
He made no signal to chase nor would let others go,  
Those who were willing to follow the foe.

Cries Fanshaw, Sir George, pray let me stretch on ;  
My men are willing, my ship in condition.  
No, no, cries Sir George, I'll be supported i' faith ;  
What, leave your own Admiral, a Knight of the Bath,  
To follow a Frenchman with the Cross of St. Louis ?  
Lay all aback or by — I'll undo ye.  
A ship or two push'd on, whether he would or no,  
Intent upon honour and to conquer the foe ;  
By which the French Admiral and *Hector* were taken,  
And this perhaps may save our brave Admiral's bacon.  
At night he lay to, in the victorious field,  
Tho' the poor beaten French were ready to yield.  
Had a chief worthy Britain commanded our fleet,  
Twenty-five good French ships had been laid at our feet !  
*In Captain William Cornwallis' handwriting. [Printed in Blockad  
of Brest, i., xvii.]*

\* The *Ville de Paris*.

† Sir Hugh Palliser.

THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY to CAPTAIN the HON.  
WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, May 1. Wimpole Street.—“. . . I shall entirely support the new Ministry; to-day the Contractors' Bill comes on in the House of Lords, which I hope will pass. The last Ministry have brought this country to the last stage of misery and despair. The present set out well, and I hope will exhibit the rare instance of honesty in power. Nothing but the united efforts of the good and great can save this country. We have done well in naval matters, since the change in the Admiralty. Barrington has been very successful, and a few Captains will get great wealth. Your name stands very high, I assure you, and I hope you will soon be rewarded as you ought. . . .

“My brother is in good spirits and has a prospect of being very soon exchanged, perhaps in a fortnight. We are very apprehensive for Jamaica.”

EARL CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, May 1. London.—“I wrote to you by the last packet to inform you of your being chose for Eye, and to request in the strongest manner that you would never look to my conduct in the political line, but act entirely for yourself, and consider yourself, as you really are, as independent as any member in the House of Commons. I likewise repeat, in case my former letter should have been miscarried, my warmest congratulations on the distinguished figure which you made in the action off St. Kitts. I have now a prospect of being speedily exchanged, and, if any service offers, of being employed, as there are few of our Generals who wish to quit their easy chairs, unless it is to command an English camp.”

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, May 27. London.—“Your victory has been paid great honour to here, guns firing, lighting up houses, *et cetera*; if everybody had been as silent as yourself, the great share you had in it would still have been a secret. However, I was early made happy by your brother's being informed by Mr. Stephens very soon after the arrival of the news of your safety, and the having most honourably distinguished yourself; this was his note. Mrs. Leveson, a few hours afterwards, sent me a paragraph out of a letter which she had read, with very glorious particulars of your behaviour. When I shewed it to Mrs. Cornwallis, she said my Lord Lisburn had brought a letter to Lambeth, that still raised your behaviour higher, which I thought impossible. The newspapers have contributed their parts very amply in doing you justice. When your brother brought me Stephens' note, tears of joy came into his eyes. He has appeared to me to feel this happy event full as much as I did. I had, very soon after the news came, a card from Lady Howe, of congratulations for your safety, to which was added the strongest applause for the gallantry of your conduct. The Bishop of Lichfield was

at the levée the Friday after the news came. His Majesty made your praise the subject of his conversation to him. The Bishop of Lichfield saw Captain Biron at the levée who spoke of your behaviour in the highest terms, and I am told Rodney in his private letters has been very lavish in your praise. Most certainly no one can stand higher in the opinion of all people in your profession than you do which is a great happiness to me, but why would you not accept the Admiral's offer of the *Ville de Paris*? By all the accounts we have had here you had a very considerable share in the taking of her the coming home in her would have been an *éclat*, and what is more material to me, I should have had the comfort of seeing you soon as she will be sent home I imagine in a few months. Perhaps that would have been an objection to you; if so I withdraw my wishes for they are always governed by what you like. Myself is always out of the question where you are concerned, and I should be more happy with your being in the West Indies than nearer me, did I know that it was your own choice.

"Admiral Pigot had been some time waiting for a wind at Plymouth; as soon as the news of your victory arrived an express was dispatched to stop him, but he sailed the very day that Cranston came to London. I fancy Rodney will be glad it so happened; all his friends here were impatient to hear Pigot was sailed, as nothing could be more fortunate for Rodney at this time. He will find himself very popular again, for he had lost that very much after the taking of St. Eustatia. An English peerage, his circumstances now are I suppose very good, and high in favour with the people, he seems to have nothing further to wish for but to come home and enjoy his good fortune. Hood is to be an Irish peer, and Affleck a baronet. Just a week after the arrival of Lord Cranston came the *Euridice* with the duplicates of the Admiral's letters; she likewise brought in a letter from Sir James Wallace that Hood's squadron had taken two line of battle ships and a frigate. . . .

"Lord Howe was sent in hopes of catching a Dutch fleet, but they are still in the Texel. At present he is blocking them up there. . . . Admiral Drake is to be a baronet, as well as Affleck."

EARL CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS

1782, May 27. London.--"I most heartily congratulate you on the glorious victory of the 12th of April, and on the very conspicuous share which all the world acknowledges you had in the honour of that memorable day. It has been the greatest victory since *Tourville's* [defeat] and I hope has saved us from the jaws of a most humiliating and ignominious peace. The loss of poor Lord Robert Manners gave me the most sincere concern; he seemed determined to walk in your steps, and it is in vain that we have ships and seamen when we want officers.

"I have now a thing to mention to you in regard to myself, which is a secret to everybody except my brother James. There is great reason to hope that my exchange may be immediately managed, and if that should be the case, it is however doubtful, I am to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief in India. The

military part of the prospect is not brilliant, but what field is now open this war to a soldier. My appointments will be great, and, without deviating from the strictest honour, I must have it in my power to put my children in a better situation. If you was to come home, I think it not impossible but that I might be able to procure the offer of the naval command for you in that part of the world. I have, however, no authority for this opinion, but my general idea that those who would think me proper to be placed in so delicate and responsible a situation, would wish to give me every means of carrying on the service to advantage. If this either should not be the case, or that the service should not be agreeable to you, I think there can be no great objection to your coming home. Your reputation is now so high in your profession that I think with any Admiralty you might choose your ship and station, and with the present you might probably get some command. All this, however, I still submit to your judgment, which in what concerns your profession must be better than mine. There are three points doubtful—1st, whether I go to India, 2nd, whether I can procure for you the offer of the naval command; and 3rdly, whether you would like it, and whether you would not think our both taking a probably last leave of my mother would not be too severe a stroke to inflict on her; and then you are to consider whether the West India station is likely to be more eligible for you than the Home station with Keppel at the head of the Admiralty and Lord Howe commanding the squadron. You will not, of course, mention a word about India. My mother has been wonderfully well this winter; she has now a cold that has attacked everybody, but is recovering. I hardly know a house in town in which two-thirds of the inhabitants are not sick.

“Rodney is to be an English Peer, Hood an Irish one. Drake and Affleck, Baronets, and Jarvis a Knight of the Bath. Pigot’s sailing from Plymouth the day that the news came to London was critically unlucky; whatever may be the intrinsic merit of the individuals he certainly assumes the command under every disadvantage, and you may easily conceive how unpopular the measure of recalling Rodney is grown among the populace.”

THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY TO CAPTAIN the HON.  
WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, May 27. London.—“We have again to congratulate you upon the conspicuous share that the *Canada* had in our last glorious victory. The King on Friday spoke very highly of your conduct, and to-day his first Minister, Lord Rockingham, was as strong in his commendations of you to me. Fame, I know, is your first object, and you have happily obtained as full a portion as you could have wished of it. We have had four hours’ conversation upon this subject in the House of Lords to-day. Lord Sandwich wanted to make Rodney an Earl, or at least a Viscount, and to settle 2,000*l.* per annum upon the title. Lord Keppel did very well and supported his arguments exceedingly well. Hood will certainly at least be an Irish peer; all sides were very loud in praises of him.”



ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

[1782, May 28. London.]—"I sent yesterday a very long letter to Mr. Rogers to put up for you, so full of people's general applause of your behaviour in the late action that I doubt your modesty will be offended and perhaps my letter may have a chance of not being read to the end, therefore I shall name but one person upon the same topic in this. Lord Rockingham came up to the B[ishop] of L[ichfield] yesterday in the House of Lords, on purpose to say all the fine things that could be said of your behaviour, and now I will not tire you any more upon that subject; to repeat all I have heard would be endless.

"Bateman came to London three weeks ago, and married Betty. . . . Daniel now is the oldest servant I have. My Ministry is entirely changed as well as His Majesty's. I shall think the latter a happy change indeed if it should occasion a peace; it is strongly their desire. The late Ministry was certainly exceedingly wrong in commencing the war with Holland, when we had so many enemies upon our hands; watching the Dutch alone takes up a great part of our fleet. . . .

"Both your brothers and C[harles] T[ownshend] had your letters. The Archbishop did not mention having had one when he came to congratulate me upon your account. I suppose therefore he had not received one, but I cannot tell; he has been ever since confined with the gout. Last night I had the pleasure of receiving yours that came by the *Euridice* dated April the 21st. We have heard nothing of Mr. Pole yet. Coming away at the time he did I think has entirely destroyed all that passed between him and Mr. Pole (*sic*). I cannot now suppose he was so fond of the profession as really to run the risk of losing such an estate, rather than leave it improperly. His mother was sorry, she said, that he came away. I told you in my last that Cornwallis was come home. I must send my letter for fear of not catching Mr. Stephens. How heartily *do I wish for peace?*"

C[AROLINE] CORNWALLIS, wife of the Archbishop of Canterbury  
to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, May 29. Lambeth House.—"Though both your mother and Lord Cornwallis write to you by the present opportunity, yet I can not forbear sending a few lines to return you the Archbishop's thanks as well as my own for both your kind letters, and to congratulate you most heartily upon the glorious victory, in which we have the pleasure of hearing from others, though not from yourself, you had so large a share. I am sure Wesley will be very much mortified that he left you at so critical a time, and lost his share of the glory. He is not yet arrived, and I have not seen Lady Mornington since she knew of his coming, so cannot tell what she thinks about it; but it seems to me to be great pity that he should not have stayed out at least this campaign.

"The Archbishop would have wrote to you himself, but has got

a slight touch of the gout, just enough I hope to be wholesome for him, as it is in a very regular way, and he is otherwise perfectly well. He desires his kindest love to you. . . .

“You may easily imagine what general joy your late victory has spread over the whole nation; at least in that we were all united.”

EARL CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, July 3. London.—“I have written several letters to you, in confidence, relative to my going as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief to the East Indies; that event seems now more probable than it did, but I fear the naval command is out of the question, as Keppel insists on an Admiral, and has named old Parker. Lord Shelburne will, I am sure, exert himself to procure you a broad pennant as second in command, but, as the new Ministers do not always draw together, I can not answer for the Admiralty. Keppel, however, joins with all the world in doing you justice and speaking of you in the handsomest manner. I have already stated the case fully to you, but for fear of accidents I will repeat that your character is now so high that you cannot be hurt by coming home if you like it, that there is a possibility of your going to India in an agreeable manner, and that otherwise you may choose your ship and station, let who will be at the head of the Admiralty. Jarvis spoke of you in the highest terms to Lord Shelburne, and said that it would be a disgrace to the Administration if you did not receive some distinguished mark of favour.”

I will not write any more, thinking it probable that the fleet may have left Jamaica before this letter arrives, and that you may possibly be on your way home.

LORD RODNEY to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, July, Saturday morning.—“I cannot have greater pleasure than my having in my power to comply [with the request that you honour me with. I think after getting through the gulph, the convoy for the West India trade will be sufficient for their protection, and therefore the *Canada*, *Resolution*, and *Montagu* should make the best of their way for England, where in all probability, they will be much wanted.”

LORD LONGFORD to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, October 29. *Alexander* at sea, off Cape St Vincent.—“I take the opportunity of our friend Onslow going to the West Indies to send you my best wishes and congratulation upon the success of our fleet in the West Indies, and the very conspicuous and honourable share you had in it. Onslow will tell you of our having relieved Gibraltar and of the many fortunate circumstances which enabled us to do it in the face of a superior fleet, with whom we have had a brush of so extraordinary a kind that I will not attempt to describe it lest you should not believe it. It is enough to say that after

having chased us, they were afraid to come near, and we had a distant cannonade by moonlight, in which I had three men killed and a few wounded. I hear your ship is bad, and that we may hope soon to see you at home."

VISCOUNT KEPPEL to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, November 6. Admiralty.—"I am favoured with your note, and shall be at your commands to-morrow at twelve o'clock. The intimation in your note relative to your feeling neglected since your return to England, I could not read without a degree of uneasiness lest what you say is directed to me personally. It is not from every officer I should feel as I must ever do towards you for, believe me, I have without deviation constantly considered you amongst those I wished most sincerely well to, and whose good opinion I much coveted. Your services and peculiar merits in the full execution of them needs no comment and praise from me. The whole fleet have universally given the strongest testimony to the world of it."

The SAME to the SAME.

1782, December 18. Admiralty.—"I am favoured with your letter of this day, and cannot help in my reply assuring you of my concern at your still conceiving me to have treated you improperly. I stated myself when you called at the Admiralty without reserve, and I hoped so as to have been credited that I had not intentionally wished to have shewed neglect towards you. The bad condition of the *Canada* required her being dismantled; and I am ready to own your constant and excellent services gives you, in justice, claim to the attention of every First Lord of the Admiralty less acquainted with you than I have been at least have considered myself; much more should it be my duty and will be to shew you, when in my power, the value I set upon your merits. Your friendship and good opinion I must ever wish consistent with my character as a public and private man. My regard to truth, as well as esteem for your merits, will never permit me to mis-state you anywhere, but most especially if questioned by His Majesty at any time upon the subject of your being at present upon half pay.

"I cannot close my letter without venturing a thought, which is that some enemy of mine has used pains with you to create in your mind the opinion of my intentional neglect towards you. It is a matter which will ever be a concern to me."

The SAME to the SAME.

1782, December 26. Admiralty.—"Captain Sir John Jervis is likely to be employed immediately upon a particular service, which will most probably occasion the *Foudroyant* at Plymouth to become vacant. Sir John will leave her without dismantling of her, in drafting any of her seamen. She will be tolerably perfect in

er complement, except marines, which will be taken from her, is done to almost every ship serving at home at present except the *Victory*, and one or two ships hurrying upon immediate service. Having stated the particulars of the *Foudroyant*, I cannot think of offering the command to any officer till I know your inclinations. Whatever they are, I shall wish to show you my readiness in being as useful as my power may permit."

The SAME to the SAME.

1782, December 30. Admiralty.—Will give directions for the drawing up of his commission as Captain of the *Foudroyant*.

The SAME to the SAME.

1783, January 6. Admiralty.—Much fears that poor Charles Fielding cannot live long, in which case the *Ganges* will be vacant. Prays him to call at the Admiralty to speak with him on the subject.

VISCOUNT HOWE to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1784, March 31. Admiralty.—"I am now enabled to inform you of everything that could be done in conformity to your intimation of the opposition said to be intended against you last night. Lord Hood, I acquainted you before, is engaged by the commencement of his own poll to-morrow. Lord Barrington writes by this post to let you know why he is prevented from being present at yours; and Admiral Rowley is confined to his bed by a feverish complaint. But Major Varlo set out for Portsmouth to-day, and he assures me he shall be able to engage 10 or 12 votes. I shall be glad to know hereafter how far he may be able to succeed in that expectation, as it is desirable to know the *extent* of the obligations we may be under to our different friends. Mr. Rickman sets out this evening, and lies upon the road to be down in time for you to-morrow morning. Mr. William White called upon me this morning to acquaint me he would begin his journey also, to-day, but expressed indecision on the part he should take at the election, though he by no means expressed himself in hostile terms. I believe he waits to see what part the Messrs. Carter take, to regulate his own conduct by their example if a third candidate should start at the post. I hear Mr. Erskine is in town to-day, but whether in view to go off also this evening, to offer when the poll opens, I have not been able to find out."

CAPTAIN HORATIO NELSON to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1784, October 25. *Boreas*, English harbour, Antigua.—"My dear friend—By the *Zebra* sloop of war who sails for England to-morrow, I can't help asking how you do, and to shew that I am alive. This place during the hurricane months has been hotter



than I ever felt it in this country. Poor Jamaica, what a sad calamity ; I wish any vessel was going from this place that I might send something to poor Cuba, for provisions are in great plenty here and I suppose very dear at Kingston. As to this station I dislike it as much as ever. The Admiral I shall say nothing about ; his captain's name is Kelly, was Gardner's first Lieutenant in the *Sultan*, an ignorant self-sufficient man ; the others are *ignoramus* except Collingwood, who is a very good officer and an amiable character, but unfortunately he has been at Grenada during the hurricane months, therefore I can have no wish to remain upon this station, for the Commissioner I hear is to be recalled, and then I shall lose my only female friend in these islands (Mrs. Moutray). You know her, and I think her a very amiable woman ; their [their] house has been open to me, with a bedchamber, during my broil at this place. Lady Hughes I detest, but, after all, in my ship I am very comfortable, very good officers are the Lieutenants. *Apropos*, young Beale, the gunner's son, is on board ; he behaves vastly well. I say this as you may wish if he deserves it to do something for him ; he is a very attentive, sober young man and can possibly be. I have sent a small cask of haddocks, which I hope you [will] accept from your faithful, affectionate friend Horatio Nelson.

"Pray remember me to Capt. Gardner, or any other our mutual friends. Compliments to Capt. Leveson. We all sail from this on the 1st of November for Barbadoes. I understand we are all to dance attendance upon the flag-ship."

LORD HOWE to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1785, November 17.—" . . . I am sorry to hear from Mr. Leveson that you are a fellow sufferer with me. . . . flatter myself I have not frequently trespassed against the rules of temperance, but when you, who are the pattern of self-denial, don't escape this tax upon luxury, I am taught to bear my lot with greater patience."

The SAME to the SAME.

1787, September 24. Admiralty.—Informing him that the King had appointed him Colonel of Marines at Plymouth.

HENRY DUNDAS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1788, September 22. Edinburgh.—"Lord Chatham has communicated to me the intention of sending a squadron to the East Indies under your command. . . .

"There is a young gentleman, Mr. Robert Grant, whom I would ask the favour of you to take as a midshipman under your command. He was educated by Admiral Duncan, at whose suggestion I write to you, as he is a young man in whom both he and I are interested. He has passed as a lieutenant, and from what Admiral Duncan

states to me, he is worthy of my protection. If he was not so I would not recommend him to yours."

*Postscript.*—"If there is anything in my official situation that can enable me to render either your voyage or your residence in India more comfortable to you, I hope you will favour me with your commands. I was already successful in prevailing with the Directors of the East India Company in making allowances to the commanders of His Majesty's ships in India, in addition to what they receive from the King."

CAPTAIN HORATIO NELSON to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1788, October 8. Burnham, Norfolk.—"My dear friend, although I am set down here in a country life, yet (and although happily married) I always shall, as I have ever done, be ready to step forth whenever service requires or my friends may wish me to serve. Fame says you are going out with a command. If in either actual service, or a wish of yours to accept of me under your command who reveres and esteems you, I am ready and willing to go forth, and, by a strict adherence to your orders as my superior and wishes as my friend, prove myself worthy of the friendship you have honoured me with, for indeed I am, with great truth, your sincere and affectionate, Horatio Nelson."

The SAME to the SAME.

1788, October 13. Burnham.—"I received your kind letter on Saturday, and was sorry to think that you could suppose any situation in life could ever diminish the ardour, I trust it has been always conspicuous, I have to serve my country (although I am a happy in domestic life as any person can be). My wish has been (for I may now say a series of years) to serve under you. However I trust you have selected officers who will do credit to your choice more able ones I am sensible are easily met with, but one more attached or affectionate than myself I will not so readily yield to. Such things has been that officers have not liked to go to India, although I have no doubt but your penetration is too good to have made a choice where such a thing could happen. But should any event take place which should increase the number of ships, or prevent any of your present choice from going, and none presenting themselves who you will wisely prefer to your rural friend, always recollect that I can leave my humble and peaceful cottage, and believe me as ever your faithful and affectionate, Horatio Nelson.

"Pardon my sending the enclosed. If it is of any use, it will give me satisfaction."

*The Enclosure :—*

"Our master in the *Seahorse* was a very clever man, and we constantly took the lunar observations; therefore I have no doubt but you will find the *Seahorse* log book almost (if not the) best of

any in the Navy Office. It would be impertinent of me to say much on this subject. We went the outward passage, made the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam before we haul'd to the northward. The only caution in approaching the peninsula of India is to be assured you are well to the eastward, for in April, May and June the currents often sett so strong to the westward that ships fancying themselves far to the eastward and to the northward of Ceylon haul up westerly and get foul of the Moldivas, or are so far up the Malabar coast that great risk is run in getting round Ceylon again. There is no danger whatever in keeping well to the eastward, and with the S.W. monsoon, which then blows half way up the Island of Ceylon, 100 or 150 leagues is very soon run, with the wind a point free or clean full."

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1788, October 14. Send Grove.—Thanking him for his promise to take young Mr. Christopher Cole under him in the *Crown*, and recommending the Rev. Christopher Wells (who was with himself in the last war) as chaplain.

THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1789, January.] Wednesday. Eccleshall.—“We are very sorry to think that the time of your departure draws so near,\* . . . but there is not the least possibility that the new ministry will make any alteration in the naval command in India. Some public matters which have lately come out tend to confirm my opinion of the duplicity of a great man. . . . I do not care whether I ever receive any future ministerial favour whatever, but nothing shall induce me to join the two generals in a factious opposition to serve the ambitious purposes of any man, after government is maimed and weakened to a great degree. You will be returned for Eye with Phillipson if he chooses it, but last spring he talked of declining. As he is a good deal influenced by Goldsworthy, I conclude he will continue very violent. . . .”

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1789, January 29. Calcutta.—“The *Swallow* packet arrived on the 22nd instant, and relieved the anxiety I had so long suffered about Brome. I acknowledge with many thanks for your kind attention, your letters dated June 1st, July 12th, 16th and 21st, and August 21st. The accounts you give of politics is by no means pleasing, and from every consideration, both public and private, I feel the most sincere concern at Lord Howe's going out. Bathurst's voting against him has hurt me exceedingly, but it is one of those plagues that a man must make up his mind to.

\* Cornwallis sailed on February 13.

"I am very sorry to hear that you have returns of the complaint in your eyes ; for God's sake beware of quacks, it is too serious a stake to trifle with the eyesight. I think it is a gouty humour, and wish you would always suggest that idea to the consideration of any medical person whom you may consult. I have enjoyed most perfect health in this country, and hope I shall have no cause to repent of my arduous undertaking. My savings with the utmost propriety of living are vastly beyond my expectations, and by the 1st of January, 1791, will exceed 90,000*l*.

"I hope by this time I am Master of Fernham ; I have worried the Bishop pretty well on that score."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1789, March 10. Calcutta.—"I wrote to you some time since about your coming into Parliament. In regard to Portsmouth you must judge for yourself, there is no advising you about it, but I own I should be very sorry that you should decline Parliament altogether. Eye is entirely at your service, and need be no restraint upon you in point of attendance, or any other consideration.

"I have had so much plague with that borough that I should not wish to engage hastily with a stranger. I have therefore wished that Ross should fill one seat, and that either you, or if you should be chosen for Portsmouth, and have difficulties about making your election before I arrive, that Phillipson should lend his name for the other, and then take the Chiltern Hundreds. It would be very unpleasant at my time of life to be closely connected with a man for seven years that would be disagreeable to the borough or plaguing to myself.

"I hope the Bishop has dashed at Fernham, indeed I wish he had bought both Sir Charles Kent's estate and Saxham. It can never be a good plan for a man in my line of life to keep a large sum of money in the funds, and there is no mode of disposing of it more rational or agreeable than securing a considerable property and command near the family mansion.

"James talks of buying little copyhold farms, as he would for a sugar-baker who was retiring from business. I should, however, be very ungrateful to abuse him, for he has taken infinite pains about all my affairs, and particularly about Brome, the dearest concern of all.

"Our affairs here go on as well as I could reasonably expect, and I hope to bring home some remains of constitution in the year 1791 "

THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1789, March 25. Wimpole Street.—" . . . The King continues well, but has not yet appeared in public. To-morrow the Queen will have the first Drawing-room, which will be crowded to a great degree. Everything goes on quietly ; the King and ministry very popular. . . . Lord Lothian is turned out. He might have had an Irish regiment and a pension for his daughters, but refused



both. The Duke of Queenborough is also out. Eden is talked of for the Hague and a peerage. . . . Nothing going forward but addresses, rejoicings, &c."

MRS. C. CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1789, April 29. Seymour Place.—". . . We have nothing here now but rejoicing, feasting and dancing; you left us in a very different situation. The Thanksgiving day at St. Paul's went off extremely well, and without any accident, which, considering the immense crowds everywhere, was very fortunate. I kept quiet at home; and contented myself with going to my own little chapel at May fair. The illuminations the night after were the most magnificent that ever were exhibited. It is said pretty confidently that the King is to go to Hanover this summer. . . ."

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1789, June 27. Calcutta.—"It gave me great pleasure to learn yesterday by the arrival of the *Melville Castle* Indiaman that your squadron had actually sailed from Portsmouth on the 13th of February, and my private letters assured me that you was then in perfect health. I sincerely hope that your command may not prove disagreeable to you, and that it is put on such a footing as to enable you to save some money.

"I conclude your first destination will be to Madras, but I trust I shall very soon see you here, for you know I cannot go to you. You will be the best judge of the properest time for coming, and of the disposition of your ships; I can hardly think however that you will bring the *Crown* hither, and indeed it would require great care and attention to bring in one of the large frigates; by notifying your intentions to me you shall have the best assistance we can give. In spite of Mr. Lacam this can never be a man-of-war's port.

"I, last winter, sent two vessels under an intelligent officer of the Bombay marine, to survey and examine the great Andaman, who discovered two good harbours, one of which on the east side, near the south end of the island, appears capable of containing all the fleets of Europe, and is so circumstanced as to be very easy to repair to or to depart from at any season in the year, and during either of the monsoons, and may be supplied with provisions from hence in a very short time, especially in the north-east monsoon. The inhabitants are Caffres, and although they are by no means inclined to be civil to strangers, are not of so ferocious a disposition as they have been reported; they live entirely on fish, and there are no animals but wild hogs, and no appearance of cultivation. I intend to send the same officer, Captain Blair, in August, to take possession of the island, and in particular of this harbour, and I should hope that in the course of the winter you would either go in person, or send some officers on whom you can depend, to pass a final judgment on this very important business. If it should be found to answer, I should remove the establishment from Prince of Wales's

Island thither. I have kept this discovery as secret as I could, and of course you will do the same.

"The King's recovery has made me very happy. I shall continue to write to you as anything occurs to me that I think you would wish to know. Matters here go on prosperously, and you will hear at Madras that the French are going to withdraw their military establishments to Mauritius and leave only a factory at Pondicherry. If it should come in your way to be personally civil to the Comte de Conway, I beg to recommend it to you, as he has uniformly shown me the greatest attention. I cannot express how happy I shall be to see you."

The SAME to the SAME.

1789, June 29. Calcutta.—"I heard yesterday that the *Sullivan* Indiaman had arrived at Madras on the 11th instant, and reported that you was going into Madeira Road on the 26th of February, where you meant only to stay a week, and then proceed without touching at any other place to Madras.

"I am afraid I was too discouraging in my letter of the 27th about bringing your large frigates hither; there can be no danger if proper care is taken, as they do not draw so much water as an Indiaman. I recollected that the *Venus*, a French frigate of 36 guns, struck and suffered considerable damage in the year 1786, but, on particular enquiry, I learned that it was entirely owing to their own carelessness in not observing the directions of the pilot about their cable when they came to an anchor.

"I think you will find Madras very disagreeable, and I am sure on every account you will be glad to come here as soon as possible. Any of your ships will lay very well at Diamond harbour, at which place the seamen of the India ships, who are not taken much care of, have by no means been sickly, and you shall have as much quiet here as your situation will admit of."

LORD HOOD to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Commander-in-Chief, East Indies.

[1789], August 18. Plymouth Dock.—"I cannot write to you so fully as my inclinations lead me to do, being in attendance upon their Majesties. I arrived here on Thursday, to see all was right for the royal reception. The King, Queen, and Princesses came to Lord Borringdon's at Saltram Saturday afternoon, and are expected every moment in this dock-yard. To-morrow the King reviews the Evolution squadron of seven sail of the line, wind and weather permitting, and it is understood his Majesty will remain in this neighbourhood until the 24th.

"I flatter myself you will be pleased to see Sir Richard Strachan's orders signed by our mutual friend Sir F. S. Drake, whose seat at the Admiralty Board is highly gratifying to me."

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1789, September 5. Calcutta.—"As the length of your voyage has exceeded my expectation, I will not pretend to calculate the

time when you may arrive, but in case you should not have determined how to dispose of your squadron, which must leave the coast of Coromandel by the 14th of next month, I wish to give you every information I can to assist your decision. If you mean when you come hither in a frigate to order the rest of the ships to Bombay, I know of no political objection to it; you will hear much at Madras of Tippoo's intention to attack our ally the Rajah of Travancore, but the same reports have prevailed for these last two years, and I think it highly improbable that he would adopt so rash a measure at a time when his tributary Rajahs on the coast of Malabar are nearly in a state of rebellion, when he can expect no possible assistance from the French, and when he must be assured that our whole force would be employed against him, and has the greatest reason to apprehend that we are sufficiently connected with the Marattas and the Nizam to induce them to attack his northern frontier. But even in the event of Tippoo's commencing hostilities, I should conceive in the approaching season that the fleet might co-operate as usefully on the Malabar as on the Coromandel coast. If you should wish to keep the ships on the eastern side of the Peninsula, you may either send them to Trincomalè, of the convenience of which place you will get better information at Madras than I can give you, or, what I should think preferable, to Prince of Wales's Island, where the climate is good, and the ships will lay in perfect security; and where I am assured they will find provisions of all sorts in abundance except wheat, of which we can send supplies from hence to any amount.

"I have sent Blair again to the Andaman Island, but shall keep the *Viper* sloop, which is to follow him, as long as I conveniently can, that you may have an opportunity of conveying any orders or directions that you may think proper to give to Lieutenant Blair.

"My last letter from the Bishop was dated the 27th of March, all well; they foolishly sent on a letter hither from him to you, which came by the same ship, and was directed to Madras."

The NABOB WALLAJAH BEHAUDER to COMMODORE the HON.  
WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1789, September 22. Chepauck.—Praying him to represent to the Governor General the inconveniences under which he is suffering and obtain him relief. It is impossible for him to pay the July kist as stipulated, his treaty made with Sir Archibald Campbell having far exceeded his abilities of payment, and he therefore prays either for a reduction of the amount or indulgence in point of time. The late treaty sent out by the Court of Directors administers some relief, but being accompanied with requisitions degrading to his dignity, he cannot accede to it as it now stands.

W. W. GRENVILLE to COMMODORE the HON WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1789, November 2. Whitehall.—"Mons. de Mollinedo, secretary to the embassy from the Court of Spain, having represented that it is his Catholic Majesty's intention to fit out two frigates, under

the command of Don Alexander Melaspina and Don Joseph Buta-  
 niente, for the purpose of making a voyage round the world, . . .  
 have the King's commands to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure  
 that in case the said ships should arrive within the limits of your  
 command, you are to show them every degree of attention, and to  
 afford to the commanders of them any assistance which they may  
 stand in need of." *Signea.*

CARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, February 8. Calcutta.—“ Everything in the Carnatic and in  
 Travancore by my last advices remained in the same situation as  
 when I last wrote to you.

“ If Abercromby should be able to attempt a diversion on the  
 Malabar coast, you will I am sure give him all the assistance in your  
 power. It may likewise be proper, so long as the weather on that  
 coast will permit, that some cruisers should prevent the importation  
 of troops, arms, or military stores into Tippoo's territories. I  
 should hardly think that the Comte de Conway would interfere,  
 or afford assistance to Tippoo of any kind, but if, on the contrary,  
 any French vessels with a considerable number of troops or quantity  
 of stores should come upon that coast under pretence of going to  
 their settlement at Mahie, I think they should be told that they may  
 proceed to Pondicherry, but that as Mahie is only an inconsiderable  
 factory and not a place of arms, and that consequently the troops  
 and stores can only be intended for the use of our enemy *Tippoo*  
*Sultaun*, we cannot permit them to be landed at Mahie, or at any  
 port upon the coast of Malabar.”

ADMIRAL J. LEVESON-GOWER to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM  
 CORNWALLIS.

1790, February 19. Charles Street, Berkeley Square.—“ Soon  
 after you left this country I was obliged to resign the Admiralty.  
 I had before Christmas met some things which were very disagreeable  
 to me, but on my return to town after those holidays, I found so  
 much of what might really be called incivility, that as soon as his  
 Majesty was said to be well enough recovered to do business, I  
 gave in my resignation. It was, however, August before a new  
 patent was made out, when Sir Samuel Drake's name appeared.  
 He has been worried out of his life by a wife, and our friend Gardner  
 is now there. I hope he will long remain there, for he is a most  
 worthy and honourable man. He has been chosen for Plymouth  
 without opposition, but Macbride threatens mighty things against  
 him at the general election. . . .

“ As soon as I found myself totally at liberty I set out for Stafford-  
 shire and visited Trentham, where I had not been since 1753. It  
 is very much improved ; more so indeed than any place I have ever  
 seen altered. . . . I forgot to tell you that upon Drake's  
 death the Admiralty was offered to Hotham, who would not accept  
 it. You may depend on this being true, because he told me so  
 himself, and you know he is always very correct in what he says.



. . My Edward was perfectly well on board the *Eurydice* at Villa Franca, the 22 of December. He is said to have taken kindly to his profession. Mrs. Leveson and the six others are perfectly well."

EARL CORNWALLIS AND COUNCIL to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, February 26. Fort William.—“The unprovoked hostilities which Tippoo Sultaun has commenced against our ally, the Rajah of Travancore, . . . can be considered in no other light by us than an open declaration of war, and we have accordingly sent instructions to the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay to attack the territories of Tippoo, and to use every means in their power to oblige him to desist from his present violent and unjust undertaking, and to obtain reparation to the Rajah. . . .

“We cannot at present determine how far any of the military operations may stand in need of the assistance of his Majesty's squadron, but we are well assured that if the governments of Fort St. George or Bombay should make application to you for such aid as you may think it in your power to afford, you will be perfectly well disposed to comply with their request.

“We have every reason to believe that the French government in this country will not be disposed to countenance the unwarrantable conduct of Tippoo, but if, contrary to our expectation, your cruizers should fall in with any vessels of that nation with a considerable number of troops on board or with a large quantity of military stores, on the Malabar coast, the commanders of which may pretend that they are going to their small factory at Mahie, we are of opinion that they should be informed that, if they please, they may proceed to Pondicherry, but that they cannot be permitted to land their troops or stores either at Mahie or at any port on the coast of Malabar, as we are convinced that, in that case, they must be intended for the use of our enemy, Tippoo Sultaun.

“The letters which the Governor of Columbo, Mr. Vander Graaf has written to the government of Fort St. George, express not only a friendly disposition towards us but an earnest concern for the protection of the Rajah of Travancore, on which perhaps the safety of the Dutch Settlement at Cochin may in great measure depend. He likewise mentions some intelligence which he has received of the number of troops at the *Isles de France*, and seems to give more credit than we do to the probability of a French interference.

“We have requested him to keep a watchful eye on the French and to forward to you any information which he may acquire.  
*Signed*—Cornwallis, Chas. Stuart, Peter Spike.

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS

1790, March 1. Calcutta.—“. . . The Dutch have reinforced Cochin, and seem much afraid of Tippoo; they say he can get by water to Cochin without taking the formidable Travancore line. If so mad an attempt was to be made by Tippoo, I think we should

be fully justified in sinking his boats if we could get at them ; but I'am told the water is very shallow, and that there is a dangerous bar off Cochin."

CAPTAIN JAMES CORNWALLIS to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS,  
Commander in Chief, &c., East Indies.

1790, March 3. *Crown*. Bombay Harbour.—Resigning his post as Captain of the *Crown*, on the ground of ill-health.

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, March 8. Calcutta.—Private. "The *Vestal* arrived here on the 4th instant with our Europe letters, and this morning Captain Delgarno brought me yours dated the 30th of January and 1st of February from *Noncowrey harbour*.

"I shall not at present enter into the merit of the different harbours, although upon the whole I am glad to find that you are disposed to think favourably of Port Cornwallis.

"Sir Richard Strachan's orders leave it to me to send him back to Europe or to China ; the latter I by no means think advisable, and I propose to desire him to carry some treasure for us to Masulipatam about the latter end of this month for the use of Cockerell's detachment ; and I shall direct him to proceed afterwards to Madras, where he will wait for the receipt of your orders. If you should be of opinion that it will not be necessary to detain him in this country, on account of our breach with Tippoo, we may perhaps find it convenient to send him home in lieu of an August packet.

"I should suppose that as soon as you may think your stay no longer necessary on the Malabar coast you will proceed to Madras, and consult with Medows whether the fleet can give any assistance to his operations, which I should hardly think probable, and you will then take your measures in regard to going to the Andamans or Prince of Wales's Island as you shall judge most proper. I shall of course write to you about the time that I guess you may arrive at Madras. Delgarno may still follow your instructions, except in leaving Madras with your letters until he shall have very good reason to believe that you will not touch at Madras, when you leave the Malabar coast.

"We have the most flattering accounts of the good disposition of the Marattas and the Nizam.

"I have sent you some Europe letters, but I hope you received some at Bombay. Our friends are all well, and the Bishop has set about altering Culford House in good earnest."

CHRISTOPHER WELLS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS, Bombay.

1790, March 30. Madras.—The Nabob having taken no means to liquidate his debt, "though the late Governor had indulged him with forbearance *upon being well paid for it*," General Medows has

put his territories under a sort of sequestration, and appointed four receivers of the revenues.

Some months ago I gave you some information respecting Cheil Naig, the Polygar, who was committing depredations in the Carnatic, about Vellore and Arnee, to divert our attention from Tippoo's operations to the Southward. "I can now inform you from indubitable authority (from the very camp of the Polygar at the passes) that Tippoo has ordered that Polygar Cheil Naig to be the instrument to execute the most barbarous and cruel commands of that monster in the Carnatic. He has absolutely sent him a reinforcement of 2,000 horse, with positive orders to place emissaries in our camp near Wallajoubad, and the moment the army begins to move, to pour his horse and banditti into the Carnatic, and carry fire and sword in every direction. I trust, however, that this government will in part prevent the evil, as I know there is this moment before them a proposal from a confidential servant of Cheil Naig for securing his person and putting him in our hands, upon the condition of appointing the man who sends this proposal a Polygar . . . but if the reply is not sent this day, the opportunity will be lost. . . ."

*Postscript.*—"The assumption of the Nabob's territories into the hands of Government will decidedly put a period to those pecuniary speculations at the Durbar which have long disgraced this Presidency. Those who have lately been concerned in transactions of that [kind] will get neither principal nor interest, and even the former creditors of the consolidated debt cannot expect any interest till the war is over."

*Postscript, Tuesday evening.*—I learn by a letter from Col. Ross that Lord Cornwallis is satisfied with the information I have been able to send him, and wishes me to continue to transmit it. As I see no hopes of joining you immediately, I intend to take the field with the army; the General having been pleased to commend my doing so, "as a clergyman in the field gave a decorum to several necessary and unavoidable occurrences. . . . The person who laid before Government Rhangapati Nauk's proposal concerning Cheil Naig is ordered to attend at the Governor's house this evening. Tippoo is moving to the centre of the Mysore country, and thence towards the passes between that country and the Carnatic."

EARL HOWE to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Commander-in-Chief, &c., East Indies.

1790, April 24. Grafton Street.—"Your favour of the 10th of last November was not received until yesterday. And in acknowledgement of your obliging sentiments, I take the earliest opportunity to assure you I shall be always happy when any of my suggestions and services can be made acceptable to you.

"The plan you have formed for obtaining a perfect knowledge of the navigation and circumstances from whence advantage may be derived by an intelligent naval commander on your extensive station, will supply you with materials which I am inclined to think few of your predecessors have been equally studious to

acquire. And I shall have very great pleasure in the communication of any such particulars as you are at liberty and have leisure to transmit.

“Diego Garcia I always understood to be little more than a barren sand, affording anchorage perhaps, but not water to be otherwise collected (and in small quantities) [than] by sinking wells on the beach. The Andamans and eastern coasts contiguous may possibly contain many much more desirable situations for shelter and refreshments. But I have always been of opinion that no more settlements should be made in such posts than we are able to occupy with such force as is competent to resist almost every attack that could be made upon them. *Establishments* less considerable seem to me of little more effect than to point out to an enemy the extent of our resources, and subject us to disappointments.

“Your efforts, my estimable friend, to abolish corruption, will be an Herculean labour, unless you can find purity in the natives. I did propose a coalition with the India Directors, on the last prospect of a rupture with France, that the India Company should assist us with stores to be furnished here by the Crown; but the conference did not proceed far enough to take any substantial form. But be not discouraged in your most commendable pursuit. The disinterested principles of the commander will most assuredly operate with good effect to check the speculation which cannot be wholly prevented; for you cannot take the direction of all the inferior branches of service upon yourself.

“You say that ‘all ideas of common honesty are supposed to be left behind, on passing the Cape.’ If they are understood to have been deposited with our good allies in that vicinity, I fear the portion of that good quality we had to boast was not great in quantity. It did not appear so at least by their conduct towards us in the passage of our ships out and home, consequent of the late war.

“The reports you had heard of Lord Sydney and Leveson’s removal you will have had confirmed long before this can come to your hands; and, also, that those limited changes have not in any respect lessened the stability of Government here. You will hear, I conclude, from the latter, his motives for quitting his situation.

“The commotions in France, which do not seem likely yet to end in any settled Constitution and established Government, promise to give you opportunity to pass the season of your continuance in India free from foreign disturbances; and as you give me the pleasure of knowing that Lord Cornwallis is in perfect health, I hope for your sake, as well as the public benefit, that it may be agreeable to him to prefer taking his passage to Europe in the *Crown*, rather than at an earlier period.”

LORD HOOD to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, April 26. Admiralty.—“I give you a thousand thanks for your very obliging letter of November 6th, and am happy you carried the squadron under your command in such high health to



Bengal. The length of the passage was of no consequence compared with the healthy state of every ship.

"I rejoice exceedingly at the good account you give of Lord Cornwallis. I had the honour of seeing the Bishop of Lichfield at St. James's the day I had the pleasure of receiving your letter, and his Lordship was in wonderful spirits upon the delightful contents of Lord Cornwallis's letters, as well as yours. . . .

"I am well aware that you must have much to do to guard against the impositions a Commander-in-Chief is liable to at such a distance from England; but you may rest assured of the most perfect satisfaction of this Board that, upon every occasion, you will act for the true interest and advantage of the public. Naval stores were sent to Bombay in — last, and I hope and trust you will find them there upon your arrival.

"You will ere this know that our worthy friend Sir F. S. Drake was suddenly taken from us in October last, and that Gardner succeeds him at this Board, and member for Plymouth, Fanshawe being made Commissioner, in the room of Sir John Laforey, gone to the Leeward Island command. Sir Charles Middleton has resigned the Comptrollership of the navy, Mr. Martin succeeds him, and your friend Saxton is Commissioner at Portsmouth. You will likewise hear, before this can reach you, of the *Bounty* armed ship being run away by a part of her crew, under the direction of a Mr. Christian, one of her Master's mates. Probably you may think it right to send one of your frigates to Otaheité to endeavour to recover her.

"I am sorry to inform you of the loss of the *Guardian*, commanded by Lieutenant Riou, in Latitude 44 south, Longitude 42 East, going to New South Wales. He had left the Cape about a fortnight when she ran foul of a prodigious island of ice on the 23rd of December; and, on the 25th, the water being up to her gun deck, her boats were hoisted out for such as chose to take that chance for their safety. Some few got into the boats; and one of those boats, after leaving the ship, was taken up very providentially on the 10th day by a French ship from the Mauritius, bound to the Cape with troops. At the moment the poor creatures were so worn out by thirst, hunger, and fatigue, that they could not have lived three days longer; and there appears to me not a shadow of hope that any other in the other boats can be saved. Poor Riou was determined to take the fate of the *Guardian*, and resisted all persuasion to take to a boat. I send you a letter he wrote at the moment the master left the ship. Lord and Lady Camelford are in the deepest distress upon this melancholy catastrophe; their only son being in the *Guardian*, and would not quit Riou."

*Enclosing :—*

E. RIOU to PHILIP STEPHENS.

[1789]. December 25.—"If ever any part of the officers or crew of the *Guardian* should survive to get home, I have only to say their conduct, after the fatal stroke against the island of ice, was admirable and wonderful in

everything that related to their duties, considered either as private men, or his Majesty's service.

"As there seems to be no possibility of my remaining many hours in this world, I beg leave to recommend to the consideration of the Admiralty a sister, who, if my services and conduct should be found deserving any memory, their favour might be shewn to her, together with a widowed mother." *Copy.*

On the same sheet. A list of those saved :—

Thomas Clement, master ; Rich. Farquarson, purser ; John Crowther, chaplain to the settlement ; Arthur Wadman, master's mate ; Rich. S. Trimlet, midshipman ; John Somerville, gunner ; William Tidd, quarter-master ; and 8 seamen.

LADY M. SINGLETON to her uncle, COMMODORE the HON.

WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, April 26. London.—Rejoices that he has found her "Papa" so well, and is so himself. Great alterations are being made at Wulford, which will, she thinks, be a charming house, and which she hopes will be ready to receive her Papa when he comes home. Her mother has gone back to Eton.

MRS. C[AROLINE] CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, April 28. Seymour Place.—". . . How generous exchequer Charles has been to give his nephew, John Townshend, 9,000*l.* upon his marriage."

the BISHOP OF LICHFIELD to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Madras.

1790, April. 29. Wimpole Street.—"Your friend Saxton is certainly Commissioner at Portsmouth, in the room of Comptroller Martin. Sir Charles Middleton enjoys his release from office very much. . . . Leveson was last Summer at Trentham and is to be chosen for Newcastle in the next Parliament. You and Phillipson are to be chosen at Eye. Erskine will be returned for Portsmouth, government having quite lost it. There is a very strong opposition for Cambridge University. Lord Euston, if he could gain his election, will owe it to Mr. Pitt, who is all powerful everywhere. There is an opposition in Suffolk by Vanneck, but a witless one, as all the gentlemen of the county support Bunbury and Rous. A great many Admirals have died this year, and a promotion is talked of. . . . Everything goes on very quietly in Parliament this winter. No opposition. I told you before, believe, of the two matches in the Townshend family ; Lord Townshend's daughter, Lady Elizabeth, to Col. Loftus, and Lord Rodney's eldest son to Miss Southwell, daughter of Lady de Clifford.

W. W. GRENVILLE to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS

1790, May 6. Whitehall.—Secret. Informing him that in consequence of the capture of some British vessels on the north west coast of America by two Spanish ships of war, his Majesty has taken measures for augmenting his forces, although it is hoped that war will be averted. *Signed.*

LADY C[Harlotte] MADAN to her brother, COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, May 7. Peterborough.—Thanking him for the good accounts which he sends of her son Charles, who writes that he is very proud of both his uncles. The Dean of Lichfield and Mr. Proby are full of gratitude for his kindness to their son.

HENRY DUNDAS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS

1790, May 9. London.—“I will attend to your representation but, unluckily, Lord Howe has never been very cordial in the business. . . . On the approach of a general election, one must be attentive to the requests of Chief Magistrates. Mr. Glegg, the son of the Chief Magistrate of the burgh of Montrose, is a clerk on board your ship. It does not occur to me how the mention of him to you can be of any service to him, but have been requested to do it.”

W. W. GRENVILLE, Secretary of State, to EARL CORNWALLIS.

1790, May 12. Whitehall.—Most secret. Proposing (in case of a war with Spain) an expedition from the East Indies against the Philippine Islands; suggesting what troops might be spared, and asking Lord Cornwallis to consult with General Meadows and Commodore Cornwallis concerning the preliminary steps for facilitating the execution of such a design. *Signed.*

LORD BROME to his Uncle, COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Madras.

1790, May 16. Eton.—“I received a letter from you the other day, together with one from *the Governor*, and am glad to hear you got safe to Madras. . . .

“They talk of a dissolution of Parliament soon, and there is great deal of canvassing going forwards in all parts of the Kingdom. I suppose you intend to stand for Eye this time in conjunction with General Phillipson. If you are not here, he will very well do for two, and I think it will be no easy matter to chair him.”

MRS. C. CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS

1790, June 3. Seymour Place.—“I cannot let Sir Charles Oakeley set off for Madras without sending you a few lines. . . . We understand he goes to succeed General Meadows, who is looked upon here as Lord Cornwallis' successor at Bengal. . . . Th

shop will give you a good account of Lord Brome and his own  
ys, they have had a fine Montem at Eton, and collected above  
10*l.* for the Captain of the school. . . .”

W. W. GRENVILLE to EARL CORNWALLIS.

1790, June 5. Whitehall.—Stating that no formal answer has  
et been received from Spain ; also that the news of Tippoo Sultan’s  
attack makes them fear whether any considerable detachment can  
be spared from India for offensive operations, but that, as the  
Philippines are believed to be unprepared for defence, it is hoped  
that one or two battalions of Europeans and some native troops  
might be spared to dispossess the Spaniards at Manilla, without  
looking to any further operations in the South Seas. Hopes that  
the European forces actually in India would be sufficient to carry  
on a war with Tippoo, but, if necessary, measures will be taken for  
sending out re-inforcements. Has written to Commodore Corn-  
wallis, desiring him to co-operate with his Lordship in any operation  
against the Spanish possessions (in the event of war) ; a re-inforce-  
ment of the fleet will be sent out without delay ; also a sufficient  
quantity of salt provisions for the use of five thousand men for  
six months. *Copy.*

W. W. GRENVILLE to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, June 5. Whitehall.—Stating that in case of war with  
Spain, his Majesty has the fullest confidence in the Commodore’s  
zeal and hearty co-operation with the Commander-in-chief of the  
forces, and desires him, without loss of time, to concert with his  
Lordship how the fleet may best assist in any expedition that may,  
in such event, be planned against the Spanish possessions. A ship  
of the line and one or more frigates are to be sent out at once ; and  
a fifty gun ship and a frigate will be sent to Canton to convoy the  
China ships through the Indian seas, after which they will join the  
Indian squadron. *Signed.*

LORD HOOD to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, June 6. Admiralty.—“ . . . We have been preparing  
for war against Spain a month, and I have the pleasure to say we  
have now all the guardships at Spithead completely manned, with  
the addition of the *Victory* ; and, in four or five days more, the  
*Princess Royal*, *Illustrious*, *Saturn*, *Courageous*, and *Valiant* will be  
here also ; and I imagine they will all be at sea the end of next  
week. Admiral Barrington has his flag in the *Barfleur*, Sir Alex-  
ander Hood in the *Victory* for the present, until the *Royal George*  
and *London*, the ships fitting for them, are ready. Admiral  
Cochran’s and Sir John Jervis’s flags are also flying ; and, I imagine,  
they will be put to sea together, under the command of Barrington.  
The *Queen Charlotte* is fitting for Lord Howe, and will be at Black-  
stairs on the 10th. Sir Richard King commands in the Downs, and



Dalrymple at the Nore. Should we come to blows, which at present is very uncertain, you will have full employment. Lord Chatham proposes sending to you a good seventy-four and two or three stores frigates. The *Leopard* is commissioned and given to Captain Blankett, who is meant to go to China with the *Iris*, Captain Trobridge, for the protection of the Company's ships in January, February, and then to join you. . . .

THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY to COMMODORE the  
HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, June 7. London.—“ . . . A dissolution of Parliament is talked of for next week, and I begin to believe it. Indeed, there is so much canvassing and drinking, and other bad effects of electioneering are so spreading, that a dissolution will be very beneficial to the country. The bailiffs of Eye have expressed me the greatest satisfaction on having you to represent them. Sir Horace Mann is a candidate for Sandwich in Kent, against Lord Parker. Both say they are sure. Pitt's popularity continues to predominate as much as ever. All your sea friends seem to be very alert upon the possibility of a Spanish war; and there is a disinclination to the service or obstruction from party as heretofore. Lord Townsend is now quite a ministerial supporter. He fell fast asleep the other day during a very composing speech of Lord Stormont, and fell down on the ground, was carried out by the Prince, recovered soon and spoke in favour of Ministry. Lord Leicester's \* new place in the Mint turns out, I am told, 4,000*l.* p. annum. How fortunate! But he will soon succeed his father, who is evidently declining very fast.

“The King was never better, and upon the whole, we seem to be going on very well.

“I shall go to Culford next week, and hope to find a great progress in the house. Palgrave was here the other day, I shewed him the plan of the house at Culford, of which he expressed much approbation. It will certainly be a most excellent house, and I think the whole expense cannot exceed 5,000*l.*

“Your friend Leveson stands for Newcastle-under-Line up Lord Stafford's interest, but has unluckily a formidable opposition. You have been very kind indeed to Whitby.”

CHRISTOPHER WELLS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1790, June 20. Camp, Carour. “ . . . I have (in addition to what I have already had the honour of communicating respecting the abuses in the several departments of the navy in the last week) to inform you that I find the sail-making branch afforded ample scope for peculation, and a very expensive one it was to Government. Mr. de Souza (agent to Mr. Cuthbert) nominally super-

\* George, eldest son of Marquis Townshend, cr. Earl of Leicester, May, 1789

ended the business, but Mr. Cuthbert was the *principal*, and a master of a line of battle ship (I believe of the Flagship) personally directed the whole; who, besides a handsome additional daily pay from Government, actually received from Mr. Cuthbert *coucours* to a very considerable amount. . . .

22nd. "This morning a body of the enemy's horse (in number about 600) appeared on the left flank of our camp and approached close to our outposts. The cavalry formed, and Col. Floyd, of the 9th regiment of dragoons, with two troops of that corps and five or six troops of native cavalry, marched in pursuit of them. In the meantime, these merciless wretches wantonly cut down all the poor followers of our camp they could see, who were out collecting firewood, straw, &c., and drove off some of our gun bullocks. . . . burnt the stacks of straw, villages, &c., through which they passed. The enemy's horse made so precipitate a retreat into the enclosed part of the country that Col. Floyd could not overtake them. . . .

"You have been, Sir, already apprised of the manner in which I was employed at Madras for some time previous to the army's taking the field. . . . I flatter myself that the information was enabled to transmit, contributed in some small degree to constitute that body of intelligence and *facts* which so amply authorized the change in the Government of Fort St. George (by the removal of Messrs. Hollond and Maylor from the Council) which at length enabled the General [Medowes] to take the field. *In the meantime*, the army was to be under the command of an officer cynical and unfavourably disposed towards Lord Cornwallis and Col. Ross. This fact I knew at that time . . . and I determined to join and attend the army as long as it should seem expedient, for it was clear to me that, while Col. Musgrave was at the head of it, Lord C. and Col. R. would not receive regular information. . . . The character of Col. M. seems to be a compound of pride, weakness, meanness, narrow jealousy, and peevishness added to *no small share* of avarice, which last propensity he was indulging in very freely when the General happily arrived.

"And now, Sir, the end for which I joined the army being fully answered, and my continuance in it no longer necessary (for the General possesses the full confidence of the Governor-General, and is, indeed, a most respectable and upright character), I am ready to obey your commands. . . .

June 24. "Advice is just received that a large body of Tippoo's horse, to the number of three or four thousand, have advanced to within fifteen miles of this camp. Some few of the enemy's horse have this moment been brought into camp, taken by a party of our cavalry. . . . The principal horseman reports that there are 4,000 horse at Avracouchee (20 miles in our front, and in our route) under the command of Seyd Sing Sahib, a confidential general officer of Tippoo's, who made a conspicuous figure in the last war in the Carnatic. Tippoo himself, he says, is at Coimbatore, about 80 miles distant. The orders to-day announce our marching in a few days . . . Heaven grant no accident befalls our good and worthy General! If the command devolved on the second, I fear all would not be well."

CHRISTOPHER WELLS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1790, July 2. Camp, Carour.—“ . . . The army will move on in a day or two . . . If the enemy's forces have quitted Coimbatore and retired into Mysore, the opinion of the militia is that we shall go immediately to the southward, into Dindigul.”

I wrote to you at Bombay, “acquainting you with the wretched conduct of some of the civil servants of the Company, particularly with respect to some pecuniary transactions at the Court of the Nabob, and frauds upon the public. . . The principal in this business was Mr. Johnstone, paymaster at Trichinopoly, who committed frauds on the public, the Nabob, and individuals, amounting to the immense sum of upwards of three lacks of Pagodas, or 120,000 *sterling*. It will, I am sure, give you pleasure to hear that he is now secured, and when secured, was on the point of embarking at Pondicherry. As a *public defaulter*, that government gave him up, and I suppose by this time he is in durance at Madras. . . . It would really shock you to hear a recital of all the speculation practised—during the late Government particularly—and even previous to that in a smaller degree, but latterly by *example* and permission.” The hospital expences also “had been made (by Mr. Cuthbert) in the last war, the *source of great imposition*, though the surgeons were well paid by Government, and *himself*.”

*Postscript*.—“Since writing the foregoing, I have heard something of our intended route and immediate operations. We march in a S. S.W. direction to Auracouchy [? Arava Kurichi], seventy miles, keeping the river on our right; from thence to Ayaracott in a S. S.E. direction. There the main body of the army will halt, while a detachment moves on to attack Dindigul Fort. When that is secured, the army moves on to Coimbatore, where, *it is said*, Tippoo's army still remains and cannot retire, as an epidemic disorder is sweeping away their carriage and draught bullocks and horses in great numbers.”

ADMIRALTY COMMISSIONERS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1790, July 30.—Desiring him to take Captain Blankett and Captain Troubridge under his command, with their ships, the *Leopard* and the *Thames*. Signed Chatham, Hood.

CHRISTOPHER WELLS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1790, August 26. Camp, Coimbatore.—“I have the honour of acquainting you that the strong and well-defended fortress of Dindigul surrendered to the detachment sent against [it] under Lieut-Col. Stuart on the 22nd inst. Our batteries (of four 12 pounders and two 12's) opened on the 20th in the morning, but made no impression that day. On the 21st, in the afternoon, a breach was made, but it did not prove a practicable one. It was, however, deemed advisable to attempt the reduction by storm.”

accordingly Major Skelly, with the two flank companies of the 52nd regiment and one company of the 1st European infantry and two native battalions proceeded to the assault, but finding the wall upon the rubbish still more than breast high, they were obliged, after a very hot and well supported contest to retire, with the loss of one officer of the 20th battalion, twenty-five Europeans killed and wounded, and about the same number of Seapoys.

"The next morning, however, before they could resume the attack, the white flag appeared. The garrison agreed to surrender on being permitted to march out with their private property. . . . In the Fort were found fourteen guns and a great quantity of ammunition and shot of every description and in every shape, and (what is *very extraordinary*) it appears that most of it was made up at, and must have been sent *from Madras*! Twenty thousand cullums of Padda were also lodged in the fort. A cullum is about sixty measures.

"Major Skelly had a narrow escape. A musket ball passed through his hat, but did him no injury. I had the honour in my last to inform you of the reduction of Errode, Col. Floyd, with three regiments of cavalry (the 19th, 3rd, and 5th) with a large body of infantry and artillery, have passed the river and are to reduce Sattamungalum and two other forts, and then seek Syed Sahib, who is sent back with his cavalry on this side the pass. It is expected that a force will go in a few days against Palaghautcherry. When that is reduced, it is supposed the whole army will ascend the Mysore country. The fortifications at Dindigul are new, and admirably executed."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1790, Sept. 5. Camp at Coimbatour.—"The strong and important fortress of Dindigul surrendered to the forces under Lieut-Col. Stuart on the 22nd ult. . . . In the meantime, Lieut-Col. Floyd, with three regiments of cavalry, and Lieut-Col. Oldham with infantry and artillery, crossed the river Bhavani, and on the 27th ult., the fort of Sattamungalum, near the foot of the Guzzelhatty (or Gudgereddy) Pass, surrendered after exchanging a harmless shot or two. And on the 29th, Lieut-Col. Stuart, with the forces under his command, marched from Dindigul to attack Pallaghautcherry, where it is expected he will arrive on the 8th, and in the meantime, some heavy guns are ordered to march from this camp to re-inforce him. This is the only place to be reduced below the Ghauts. It is a strong and regular fortification, with a wet ditch 60 feet wide and 30 deep. It is therefore capable of making a stout resistance. But when once a breach is effected, the garrisons in this country immediately surrender, from the dread of receiving no quarter.

"In the midst of these important, active, and extensive operations, the General is directing every exertion to be made in forming a grand magazine of provisions, &c., at Erode and Sattamungalum, for the supply of the whole army when it moves on to ascend the



heights. There can, I think, be little doubt of our retaining quiet possession of these rich provinces. They will prove the greatest and most valuable acquisition to the East India Company (or the public) which has ever been made in India. I have taken some pains to ascertain their present annual value. The annual amount of the crops at large appears to be *eighteen lacks of pagodas*, or 720,000*l.* sterling, One moiety, or 360,000*l.* sterling, will be the annual *acquired* revenue to the public, and, *I am sure*, it is very improvable under able managers of integrity; and I am convinced, while General Medowes governs, no others will be employed.

"A Vakeel or ambassador from the old King of Travancore is now in our camp. That prince is to send six battalions of his veteran Nagrs or Sepoys to assist in garrisoning the forts we have taken, to prevent our reducing the strength of our army. I wish the Nizam and the Mahrattoes were more warm and active on their parts. The business would soon be settled. 'Tis wonderful and pleasing to see the confidence and felicity of the inhabitants, all busy in their usual occupations. In the hands of their conquerors they find themselves in the bosom of their friends! Not *persecuted* but *protected*."

EARL CORNWALLIS TO COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS,  
at Madras.

1790, September 19. Calcutta.—"Private. . . . I am very sorry to hear that the sickness on board the *Phoenix* does not abate. We are getting healthier here, but the weather is growing warmer as the rains abate.

"We have sent home bills drawn by Montigny on the French government in the *Houghton*, so that the money must go to the Isle of France, as we have received value, or what we suppose to be value, for it. Things remain in the same state at Chandernagore, but I do not know the exact situation of affairs at Mauritius, or whether Conway is or is not a free agent.

"The *Warren Hastings* Indiaman . . . arrived here this morning. . . . Grenville tells me that the King is perfectly well, that he thinks we shall avoid a war, and not abet our friend the King of Prussia in any unreasonable demands, and lastly, that he does not think Pitt has anything to fear from the dissolution of Parliament. Ross had a letter mentioning some ill humour with Spain, about an intended settlement of ours on California, but I suppose it must allude to the business of the two ships of ours which were taken by them."

The SAME to the SAME.

1790, October 2. Calcutta.—"Private. I last night received letters overland from Mr. Dundas and Mr. Grenville, informing me of the great probability of a rupture with Spain, with directions from the latter for offensive operations from our settlements here, which the Mysore war, for the present at least, renders impracticable. As I conclude, from the circumstance I have

mentioned, that if the war takes place, your squadron will be immediately re-inforced, it appears to me that you will probably assemble the ships without loss of time at Bombay, and if Sir Richard Strachan should come here, I shall send him to you.

"I can hardly believe that the Spaniards will go to war with us, but their active preparations and the answers they have hitherto given to our claim of satisfaction for the ships which they captured in Nootka Bay are very suspicious.

"I am sanguine enough to have some hopes of demolishing Tippoo by January next." *Signed. Fine seal of arms.*

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1790, October 5. Calcutta. —Private. "I have received a letter from Mr. Grenville, dated the 13th of May, by the way of Suez, informing me that there was great reason to expect an immediate rupture with Spain, and describing a most extensive outline of operations to be undertaken by our forces from this country, which unfortunately the cursed Mysore war renders for the present absolutely impracticable.

"I take it for granted that you will assemble your squadron as soon as possible at Bombay, to which place your orders and reinforcements will of course be sent.

"We shall probably be able to form some guess by the middle of December, whether it will be possible to spare any troops from India this season, even if we could only undertake a part of Mr. Grenville's plan; and if, which I apprehend will be the case, it should not appear to be possible, you will very likely think it right to send cruisers.

"I shall in a few days transmit a copy of Mr. Grenville's letter for your fuller information in the Company's cipher to Bombay, and I shall desire *General* Abercromby to give you the key to it, and to direct the secretary to explain it to you. I do not see in the present situation of affairs that I can make any part of the preparation recommended by Mr. Grenville, except by salting some meat here, which may be used by the squadron to save what will be sent from England, as I understand that the meat salted here with the greatest care cannot be depended upon to last more than one year.

"If Sir Richard comes here I shall send him immediately to join you at Bombay, and he shall bring you my private cipher, which you will find much more easy and expeditious than that of Government.

"There are reports of a promotion of Admirals, including you, but as Mr. Grenville in his letter calls you Commodore, it certainly had not at that time actually taken place. Abercromby and Musgrave are Major Generals." *Fine seal of arms in garter.*

SIR ALEXANDER HOOD to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, October 28. *Royal Sovereign*, Spithead.—Thanking him for giving a commission to his relative, Mr. Newman, on the

recommendation of Lord Chatham, to whom he is also related, and stating that public affairs are "in a great bustle," it being said that a few days will determine the great question of peace or war.

LORD GRENVILLE to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, November 9. Whitehall.—Sending him a copy of the convention between his Majesty and the King of Spain, and sincerely congratulating him "upon this fortunate termination of the negotiation . . . which has removed the apprehensions which were entertained of a rupture with that Court, and will enable his Majesty's officers in India to turn their whole attention to the prosecution of the war which has arisen there." *Signed.*

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, November 30. Calcutta.—"Private. I take the opportunity of the departure of *His Majesty's schooner* the *Dispatch* to send you a copy of Mr. Grenville's letters.

"Our whole land force in this country must for the present be employed in the Mysore war, which I consider in so serious a light that I am on the point of embarking to take the direction of it into my own hands. During the continuance of this war, which I am now, if possible, more than ever anxious to see the conclusion of, you can have no co-operation from us, and consequently no expedition can be attempted even against Manilla, unless troops should be sent out for that express purpose; as by the letter of the 5th of June, we have reason to think they have thoughts of doing, from conceiving it probable by the accounts carried home by the *Goddard* Indiaman that we should be at war with Tippoo.

"I had no reason for supposing you would assemble the fleet at Bombay, except the impossibility of your doing it at this season at Madras, and it did not occur to me that the Andamans would suit you from the want of fresh provisions.

"Sir Richard will join you as soon as he has landed me at Madras, and you shall then hear from me again, with duplicates of Mr. Grenville's letters; in the meantime, I have only to propose that you should, as long as the Spanish war is hanging over us, keep a vessel always at Madras, ready to convey the quickest advices from me, if anything important should occur, and that you will station at least one cruiser on the Malabar coast during the season, for carrying on operations there. We shall write you a public letter to desire you to detain any vessels you may meet with belonging to the Beeby of Cananore, who, as I understand, has broke off her treaty with us, and applied to Tippoo for the aid of his troops.

. . . I think young Cook much improved by his command; all here desire to be remembered to King and Whitby."

[John, 2nd] EARL OF CHATHAM to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, December 19. Admiralty.—"I conclude that before the arrival of the *Minerva* the intelligence will, in some way or other,

have reached you of the happy termination of our dispute with the Court of Spain. In the expectation of some further account from India, it has been left to your discretion, in your instructions from the Secretary of State, to keep or send home any part of the naval force collected in India, as you shall judge from the situation of affairs most advisable; but I imagine that, in any event, you will keep the *Minerva*, in preference to those frigates that have been longer out. I have detained her sailing for this week past in the hope that I should have been enabled to have sent you some satisfactory intelligence on the subject of some addition to the allowance from the Company to the Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's naval forces, more suited to his rank and situation, as well as an increase to the Masters and Commanders, and which business I have very earnestly pressed; but any final resolution has been again suspended from the illness of Mr. Lushington, the Chairman. I have, however, great reason to believe that it will, in the end, be satisfactorily settled; and I have strongly urged (what in justice is due) that whatever is done may take place with a retrospect to the time of your arrival with your squadron in India.

"Some promotion has taken place in consequence of our armament, and (as you will be informed by Mr. Stephens) has been extended to your station; and I hope the promotion of Mr. Schomberg, particularly, to be Post will be acceptable to you. It is proposed that the vacancies made by the Lieutenants promoted to be Masters and Commanders should be filled up by you as you please, the midshipmen promoted by the Board being ordered home. I am not so unreasonable as to wish to press any young man upon you, knowing how few occasions you have in peace of providing for your followers; but I have been so urged to mention to you a son of Captain Dickson's, that I cannot forbear naming him to you as a person in whose success I am much interested. He would have been included in the general promotion here, as well as Mr. Manning and Mr. Allen, a son of the Admiral, who I understand are with you, but that they none had passed their examination at the Navy Office.

"I cannot conclude without expressing to you the full sense entertained here of the great zeal and attention with which you have applied yourself to correct, in all transactions in behalf of Government, those abuses which had been, I fear, too prevalent in India; and from which conduct, I am sure, the most beneficial consequences to the public service must be derived."

LORD HOOD to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, December 20. Admiralty.—"I have received the several letters you have had the goodness to honour me with, for which I give you ten thousand thanks.

"Early in May we began to arm against Spain, and with such vigour and exertion that in five months we had such a fleet as this country never had before after being at war two years. A most uncommon zeal pervaded all ranks of people, and there was a cheerfulness and spirit in the seamen not to be expressed, which



most certainly have produced most happy results. Gardner was in the grand fleet under Lord Howe, consequently my head and hands were full. Spain had been tampering with the Northern powers; a Baltic squadron was therefore to be prepared and to assemble in the Downs. This was to be entrusted to me, and I went to Deal for three days to give a few orders and to put the squadron, consisting of sixteen sail of the line, under the command of Admiral Elliot, to get it in condition for service. Except upon this occasion, I was not out of the Admiralty Court five hours, from the beginning of May until towards the latter end of last month; and, although we have disarmed with respect to Spain, it is thought right to keep up ten ships of the line (four of which of three decks), in addition to the sixteen guardships and six sail which went to the West Indies under Cornish, since recalled; and I hope and trust we shall see a general peace in Europe in the course of a very few months. I know you will hear from Lord Chatham, to whom I communicated what you said to me respecting your leaving India about this time twelvemonth without waiting to be relieved, which he appeared to approve, but probably the present disturbance with Tippoo will prove an obstacle to it. . . .”

The KING OF QUEDA to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1791, January 26.—Letter in the Malay tongue, endorsed by Cornwallis as received on this date. Also another document in the same characters.

LORD HOOD to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1791, February 2. Admiralty.—“ . . . I could not possibly have had a more able or more agreeable colleague in the room of our late worthy friend Sir Francis Drake than Captain Gardner, whose worth and experience I am fully sensible of; and am happy in assuring you that we are actuated by the same sentiments, to as full an extent as you can wish or imagine. Upon Sir Francis's death, I was summoned to town by a messenger, being then in Hampshire, and at once without hesitation named Captain Gardner for his successor, if an Admiral was not judged to be proper, could one be found that would be approved. For some time the vacancy was kept open, upon a supposition that Sir Charles Middleton would like to fill it, and, in that case, Gardner would have been the Comptroller. But Sir Charles acting a part not perfectly consistent, and expressing a wish to retire, he was taken at his word, Gardner made a Lord of the Admiralty, and Mr. Martin Comptroller; and I flatter myself the public service has been well conducted. Your friend Saxton is Commissioner at Portsmouth. I am happy to hear you are so sanguine in your expectations of an honourable and speedy termination of the war with that tyrant Tippoo Sultan.

“I can see no objection to your leaving India in January or February next year should peace be established. I have had several conversations with Lord Chatham upon the subject, who thinks

exactly as I do, but do not find he has so expressed himself to you, which I have urged him to do, and in a particular manner, upon receiving your letters of the date before mentioned. He was then going into the country, where his Lordship still is, and will remain a week longer. He then said it was time enough to grant you the permission you requested; besides, as you was under the orders of the Secretary of State, Lord Grenville must be consulted, which I shall press him to speak to the moment he comes to town. But I think I may venture to say, that you will have no successor appointed until you arrive, and have made your report of the situation of things in that great country, and you may rest assured that not only the Board of Admiralty but every other Board you have had to correspond with, are most perfectly satisfied with every part of your conduct, and convinced that you have been unremitting in your pains for bringing the expenses of his Majesty's squadron under your command as low as possible. Should peace be established, I think the *Perseverance*, *Atalanta*, and *Ariel* will be sufficient to leave in the country, but of that you will, I trust, hear more about in due time. I am glad the Andaman Island is spoken so favourably of, and do most perfectly agree with you that it is much to be wished to have a King's port established in India, and, upon this account, it appears highly necessary, in so very important a business to the public, that you should be consulted, who must be capable of throwing so much light upon the subject. I am apprehensive some supplies have been sent from France by stealth to Tippoo, but I hope they will fall into your hands. . . .

"Notwithstanding matters are made up with Spain, we have still thirty-two sail of the line in commission, with a dozen extra frigates, in order to bring the Empress of Russia to a reasonable peace with the Turks; but I am apprehensive she will be obstinate, and persevere in the war. In that case, we shall probably arm to a greater extent. I continue the Commander-in-Chief of a nominal Baltic squadron, and it is possible I shall visit that sea, but very sincerely hope it will not be necessary; which I think cannot be finally known for some weeks, as that time must elapse before the messenger can return which was sent off with the determination of this Government in conjunction with Prussia and Holland.

"When the convention with Spain took place, it was necessary to reduce our seamen from fifty thousand to twenty-four thousand. The Admiralty thought it, therefore, a proper attention to the commercial interest of this country to give out the order I herewith send, which certainly could not mean to include any volunteer, or indeed any one who *had not* an advantageous prospect before him at the time he was impressed. But, to the astonishment of the Board, a few Captains indiscriminately discharged every man who would give in his name; the consequence of which was, that some ships were left so weak as not to have a sufficient number of men to take care of them at Spithead. And as seamen follow one another, as a flock follows a bell-sheep, the infection spread, and almost every man became anxious to be his own master. Orders were then given that the whole of the ships commissioned upon the armament should be paid off, one after another, as the

public service and convenience of the ports would admit ; but such as wished to be discharged might be so, but could not have the gratuity or their wages until the ship was paid off. Notwithstanding this, pains were taken to excite a general wish amongst the seamen for their discharge ; which has occasioned a rendezvous to be opened in town for volunteers, which come in fast, and I have no doubt but all the ships will be re-man'd before they can be wanted for real service."

*Enclosing :*

Order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

That, whereas many second and third mates of the East India Company's and other ships, as well as other men, who had advantageous prospects before them, have been impressed, and cheerfully submitted to the necessity of the State, the Commanders-in-Chief at the several ports are to direct the captains under their command to discharge such men of the above description as may be desirous of returning to the situations from which they were taken, and to cause pay lists to be sent to the Navy board, that the men may be paid what is due to them.

COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN CHARLES CUNNINGHAM, of H. M. Sloop *Ariel*.

1791, March 15. *Crown*, off Prince of Wales Island.—Sealed instructions, to be opened at sea. "You will proceed with all the expedition possible to the Mauritius, where you will ask permission to water, &c., but you must act with the utmost caution, at the same time making such observations as you are able of the force and state of the place, and whether any men of war or forces of any kind are expected from old France, or have lately arrived from thence. You will endeavour to inform yourself of this in the best manner you can, even if you should not think it prudent to anchor ; and having so done, you will, without a moment's loss of time, join me at Tellicherry, or if you should learn that I am not upon the Malabar Coast, proceed immediately to Madras, where you may expect to find me."

LORD CORNWALLIS, General Order.

1791, March 22. Camp at Bangalore.—"Lord Cornwallis feels the most sensible gratification in congratulating the officers and soldiers of the army on the honourable issue of the fatigues and dangers which they underwent during the late arduous siege.\* Their alacrity and firmness during the execution of their various duties has perhaps never been exceeded, and he shall not only think it incumbent upon him to represent their meritorious conduct in

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\* Of Bangalore, stormed on March 21.

the strongest colours, but he shall ever remember it with the sincerest sentiment of esteem and admiration.

"The judicious arrangements which were made by Col. Duff in the artillery department, and his executions and those of the officers and soldiers of that corps in general in the service of the batteries, are entitled to his Lordship's highest approbation, to which he desires to add that he thinks himself much obliged to Lieut.-Col. Geils for the able manner in which he directed the fire during the day of the 21st.

"Lord Cornwallis is so well acquainted with the order that prevails in the whole army that he could have been happy if it would have been practicable to have allowed every corps to have participated in the glory of the enterprise of last night; but it must be obvious to all that in forming a disposition for the assault, a portion of the troops could only be employed.

"The conduct of all the regiments which in the tour were for duty that evening did credit in every respect to their spirit and discipline; but his Lordship desires to offer the tribute of his particular and warmest praise to the European Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the army, and to the 36th, 72nd, and 76th regiments, who led the attack and carried the fortress, and who, by their behaviour on that occasion, furnished a conspicuous proof that discipline and valour in soldiers, when directed by zeal and capacity in officers, are irresistible.

"The activity and good conduct of Lieut.-Col. Maxwell in command of the Pettah for several days previous to the assault of the Fort, was in every respect highly commendable, but his Lordship desires he will accept of his particular thanks for the judicious arrangements which he made for the assault, which was committed to his directions, and for the gallantry which he displayed in the execution of them.

"He likewise returns his warmest acknowledgments to Major Skelly, who undertook the command of the corps that commenced the attack of the breach, and who, by animating them by his own example, contributed essentially to our important success.

"Lieut.-Col. Stewart may be assured that Lord Cornwallis will ever retain the most grateful remembrance of the valuable and steady support which that officer affords him by his military experience and constant exertions to promote the public service.

"And although his Lordship is unwilling to offend Gen. Medows's delicacy by attempting to express his full sense of the able and friendly assistance which he uniformly experiences from him, he cannot avoid declaring that it has made an impression on his mind that cannot be effaced." *Copy, by Chr. Welles.*

#### The STORM of BANGALORE.

1791, March 24. Camp at Bangalore.—"Extract. The army arrived before Bangalore on the 5th inst., and were cannonaded on the march by Tippoo; not a shot was returned, but he was treated with sovereign contempt. On the 6th, the engineers re-



connoitred the Fort and Pettah, both found much stronger than expected. On the ensuing morning the latter was carried by storm ; Col. Moorhouse and Capt. Delaney were killed, some officers wounded, but none mortally. In the evening of the same day (at two o'clock), Tippoo's army appeared in sight, and whilst he endeavoured to divert the attention of our line by cannonading it, he sent a very large force to storm and retake the Pettah, but was beat off by the 36th regiment and some Sepoy corps. with considerable loss. Lord Cornwallis, suspecting he would make a second attempt, sent a re-inforcement to the Pettah, who had scarcely got there ere the enemy stormed it again. As before, they were repulsed, but with a much greater loss on their side. Finding himself foiled in both attempts, he drew off his guns and retreated about sunset, and we saw no more of him till St. Patrick's day, when he paid us an unexpected visit between eight and nine in the morning, and threw long shot at us till near three, when he retired, not having been able to draw us out or divert our attention from the siege. In the whole of the cannonading we lost very few men, not above sixty altogether. Five batteries, having irregular approaches, having been made, but their effect not being equal to what was expected, and our provisions beginning to run short, it was determined by the Earl to storm the fort. This was done on the 21st, at night, and in two hours from the commencement of the attack the British colours were flying in it. The storming party consisted of the 36th, 72nd, and 76th regiments, supported by the European flank companies of the army and 2nd battalion of Sepoys. They descended and ascended the ditch by scaling ladders, which were of infinite service afterwards, as the breach was nearly impracticable ; upwards of 1,500 of the enemy were put to the bayonet ; Captain Markham and Lieut. Dark of the Artillery wounded. The force of the garrison was about 3,000.

"The Killidar, a very old man and nearly related to Tippoo, was killed (Bahawder Cawn). Upwards of one hundred pieces of cannon were mounted in the rampart, which is a double one ; the Fort is remarkably strong, very extensive, and has a very deep, broad, dry ditch and glacis to it. The fort could never have been taken but by an European army ; fit is the strongest I ever saw in India except Madras.

"The palace is in the centre of the Fort, and one of the most superb grand buildings you can conceive ; it reminds you of the castles mentioned in the fairy tales. Had the storm been delayed twenty-four hours the whole of our batteries would have been enfiladed by works he was constructing. Lord Cornwallis has shown himself a most able general, and Medows is an admirable second. They are both adored, and justly so, by every man in the army.

"*Officers killed at the siege* :—Lieut.-Col. Moorhouse, artillery ; Capt. Delany, 36th regiment ; Capt. Slipper, artillery ; Capt. Tenot, 52nd regiment.

"*Wounded* :—Lieut. Cowan, artillery ; Lieuts. Purefoy and Eyre, 36th regiment ; Capt. Markham, 76th regiment ; Lieut. Dark, artillery." *In Chr. Well's handwriting.*

HORATIO NELSON to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1791, April 4. Burnham, Norfolk.—“ My dear friend, I thank you much for your kind letter of August last, which I received when a few days ago in London. We are again preparing for war, some think we shall succeed in making the Empress yield to such terms of peace as we think proper without hostilities, but I own myself of a different opinion. She has been compared, and not I think unaptly, to our Elizabeth ; a high-spirited, victorious woman will not easily brook to us, and how we are to get at her fleet I don't see. If inferior to us, she will lock them up in Cronstad, where our ships cannot get, and if, as is believed, Sweden joins her in the Baltic, we may, although assisted by the Dutch (in whom I don't find we ever much benefited) not be able to cope with her. Narrow seas and no friendly ports are bad things. Lord Hood is to command, that you have heard ; 29 sail of the line to be joined [by] 12 sail of the line Dutch, a very respectable fleet ; Sir Hyde Parker Captain of the fleet. A press has just begun, all our seamen here (except the West India fleet) paid off, and none hardly entered again ; Gardner told me he had not 40 men in his ship ; *Victory* 240, *London* none, and so of the rest. Admiral Leveson, *Formidable* ; Sir Richard King, *St. George* ; *Duke*, *Kingsmill* ; *Illustrious*, Charles Pole, are all the ships commissioned. Upwards of 12,000 men are wanted, therefore it is probable no more ships will be commissioned till these are nearly completed. Admiral Jonathan Faulkener has his flag in *Barfleur* ; Elliot, report says, is somehow disgusted ; Hotham *Princess Royal*.

“ I hope we are not to have Spain against us, which is feared. If so we have plenty of work cut out. The Duke of Clarence expects if a fleet goes up the Mediterranean to command a division of it ; I can assure you he always mentions you with the highest respect. I was not successful enough in the late armament to get a ship, I hope not to be again so unfortunate. Lord Howe has been seriously ill, and Admiral Barrington very much shook ; age will creep on, and active service soon gives a shake when above 60 ; comfortable and strong in our elbow chairs, but feeble when tossed in the Bay of Biscay. You have heard of the opinion relative to Sir Roger Curtis when Captain of the Fleet sitting on Court Martial as a Rear-Admiral : that a Court Martial being formed by Act of Parliament it is not in the King's power by any local rank to alter its constitution, and that therefore the one Court held where Sir Roger sat is illegal. An Act of indemnity is I hear to be passed, brought forward by Sir John Jarvis, who, by-the-bye, is said not to be employed, as having very much reprobated the Spanish Convention ; and his friend the Marquis of Lansdown is so strong an anti-ministerial man. Mr. Pitt, it is thought, will lose his interest with the monied men for taking the unclaimed dividends, and a great opposition is made against going to war with Russia, but as yet he holds a great majority. I assure you it would have given me infinite pleasure to have served under you, and to have zealously supported the good plans you have formed. During the little time I was senior officer at Antigua, 11 per cent. was had for bills more than before or since I understand. A merchant came and had the

impudence to offer me 5 per cent. if I would let him have the bills when money was wanted. How can stations otherwise give fortunes? I, amongst your numerous friends, will be truly rejoiced to see you in England, for believe I am, with most sincere attachment, your faithful and affectionate, Horatio Nelson."

[JOHN] EARL OF CHATHAM to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1791, May 5. Admiralty.—"I had hoped that, previous to the sailing of the last ships, some more decisive intelligence as to the situation of things in India than was brought by the *Princess Amelia* Indiaman would have been received here. I trust, however, at all events, that the issue of our present contest with Tippoo will be such as to allow of your returning to Europe, and bringing Lord Cornwallis, at the period you mentioned in your letter to me as the most favourable to leave India, either in December or January next. In this view, discretionary orders are sent to you on the subject, and I have only to add that, as it is peculiarly desirable after the late expensive armaments which have occurred here, to reduce our peace establishment as low as prudence will permit, it is to be hoped that you will not find it necessary (if your war is over) to leave any considerable part of your force in India; but that must entirely depend on your judgment according to the actual state of things there.

"France still continuing in the same unhappy and distracted state, nothing seems at present to be apprehended from that quarter and it is not therefore as yet in contemplation to name any successor to you. How far hereafter it may be right to have a Commander-in-Chief in India must depend, in part, on the view of things in Europe, and also, very much, on the consideration how far (when ever a new settlement for India takes place at the expiration of the Charter) any considerable naval establishment may be made in the East Indies. But, before any resolution is come to on this head we shall be desirous to avail ourselves of all the important information you will have collected as to the propriety or utility of such a measure, as well as to concert with you what instructions in the several departments would best tend to continue that system of economy, which, till your command in India, I fear has been but little attended to. I have no doubt of your leaving such officer when you come away, as will be most likely to adhere to this material object. What, too, may be the best place for a refitting port must eventually be decided according to your report of the several situations that have been at different times suggested for that purpose. . . .

"We have a large fleet at Spithead, in consequence of the continuance of the war between Russia and the Porte, but I trust there is reason to hope that everything will be accommodated by negotiation.

"We are all here very anxious for further news from India; and have great confidence in the resolution taken by Lord Cornwallis to command the army in person."

## The SAME to the SAME.

1791, May 10. Admiralty.—Regretting that, in consequence of what Mr. Dundas had said, he held out hopes of increased allowances to the Commander-in-Chief and other Naval officers in India which have not been realized. He is, however, so much impressed with the propriety of such addition that an official representation has been made by the Board of Admiralty on the subject, but as yet the new Direction has not had time to bring the business forward.

LORD HOOD to COMMODORE the HON. W. CORNWALLIS.

1791, May 11. Admiralty.—“ . . . A messenger which arrived yesterday from Prussia, announcing Mr. Ewart's arrival, brought very favourable accounts of the disposition of that monarch to act most fully up to the wishes of this Court in every respect.”

## The SAME to the SAME.

1791, May 13. Admiralty.—“ . . . You will receive orders by the *Bridgewater* (which I wanted you to have some months ago . . . although I was pretty sure you would prevent the stores going to Tippoo if you could) with respect to supplies sent from France to Tippoo Sultan's army.

“We have had extraordinary proceedings in the House of Commons, which have produced a total separation of Burke from Opposition.”

[JOHN] EARL OF CHATHAM to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1791, May 15. Admiralty.—Sending a copy of the Report of the Committee, this moment received from the Chairman of the East India Company, and which has this day been confirmed by the Court of Direction. Is sorry they have made no addition to the allowance to the Masters and Commanders, but they have obtained their promotion, which will make amends.

JAMES MCHORATH to the Postmaster-General at Madras.

1791, May 16. Camp near Seringapatam. Giving an account of Lord Cornwallis's attack upon Tippoo, on the previous day. In the end, he concludes, “the enemy gave way in every quarter, excepting a pagoda on a hill, which they seem resolved to maintain. We, however, have a post within 250 yards of it, and I suppose we will possess ourselves of it when we find it necessary. I have not exactly heard our loss, but suppose it considerable, about two hundred and fifty Europeans and natives killed and wounded. . . .

“This has been a smart business. The enemy were strongly posted, and their infantry stood to be bayoneted. But our troops, with his Lordship at the head, are irresistible. The enemy are now on the island. The river is high, which will render General Abercrombie's junction precarious. We see the island and fort very



distinct from the hill which commands the enemy's post at the pagoda. It seems very strong, and the island is a delightful plain (*sic*) beautiful gardens and fine buildings with works all over it. Apparently a copy sent to Commodore Cornwallis, to whom the covering sheet is addressed.

LORD HOOD to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1791, May 20. Admiralty.—“The *Bridgewater* being still at Spithead, I send you a newspaper or two. . . . I fancy matter will be settled with Russia by negotiation and that the fleet will in few months be paid off.”

EARL HOWE to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1791, June 20. Grafton Street.—“You will have heard, I make no doubt, long before the receipt of this letter, that your conjectures upon the event of the armament last year have been verified. And at this time that I am favoured with your letter of the 10th of January from Prince of Wales's Island, it is the belief of such ignorant politicians as myself, that the present armament, pending our differences with Russia, will have a similar issue.

“You do me much honour in the satisfaction you express on the knowledge of my late appointment to command the home fleet, on the prospect at that time of a rupture with Spain. Though conscious of my many incapacities, yet as the King condescended to think them not a sufficient objection to my acceptance of this important charge, it remained with me only to consider how I could best endeavour to execute His Majesty's commands. If our existing disputes terminate in the same manner, the next selection of naval commanders will probably be directed to some amongst you gentlemen of more active abilities; for I am of opinion that a gouty chair, in which Sir George Rooke is said to have been confined at the battle of Malaga, is not a well adapted situation for the direction of a considerable fleet in these days.

“The particulars you have had the goodness to communicate to me concerning Prince of Wales's Island confirm the doubts I conceived on the expediency of adding to our establishments in India; or of taking posts in any part not capable of being defended exclusive of *immediate assistance* from the fleet. I rather think it preferable to content ourselves with the knowledge of places where our ships of war may find anchorage and supplies of water occasionally, than by settling in such stations to point out to an enterprising enemy the resources from whence we can obtain necessary supplies and prematurely direct their attention to the means of frustrating our dependence on those aids.

“I did not mean to insinuate that your hopes of restraining abuses appeared chimerical by anything I suggested in my preceding letter on the subject of your desire to correct *all the abuses* which have long prevailed in the maritime service of India. My allusion was (as far as I can now recollect the particulars) to the difficulty of combating with united peculation. To moderate the

excesses to which it is extended in the various branches having reference to the naval line of service, seemed a great and beneficial undertaking. To abolish such abuse partakes of too much hazard, I should think, by early exertions, antecedent to an assured means of finding competent substitutes to replace the offenders and preventing disappointment of the object to be attained.

"Everything that upright sentiments and steady zeal to promote the public service can accomplish, your superintendence of the maritime concerns in India will not have overlooked."

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1791, July 5. Camp, 13 miles west of Bangalore.—"I have just received your letter of the 27th ultimo, and am much obliged to you for the good accounts you send me of my family, which are the first that have reached me. I cannot proceed against Seringapatam until the rains are over on the Malabar coast, and the Caverry river falls, and I hope by that time to make such arrangements as will provide for the subsistence of our army and our numerous allies; but it is no easy task to feed between two and three hundred thousand men, one hundred thousand horses, and twice that number of bullocks, besides elephants and camels, in a country which nature intended for a desert, and which Tippoo has, with the assistance of our friends the Marattas, rendered a complete one.

"I know of no public reason for keeping you on the coast of Coromandel, and I am sure you have no private wish to stay there, but I think you should keep two frigates at Madras till the change of the monsoon. I should however wish you to go to Tellicherry as soon as the season will admit of it. Your appearance there will be of service, and it is not improbable that Abercromby will attack Mangalore before the country will be sufficiently dry to enable him to ascend the Ghauts with his guns and provisions.

"I have desired the Madras government to offer you as much of the provisions brought out by the victuallers as you may choose to take; I know of no use that we can make of any part of them, unless Abercromby should want some on the coast of Malabar. I am very glad that you will allow the *Leopard* to carry home part of the Hanoverian troops. I shall send the *Swallow* packet to England in the very beginning of September. Colonel Nesbitt writes me word from Bangalore that you are an Admiral, but as you do not mention it, I shall direct as formerly."

CHRISTOPHER WELLS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Madras.

1791, July 9. Camp near Bangalore.—". . . The army will move on in two or three days to attack the Fort of Ossore. It is conveniently situated to form a strong post to facilitate the communication with the Carnatic while we are drawing our supplies from thence." Lord Cornwallis has just appointed me "to conduct the business of Post Office despatches, &c. . . . I am to enter upon it to-morrow, and I trust the business will be executed more to his Lordship's satisfaction than heretofore."

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1791, August 4. Camp, 7 miles south of Oussore.—“I enclose to you a copy of a letter from Lord Grenville to General Abercromby, from which you will see the propriety of sending some frigates to the Malabar coast as soon as it can possibly be done with safety, and indeed I am of opinion that your own early appearance there would be very advisable.

“You will, I make no doubt, order all vessels on that coast laden with military stores to be seized, whatever port they may be bound to, except they should be Dutch or Portuguese actually destined to Cochin or Goa.

“I have a thorough dependence upon the good disposition of the Governor of Cochin, and I do not believe that Tippoo is well with the Portuguese; his money may perhaps prevail with some of the merchants of those nations to afford him assistance, but even in that case the seizure of vessels belonging to either of them with ostensible papers might be attended with troublesome consequences.

“We have met with no disturbance of late from the enemy, and are very conveniently situated for receiving the various supplies of which this army is in great want, from the Carnatic; but the extraordinary dryness of the season distresses us very much in the very important article of forage.

“I have not received any Europe letters of later date than the end of November, but have the satisfaction to know that they are on their way, and within six or seven days of reaching me.

“Our weather has been for more than two months cool and very windy, and the nights and mornings are disagreeably cold. The change at first affected the health of our men, but I have the satisfaction to say that we are now growing more healthy.

“I have made Dr. Wells field-postmaster, and he has been of great use in quickening the conveyance of our letters.” *Signed.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1791, September 10. Camp near Bangalore.—“... Your public letter, which as far as you are concerned, is very satisfactory, I have transmitted to the supreme Government, and have given my opinion that upon the present face of the business, Mr. Taylor appears to me to be the person that should be held responsible, if the seizure and confiscation of the vessel was not authorised by the orders under which Captain Byron acted; for Mr. Taylor either condemned the vessel, or sold her without condemnation. . . .

“My letters, dated the 27th of April, from home, are very satisfactory. Brome has with the most perfect good humour consented to the Bishop’s plan of staying at Eton till next Easter, and then going to an academy abroad. The Bishop (who by-the-bye seems to be a better friend than formerly to Administration) has now no grievance but *Eye*, and that, I am afraid, must be incurable till I come home. He tells me that of all my Opposition friends he liked Lord Carlisle’s speech the best, as far as it regarded me. I have been unlucky about Lord Carlisle’s recommendations in this

country; if Mr. Gregg is not a bad subject, and an opportunity should offer that would not interfere with anybody that you are interested about. I should be very glad if, before you quit this command, you could give him a step.

"I am busily preparing to look again towards Seringapatam, but I hope that Tippoo will be sufficiently sensible of the desperate state of his affairs, to offer such terms as we may with safety and honour accept, before the time arrives for our commencing our march.

"I am glad you approve of Sir Richard Strachan: from what I saw of him I thought you would do so."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1791, November 27. Camp, 8 miles from Bangalore.—" . . . . Nothing can exceed my anxiety to put an end to this detestable war, but it is no easy task to provide for the subsistence of numerous armies when they are to penetrate far into a desert country, and when the communication with the distant quarter from which their supplies must be brought, is liable to constant interruption of an active, vigilant, and capable enemy. I have already with great labour and exertion reduced some strong hill forts with a view to the security of our convoys, and I must attempt some more of this work, before I can in prudence advance to the enemy's capital.

"The violence of the Carnatic monsoon, which I find, contrary to all the information I had received, prevails entirely in this country, has considerably retarded the progress of my heavy guns, but the last division is now near Bangalore, and everything is getting right again. . . .

"I am sorry that Fortified Island is not likely to answer the expectations of the captors. I cannot help, however, being pleased with the zeal and spirit which were manifested by Captains Troubridge and Sutton in endeavouring to distress the enemy." *Signed.*

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1791, December 31. Camp at Magri near Sewendroog.—"It was with great concern that I heard of the affair between the *Phoenix* and the *Resolve*, for although the behaviour of the French Captain appears to have been so violent and unjustifiable that it is hardly possible he should meet with support anywhere, yet, by misrepresentation and falsehood, it may make a great noise in Europe, and occasion much trouble.

"As every one of our Governments in this country may for its own security think itself interested by the commission of an act of hostility on the part of France, it might be proper that you should transmit a statement of the facts in a circular letter to the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay.

"It will give me great satisfaction on every account to learn that you have found the French Commodore more reasonable and righter-headed than the Captain.

"We have been so fortunate as to take in a very few days, and



with hardly any loss, the important and hitherto reputed impregnable fortress of Sewendroog. This place and some neighbouring forts, which though strong, made but little resistance after the fall of Sewendroog, will tend in a very great degree to insure our communication with Bangalore whilst we are engaged in the attack of Seringapatam.

"The last of our stores from the Carnatic with the detachment of the Royal Artillery, whose progress has been long delayed by the extraordinary rains that have fallen this year, are now in the neighbourhood of Bangalore, and I hope very soon to advance towards the enemy's capital. I received a letter from Abercromby, dated the 16th of this month, at the top of the pass.

"I am sorry to tell you that we have lost poor Dr. Wells, who was much esteemed in this army, and is universally regretted. No man could have been more resigned to his fate; I saw a letter from him to Ross after the doctors had given him over, in which you would have supposed he was describing the situation of some other person.

"You have been very kind indeed about Gregg. I hope you have not suffered him to interfere with any arrangement in which your inclinations were much interested."

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, February 10. Camp near Seringapatam.—"On the night of the 6th I attacked Tippoo's camp, which was so strong that it would have cost a great many lives if the attempt had been made by day, and as it had the additional defence of the cannon of fort and island, the event might even have been doubtful.

"Two of my columns succeeded most completely; some untoward circumstances impeded that which Meadows commanded, which saved a part of his army, and of his field artillery. I have however possession of the north side of the river and of the greatest part of the island, and I have ruined at least half his infantry, and taken above sixty pieces of cannon.

"We are now preparing vigorously for the siege of the fort, and I trust there can be little doubt of our success, unless Tippoo should consent to such concessions as the Allies think they have a right to require."

MRS. C. CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, February 13. Seymour Place.—". . . Lord Brome is, I assure you, everything you can wish. He has left Eton, and is just now in town to prepare for his journey to Yverdon, where by all accounts he is likely to pass some time to great advantage, in learning French, &c. He grows both stout and tall, and is the picture of health. . . . Lord Townshend is wonderfully recovered in his health within these six months. He is very much flattered at being appointed Lord Lieutenant for the county of Norfolk in the room of Lord Orford."

"I was at Court last Thursday, when the Address from the Commons was presented to the King, in which, as an echo to the speech, there was such honourable mention made of Lord Cornwallis as affected me very much.

"The Bishop found his house at Windsor better than he expected, and his first residence there went off very well. I went with them to Court the day Miss Cornwallis was presented, but they are now so well acquainted with their Royal neighbours that a Drawing-room appears no longer formidable to them."

MARQUIS TOWNSHEND to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, February 14. Weymouth Street.—"I feel myself greatly obliged to you for your favourable account of the situation and conduct of my son William, and for your patronage. Those from Sir Richard Strahan and others have likewise given Lady Townshend and myself great satisfaction. We very early thought his temper and disposition well suited for the navy, as well as his constitution. We are likewise happy that he remains in his present situation, improving in his profession, instead of incurring by his return the risk of a ballot into some societies here of fashionable dissipation.

"Your last accounts from our able and disinterested relation have afforded every good friend to the welfare of this country the warmest hopes of a most honourable conclusion to this expensive and, in my opinion, unavoidable war. Party may refine upon the political situation of Lord Cornwallis, but the honour and confidence which ought to attend the British Government and nation, which must depend upon our good faith and protection of our allies, must fully justify his Lordship's perseverance. Had a Roman General persevered in the reduction of an Asiatic tyrant, the applause would have been universal, even if unsuccessful, and such will attend our relation when the political calculations and attractions of the day subside."

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, February 25. Camp near Seringapatam.—"I send you a copy of the preliminary articles of peace with Tippoo which were signed yesterday, and which I flatter myself you will think advantageous for us.

"There is no forming a judgment at present of the time that will be required before the principal points can be sufficiently settled to admit of my going into the Carnatic, but I hardly think it possible that I should be at Madras before the middle or latter end of April.

"It is my intention to send Madan home with an account of the late operations and of the peace, and I now heartily wish that I had detained the *Vestal* for that purpose. If there should be any sloop in the roads, I may perhaps take the liberty of despatching her. Madan will otherwise go in the first Indiaman.

"I shall write in the strongest terms to beg to be released by having

my successor sent out so as to arrive in Bengal early in the next year, and, as my family will then be reduced to Ross and Haldane, if you should be at liberty to go home about that time in one of the large frigates, I shall be very glad to get a passage with you ; but we can talk of this at Madras, where I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you as soon as I can bid adieu to the dreary wastes of Mysore." *Triplicate, Signed.*

*Enclosing the articles alluded to.*

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, March 19. Camp before Seringapatam.—Notifying to him, officially, that he has this day received "the definitive treaty of peace between the confederate powers and Tippoo Sultaun, signed and duly executed by the latter." *Signed.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1792, March 21. Camp, &c.—"Private. I received only two days ago your letter of the 16th of February, which was a long time on its journey. All is now concluded, the definitive treaty signed (of which I send you official information), and I hope to march on the 26th or 27th from this dreary desert.

"The *Swan* sloop of war arrived a few days ago from England, which she left on the 27th of September, recommending to us to make peace on reasonable terms, notwithstanding our success at Bangalore. All peace in Europe and the 3 per cents. above 89. We have anticipated their wishes about peace.

"I was informed that I might send the *Swan* immediately back with despatches, but as she was near six months coming out, and the *Northumberland* Indiaman, which has made very good passages, was perfectly ready for sea, I thought it better to send Madan and my letters in her, and detain the *Swan* till all the Indiamen of this season have sailed, and till I have an opportunity of consulting you about her.

"I have not answered a letter from Mr. Taylor and some other person, who applied to me as agents in the name of the captors of Fortified Island, to request that I would purchase the Island of them for the Company at the price of 40,000 rupees. Indeed I did not know how to make a serious answer to such a proposal. If there were any military stores there of any value, Abercromby will allow the captors one half of the estimated value according to the regulation, but the Island must be immediately restored to Tippoo.

"I hope to be at Madras by the latter end of next month, and shall expect to have the pleasure of meeting you there as soon as it may be convenient to you." *Signed.*

SIR HORACE MANN to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, March 24.—Recommending Mr. Thomas Baker to his countenance and protection.

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1792, April 6. Camp, forty miles west of Bangalore.—“I had last night the pleasure to receive your letter of the 1st, and was very glad to hear from Apsley that you and all our friends on board the *Minerva* were well. It will be a tedious business to get our guns and stores, and particularly our sick, who I am sorry to say are very numerous, down the Ghauts, and I do not choose to leave the army till it is fairly out of Tippoo's country; I can therefore hardly hope to reach Madras before the tenth of next month at soonest.

“As there will be no Commander-in-Chief on the coast I shall have a good deal of military business to arrange, besides conversations with the Nabob, Tippoo's Vakeels, &c., &c., which must probably detain me at Madras three weeks or a month. I give you this information that you may be more at liberty as to your own measures.

“I have excused myself from accepting an apartment in Sir Charles Oakeley's house, and have requested that he will order a garden house to be taken for me. I long much to see you. Ross and Haldane present their best respects and join with me in desiring to be kindly remembered to King and Whitby.”

SIR R. KING to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, April 9. Dover Street.—“This will be the shortest letter I ever troubled you with, for our hearts are too much swelled with gratitude for your kindness to our son to find words to express it. . . . It is now certain I am to have the Newfoundland station. My ship is to be the *Assistance*. The Admiralty allow me only my Captain and one lieutenant, not the first; the remainder of patronage they retain to themselves. . . .

“Information is just now arrived that the King of Sweden had the contents of a pistol fired into him at a masquerade by a discontented officer. It is said a ball has been extracted, but it is understood the pistol was loaded with nails and slugs besides, and the King's life is in great danger; indeed the general opinion is, that he is not alive now. Report says he was quite collected, and would not suffer the wound to be much attended to until he had settled the Regency on his brother. I do not like these attacks upon Monarchy, being convinced that such as *ours* is the best government. . . .

“All those whose opinion is worth regarding, disapprove of the conduct of the French Captain in the affair with Sir Richard Strachan, and perhaps a check to the constant insolence of that nation could not have happened at a better period.”

LORD HOOD to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, April 28. Admiralty.—You was expected by some in the *Crown*, but not by me, as I took it for granted you would not leave



India before Lord Cornwallis." The daily prints "will convey to you the strange things that have happened and are happening every day. The condition of France is deplorable in the extreme, and it appears to me that the nation is at the eve of its troubles only. God grant that this country may not be involved. . . ."

THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY TO COMMODORE THE  
HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, May 1. Wimpole Street.—"Your business with the French ship went off very well indeed. Mr. Hipposley began to observe upon it, but the Easter recess came on, and the behaviour of France stopped all mouths, and put an end to the whole affair.

"You will be surprised to hear that Dr. Madan is a bishop. Some years ago, he told me he had given over all thoughts of advancement himself, and only wished for a provision for his sons. Conceive therefore my astonishment at hearing from him the other day that he was Bishop of Bristol. How it was done, I know not; the Doctor says, through Pretymen, and his own application repeatedly for a deanery. The appointment does not seem to meet with much approbation, as Dr. Madan is to give up a sinecure of 500*l. per annum*, and a living of 300*l. per annum*, for Bristol, which is a certain 320*l. per annum*, and about as much uncertain. As he is 64 years of age, the measure of acceptance does not seem to have been a very prudent one; however, I have provided nobly for Spencer.

"I have made great purchases in Eye, which will not only render Lord Cornwallis's estate much more compact and extensive, but must strengthen his interest considerably. Had Hutchinson not refused Mr. Thurston's estate, his property there would have been very compact indeed; and his interest irresistible. Hutchinson meant well, but took inadvertently every step to hurt his interest, and prevent its enlargement. Now I think it best either to give the borough up, or endeavour to render it quite secure, and as Lord Cornwallis wishes to keep it, I have fortunately been able to add greatly to his influence. However there is a society established (in which are considerable names and persons of great property and many members of the House of Commons) for reforming Parliament. The plan is to get petitions, as has been done in the slave business, from all quarters against next year. If the French Constitution stands its ground, it will make wonderful changes all over Europe. We shall not, I hope, be drawn into the war which has commenced with the King of Hungary.

"Lord Brome is at Yverdun in Switzerland, and I hope goes on very well. Mr. Hayes is with him, as I should not have been satisfied with his being there without some attendant from hence in case of sickness. .

"Lord Townshend is now quite well.

"Dr. Madan has just been here, out of his wits for joy; as he is so happy, one cannot help feeling satisfied, although the measure seems rash."

JOHN GORE to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, August 18. Bill Hill.—“ . . . I wrote by the first ship that sailed after my arrival in England (the *Earl Talbot*), and hope you have received it and approve of my conduct since I had the misfortune to be obliged to quit the situation, so truly enviable in every respect, under your command. Since that time I have been constantly employed endeavouring to get the better of the complaint which has so long plagued me. . . . I have been here now three weeks, and have found great benefit from the good air and kindness of Admiral and Mrs. Leveson, but an accident has happened within these few days that will, I am sure, affect you equally with myself and all who had the honour of experiencing the Admiral's friendly goodness. . . . The Admiral was in the highest health and spirits imaginable till Tuesday morning last when, in the act of shaving himself [he] was seized with a most violent apoplectic fit, . . . and after an illness of only thirty-one hours, he expired. . . . Your friendship for each other I know, Sir, was great; it will therefore be a comfort to you to know . . . that the state of his affairs are such as will enable the younger children to be extremely well provided for. John Levison has been at home about three weeks, and is a very fine well-disposed young man. . . .

“ You will be much concerned at hearing of the death of General Phillipson. This makes eight seats in Parliament vacant within these three weeks. Mr. Pitt is appointed Warden and Admiral of the Cinque Ports, with a salary of 4,000*l.* a year, in the room of Lord Guilford, who died ten days ago, and the Dukes of Portland and Beaufort are contesting for the Chancellorship of Oxford. The former, it is supposed, will carry it, being supported by the Ministry; and it is likewise much talked of that a coalition will shortly take place and a very strong one. If so, the *great people* in newspapers say a war is certainly to follow, but none mention with whom. An armament, I have heard in this house, is certainly to be ordered in the spring to bring the old Empress to her senses, who is at present persecuting the poor unfortunate Poles in an inhuman manner.

“ Lord Hood is at present at sea. . . . [His ships] are to be reviewed by his Majesty off Weymouth on the 23rd, after which they are to come into port. The *Centurian* is fitting at Chatham for the Jamaica station, and Admiral Levison told me a few days ago that Lord Hood is going there as Governor and Commander-in-Chief. He now has the command at Portsmouth, and Capt. Inglefield is at Jamaica. The *Collosus*, built exactly after the *Canada*, is the crack ship of Lord Hood's fleet, and sails round them all. We have had a fine camp in this neighbourhood lately, which I much fear assisted the untimely end of Admiral Levison, for on the day of review, he went there on horseback at 6 a.m., and did not return home till half-past three, all which time he did not once dismount. . . . The camp was certainly a very fine sight, and amused his Majesty much. . . . Give me leave to congratulate you on the promotion and success of your nephew, Major Charles Madan, who, besides the rank of Major, has been

presented with 2,000*l.* one from Government and one from the East India Company. They have likewise given Captain Osborne 300*l.*

"The state of France is dreadful beyond conception. On Saturday last the decree passed the National Assembly for deposing the King. The mob instantly rose, attacked and demolished the Tuilleries, and all the Swiss Guards who defended the Palais Royal except a hundred were murdered, and other people in Paris who were supposed to be of the King's party, to the number, it is said, of 10,000. The King, Queen, and Royal family escaped to the Assembly and were there protected. They have been removed to another house under a strong guard, where they are to remain till a decree is passed for their execution, which from all accounts seems inevitable. A degree of infatuation has seized upon France, and the people seem hurrying themselves headlong to destruction. Those who have escaped the disorder are come over here, and it is incredible the vast numbers of them there are in this island. The Prussian and Austrian armies have crossed the Rhine, and will be at Paris in about a week; what is then to be done I know not. They are immensely strong, and it is supposed will carry all before them. The French armies consist of rabble and boys, and are altogether unable to stand against veteran and disciplined troops. This I have from a friend who is in France purposely to look on and see the fun."

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1792, Nov. 10. Calcutta. — ". . . Mr. Baldwyn [the Company's agent at Alexandria] talks of England's arming, but I can see no grounds for such a report in the *Courier de l'Europe*, except that Lord Hood was going out with five guardships and a few frigates to practice some new signals. . . . Abercromby cannot, I think, avoid proceeding to extremities against the Malwan Rajah, so that the sooner you send a ship to Bombay, if there should be none already there, the better. . . . We have had a fine rain, and have now the prospect of as good a crop as was ever known in Bengal."

The SAME to the SAME.

1793, March 18. Fort William.—Requesting him, if possible, to return to Bengal before August 20, and to permit the writer to take a passage to England in the *Minerva* about the end of that month.

"EXTRACTS OF THE NEWS."

[1793] March.—Chiefly foreign affairs and naval intelligence.—  
". . . 25 Feb. Paris. Not a bit of bread in the city; great riots. Bankruptcies in London have happened to the amount of five millions. Hull Bank has stopped payment. . . .

Feb. 28.—Paris in an uproar through want of bread. The mob broke open all the tradesmen's houses, set their own prices upon the goods, and plundered everything. . . .

"March 25.—Policies were opened in the city with a great balance that there would be an end of the war, and that a regal government would be established in France in twelve months from Lady Day, 1793. The bankers refused to discount any paper for the present; the alarm in the Royal Exchange is beyond conception. A bankruptcy has taken place in Edinburgh to the amount of 200,000*l*.

. . . Insurgencies and riots are breaking out every day [in France], and several thousands are determined to effect a counter-revolution. A captain of a King's ship said he saw ten sail of French men of war in the Channel. A captain of a French privateer that is taken also says he left Brest harbour in company with ten sail of French men of war and a frigate. The number of prizes taken by each nation, since 1st Feb. to 28 March (for I have counted them all in the papers) are 25 vessels taken by the French, and 52 by the English. . . . I forgot to tell you that no governor was appointed in the place of Sir Charles, and likewise that there were dissensions and riots in several parts of America, as a great many wished for a *convention*, and it was generally supposed that if General Washington was to die, there would be a civil war."

#### OCURRENCES.

[1793, March ?].—Lord Howe to command the Channel Fleet, six vice and rear Admirals to serve with him, his flag in the *Queen Charlotte*, Sir Roger Curtis captain of the fleet. Lord Hood to command in the Mediterranean in the *Victory*; four vice and rear Admirals to serve with him; Sir Hyde Parker as captain of the fleet. Rear Admiral Gardner in the *Queen* was before Brest with a detached squadron of six sail of the line and several frigates, part of the grand fleet. Rear Admiral Gell in the *St. George* was cruising between Cape Finisterre and Maderia, with four sail of the line and one frigate, part of the grand fleet.

"The Channel and North Sea full of frigates. Rear Admiral McBride commands in the Downs, and has the management of the cruising frigates. French Privateers are fitted out, but generally captured before they get half across the Channel. . . . The fleet fitting out with the greatest exertion; every town in England granting bounty to seamen and vying with each other who can obtain the greatest number.

"No alteration in the Administration. The Opposition reduced to a mere fraction; the people of England firmly attached to the constitution . . . and declaring their sentiments in the most public manner. The Duke of Portland with the leading men of that party also supporting Administration against the levelling action, which had nearly broke out into rebellion. The Duke of York with the Guards, 2,000 volunteers, and several regiments of cavalry and infantry, serving in Holland. The army, consisting of the Militia and regiments in England, mostly stationed on the coasts of Sussex, Kent and Norfolk, with an amazing train of light



artillery, part of them on a new construction being used on horse-back, and travel eight miles an hour. [Foreign Intelligence].

"Dumourier menaces the National Convention, used every epithet that could be made use of to the worst of people, said no force then in France could prevent the united armies to be at Paris in three weeks; that he would march with his army in advance, to establish the Dauphin on the throne." *Signed.* Tho. Ley.

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1793. April 4. Calcutta.—"I yesterday received your letter dated the 1st, on quitting the Pilot, and am sorry to find that your plan seems to be a little deranged by my requesting that you would leave the *Ranger* here and take one of the vessels now at the Andamans in her stead. I really did not think that it could make the smallest difference to you, and after the repeated complaints of the Master Attendant and remonstrances of the merchants, and my own representation to the Court of Directors that twelve pilot vessels were absolutely necessary for the safety of the trade at this port, I did not see, in the event of any serious accident, how I could have been justified in leaving it, probably for above a month, with only five, for, of our present number here, three are too bad to venture into the Roads at this boisterous season. . . .

"I agree with you in thinking that Mr. Blair would have been better employed in surveying than in ship-building; but although I wish many of the abuses of the Bombay Marine to be corrected I am of opinion that the situation of the officers of that establishment ought to be liberally considered, as unless they have the means of saving a little money, they can only look forward to death for a termination of an inglorious and wretched exile.

"There is so much difficulty in sending stock down to the mouth of the river, that I believe it will be much the best plan for you to come up to Diamond harbour, and I will accordingly order one of the moorings to be left for you. It will be better that I should embark there, and I will take care to have everything in such readiness that if you come between the 15th and 20th of August to Diamond harbour you shall not be detained long enough there to run the hazard of any material sickness amongst the ship company."

INTELLIGENCE.

1793, April 10. Alexandria.—A summary, by George Baldwin of news received from Europe, concerning affairs in Brabant, Germany and Savoy; the attempt of Lords Portland and Loughborough to "conciliate things" in England, Mr. Fox's resistance and the dwindling of his followers "to almost nothing;" the execution of the King of France, and the horror and indignation roused in England; the proceedings of the National Convention on the movements of Lord Hood's fleet, and the massacre of French in Italy. *Two copies.*

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1793, June 8. Calcutta.—“I have been exceedingly uneasy at having no accounts of you since you quitted the Pilot, but if no accident has happened (which I trust is the case) I think this letter must find you at Madras.

“If we have a war, I conclude that some frigates at least will come out with the notification; and I have recommended to Sir Charles Oakeley, if we are superior at sea, to proceed immediately to the attack of Pondicherry, in which event, I am sure you will readily give all possible assistance by blocking up, &c., &c.

“Unless we have the superiority at sea, I should not wish to engage in the siege, at least till I can come myself to the coast; and, in the event of a war, whether they commence the siege without me or not, I should be glad to get to the coast as soon as I possibly can, and to embark for England the day after Pondicherry is taken. . . .”

The SAME to the SAME.

1793, July 3. Calcutta.—“I was most exceedingly concerned to learn by a letter from Sir C. Oakeley, dated the 23rd of last month, that you had not then arrived at Madras, and that although he had sent an express to Trincomalé, he did not know with any certainty that you was there. With the powers which the *Minerva* possesses both of sailing and fighting, I have no doubt, if you were put on your guard, you would be able to take care of yourself: but, if you should fall in with your two Malabar acquaintances (both of which I understand to be hourly expected from Mauritius) and you should be unprepared and ignorant of the war, the consequences might be fatal.

“As it is of the utmost importance to take Pondicherry before the setting in of the Carnatic monsoon, I have directed that they should commence the siege as soon as they are ready, without waiting for me, but as in the meantime I am all impatience to get to the coast, I must entreat that you will do all you can to promote my wishes in a point which interests me so sensibly.

“We have taken an English built ship in this river that carries eighteen six pounders, and was in the last war fitted out as a sloop of war. I intend that she should carry part of my family and baggage, but I dare not venture myself in any less secure conveyance than a frigate or twenty gun ship, if any such should come out. If nothing should come, you may perhaps fetch me yourself, as I think few objects can be more important for the public service than my speedy arrival on the coast. Blair at present commands my armed vessel, but she shall be heartily at your service if you wish to take her.”

The SAME to the SAME.

1793, July 11. Calcutta.—“I have this moment received your letter of the 27th ult.; and though I greatly rejoice at your arrival at Madras, I am put under considerable difficulties about my passage hither.

"I should be very sorry to fall into the hands of such an enemy but unless a frigate should arrive before the 7th of August, I shall embark in a prize that we have armed, and take my chance, and I trust that, if you hear of enemy's frigates, you will keep the best look out for me that you can. I think we need not fear a privateer. If you should be able to send a vessel in time for me, I am sure you will do it."

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS

1793, July 13. Calcutta.—"When I wrote to you on the 11th I was in great haste, having barely time to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th of June; and I must likewise confess that I felt a considerable degree of mortification and disappointment at seeing so little prospect of my arriving upon the coast in any reasonable time.

"Having however reflected seriously on the impression which my capture would probably make on the native Powers, and the dangerous consequences with which it might be attended to the British interests in India, I do not think that I should be justifiable in embarking in a vessel which, by herself, would barely be a match for a stout privateer and would be an easy prey to two of no great force.

"I know that I may depend upon your accommodating me with a frigate, if the circumstances of the service can possibly admit of it; but if that should be impracticable, I have requested Sir C. Oakeley (unless he should hear from you that the French frigates are coming in force into the Bay) to send the *Triton* or some Indiaman of that size for me, as I think that our armed sloop, in company with an Indiaman well manned with artillery men, would not only be a match for any privateer force, but for one of the smaller frigates. If, on the contrary, you should have good reason to believe that the ships you heard of at Mauritius have arrived in the Bay, there would be no safety for me but in a frigate, and you will not forget me."

The SAME to the SAME.

1793, August 3. Calcutta.—"I yesterday received your very kind letter by Manning, and notwithstanding my own anxiety, am well convinced that you could not have acted otherwise, and I am very glad that you decided to take the part you have done, and I most earnestly hope you will succeed."

"By the great exertions of Captain Lewis of the *Woodcote*, and of Mr. Gillet the builder, that vessel will drop down from Chanfa Ghaut on the 11th, and will I trust be at Kedjezee by the 18th, although she must stop to take in some rice at Diamond harbor to bring her down in the water. She carries 26 nine-pounders and 6 fours, and will carry seventy-five European artillery men, and many gun Lascars. Blair in the *Bien Aimée* carries 25 artillery men and as many Lascars, and eighteen six-pounders."

"I give out that I shall go in the *Woodcote*, and shall proceed her to Kedjezee, where I mean with two of my family to remove."

privately to the *Bien Aimée*, and as the latter is supposed to be the fastest sailer, and as the two ships are to keep company, if we should, contrary to all probability, meet with a superior force, I must be very unfortunate if I cannot escape.

"I think that, without being too sanguine, I may hope to reach Madras in eighteen days from Kedjezee, as the current at the end of August sets near shore pretty strong to the southward, and the wind is variable. If I can proceed by sea to Pondicherry without landing at Madras, it will save both time and trouble, but I shall not attempt it without hearing from you. Three armed transports with Artillery men, Lascars, and stores, will sail about the same time that I do; but I intend only that the *Woodcote* and *Bien Aimée* should keep company.

"The *Drake*, Bombay cruiser, will join you about this time, and will, I trust, prove very acceptable to you as a tender. From what Manning tells me of the *Concord*, I think I shall order her to be sold; and as I cannot remove Blair so near the time of our sailing without putting things into some confusion, and running the risk of losing men, I propose that Manning and the Lieutenant shall return in the *Woodcote*, and the men be divided according to convenience between the two ships; and, as soon as we arrive, I will send the *Bien Aimée* to you, to be taken into the service if you like her, or put Manning into her at Madras if we land there, as you may direct. You will easily conceive that I am anxious for Manning's promotion. Be so good as to send letters and instructions for me to Madras."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1793, September 15. Madras.—"As you have generally been in the practice of coming on shore early in the morning, it is probable that you do not intend to visit us to-day; and as we dine to-morrow with Sir Charles Oakeley, I shall not expect to see you before Tuesday. My only wish is, with temper and good humour (although I cannot with cheerfulness) to touch briefly on the subjects you have mentioned; and I feel so perfectly guiltless on every article, that I can hardly doubt my success in placing my conduct before you in a very different light from that in which you have hitherto seen it.

"No consideration should induce me to be the cause of your doing what does not appear to be right in your own mind, and I have therefore determined to take my passage in the *Swallow*, unless you should be relieved or ordered home before the period of our leaving this place; in which case I should with great pleasure go with you. But as that is very unlikely, I shall probably only have to request you will see us safe off the land."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1793, December 17. St. Helena.—"We arrived here on the 15th, without having seen a single sail from the time you parted from us till we made this island.



"I have met with newspapers here as late as the beginning of July, but do not find that any material event had happened in Europe, or that any ships of war had sailed for India.

"Your stay on the evening that you came on board the *Swallow* was so short that I omitted speaking to you about Williamson's desire of visiting England. There can in my opinion be no professional objection to it; but as it is probable that the new military regulations for the Indian army will not only give a greater facility to the officers of the Company's service to visit their native country but enable them also to do it without resigning the service or forfeiting their pay, it may be as well that he should wait to see how that business is finally arranged.

"We have met with some delay in watering here, on account of the very extraordinary violence of the surf, but hope to get away to-morrow or next day.

"You may depend on my writing to you as soon as I arrive in England. I enclose a letter for you which I found here from the Bishop, which I suppose is of a very old date."

LORD HOOD to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1794, May 21. *Victory*, off Bastia.—"Accept my most sincere congratulations on your return to England, and I hope and trust in the most perfect health. I confess myself greatly your debtor for the several letters you have had the goodness to write me, which I have had no opportunity of answering, and feel myself particularly obliged for your attention to my young friend Gosselin. From a sense of your kindness to me in many instances, previous to my knowledge of your having made Gosselin a Captain, I took the very earliest opportunity I had of giving post to Captain Cunningham whom your good brother the Bishop recommended to me for employment before the war.

"I have been engaged in very busy scenes, and have had difficulties innumerable to struggle with, but, thank God, have very happily surmounted them all.

"May 22. Bastia has surrendered."

CAPT. HORATIO NELSON to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, London.

1794, May 23. Bastia.—"My dear friend, I congratulate you most sincerely on your return to England, and shall rejoice to see you there. Our friend Lord Hood, you will know, has been thwarted in this country in his endeavours to take Bastia, but to his honour with the troops embark'd to serve as marines, 40 artillery men and marines, 1,000 effective men, join'd to a close blockade, he has accomplish'd his object. We, who know his judgment, which is unaffected fears can warp, will not be surprised that success is the consequence. Our loss you will see has been most trifling. Believe me with sincerest friendship, your most faithful Horatio Nelson."

THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY to ADMIRAL the HON.  
WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, at Plymouth.

1795, June 27.—“As the papers give us an account of your having had some occupation in your cruise, probably you may soon return to refit. What I have heard of this matter at present was highly satisfactory, but it did not go to the conclusion, which I have no doubt was gratifying to you. . . .

“After having written so far, the post came in with your letter, the copy of one from Lady Spencer, and of one from a Captain of your fleet. You may, I hope, conceive what sensations the high approbation which your conduct has met with gives me; and how truly happy it has made me. Next week I am to confirm at several places in this neighbourhood, and, the week following, I shall set out on my Derbyshire visitation.”

ADMIRAL J. FORBES to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1795, June 27. London.—“I should be wanting to myself if I did not attempt to express my sincere rejoicing on the success of your late transactions, and congratulating you on your recent accession of glory and fame.

“Though the public are used to expect much from you, they could not possibly expect what is not in the nature of things, that with all your acknowledged firmness and abilities, you should repulse an enemy near three times stronger than yourself, and sailing better, and thereby make a retreat deserving of a triumph.

“The happy incident had almost turned the head of your very sincere and affectionate friend, Mr. Pole. He came to me, and ran about the whole day to communicate it to your friends, and having copied an account of it from a letter from Captain Stopford, he could not proceed in reading it to me without frequent interruptions from tears of joy.”

EARL HOWE to VICE-ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1795, June 28. London.—Acknowledging his letter, containing the information that he had met with the French fleet, from which the ships under his command had escaped with great difficulty, and that he had put into Cawsand Bay.

SIR CHARLES SAXTON to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1795, June 28. Portsmouth Yard.—“We have had such various accounts of your *rencontre* with the enemy that we hardly know which to believe, but you will readily believe that we cleave to that which flatters our wishes most, and for the detail and particulars we will wait till your squadron arrives here. In the meantime we cannot help offering our earnest congratulations that you are so very honourably out of the scrape, of which nobody seems to have the smallest inclination to dispute, and are perfectly quiet and confident that in this instance our naval character has suffered no diminution, nor [is] in the least degree impaired, but has experienced

every addition of glory and honour that could be derived from the event under all its circumstances.

"We expect to see you every hour, and are big with expectation that Lord Bridport will be fortunate enough to finish a work you so nobly began. Since writing the above the news, imperfectly also detailed to us, of my Lord Bridport's success following (and in consequence), so close upon the heels of your own, has just now reached Portsmouth, and set us all agog."

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS

1795, June 28. Warley Camp.—"I most sincerely wish you joy and assure you that your conduct in your late *rencontre* with the French fleet will do you more honour, in the mind of every reflecting man in this kingdom, than ten ordinary victories with equal or superior force.

"When Mr. Windham expressed his apprehensions lest you should fall in with the enemy, when we first received an account of their force and of their steering towards the line where you were supposed to be cruising, I ventured to say to him, 'you need not be much afraid, it will not be easy to get him into a scrape.' As I understand that you are going to sea very soon, and may perhaps not receive this letter, I shall only add my most earnest wishes for your welfare and success."

W. W. POLE [afterwards Earl of Mornington] to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1795, June 29. Hanover Square.—"I cannot resist writing you a few lines to congratulate you from my heart upon your late glorious proceedings with the French fleet. You will easily believe that there was no man in England made more, or, I should rather say so happy by the accounts of your success as I was; though I flatter myself no person alive had a better right not to be surprised at it. Indeed it so happened that when I heard the French fleet was at sea and apprehensions were entertained for your safety, I predicted the consequences in case you met them pretty much as they fell out. Your letter, which I read with delight in Saturday's *Gazette*, reminded me of old times, and it is no small gratification to me to hear all the world applaud the clearness and modesty of your accounts, at the same time that they do justice to the forcible and handsome manner in which you write of the conduct of the ship under your command. I can scarce bring myself to feel that I am not still under your protection, but, though circumstances have long withdrawn me from it, I shall ever consider your fame and fortune as things nearest my heart. For be assured, dear Sir, that if my own father had distinguished himself as you have done, he could not have felt more happy than I do.

"I know you hate flattery, but when a man feels as I do he cannot refrain from expressing some of his convictions, and I rely upon the goodness which in former days has excused many of my errors, to forgive my troubling you with my praises, which, however, I won't allow to be flattery, for they are sincere."

THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY to ADMIRAL the HON.  
WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1795, June 29. Eccleshall.—“I cannot help repeating the satisfaction which I feel at the very favourable manner in which your conduct is generally received, and the thanks, which I saw yesterday in the paper, do you the greatest credit. At the birthday, the Queen enquired much after you, and was very civil about you. . . .

“This place is so improved I hardly knew it, and in another two years will be quite comfortable. I observe that Mr. Whitby has a vast number of young beeches and other trees to spare, which, as they are so near, would be very useful. He offered me, when he lived at Cresswell, any number of them, but I did not want them. Now they would be very desirable, and I *cannot ask* for them. The son has now been in action and, I hope, has satisfied you; indeed I do not doubt it. I shall have great pleasure in shewing this place to you, when I have finished it.”

EARL HOWE to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1795, June 30. Porters Lodge.—“Private. Not informed of any other circumstances besides those contained in your letter to which my official answer was sent two days since, I was ignorant until I went to town yesterday of the just subject of congratulation which the conduct of your little squadron, when in the most perilous situation, establishes your title to, in public acknowledgment.

“That you will be apprised of it from higher and more acceptable authorities I have no doubt, but I could not, on such an occasion, omit the tender of my mite of applause.”

SIR CHARLES MIDDLETON to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1795, July 4. Hertfort Street.—“Private. I should have congratulated you much sooner on your very judicious and honourable retreat from so superior a force of the enemy, but have been confined with the gout.

“I have read your journal with the utmost satisfaction, and it is proposed to bind it up separate, to be kept at the Admiralty as a model of professional conduct.”

HENRY ADDINGTON to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1795, November 11. Palace Yard.—“I have the honour of transmitting to you the enclosed resolutions, which express the high and unanimous sense entertained by the House of Commons of your judicious and gallant conduct on the 16th and 17th days of June last, when in the presence of a superior fleet of the enemy; and likewise of the spirited exertions of the officers, seamen, marines and soldiers, who served under your command on those days. Allow me to assure you, that I have great satisfaction in obeying the commands of the House, by conveying to you this distinguished testimony of the approbation and gratitude of your country.”



[SIR] C. S[AXTON] to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS,  
Wimpole Street.

1796, September 18. Portsmouth.—I will send what is due to you for your servants and retinue to Mr. Kingdom. “He is one of the principal clerks, and in the place of Nelson, the now Secretary at the Navy Office. . . .

“The *Juste* sailed yesterday, but without her proper Commander, our friend Tom\*, who was, like one or two others lately, most unluckily taken ill within twelve hours after he received his orders for the West Indies. . . . I hope he will soon do well again, as it is said his *Shelala* friends was not easily prevailed upon to go to sea without their old and much esteemed commander. . . .

“Since I wrote the above, I have seen St. P., who would make believe that Tom is exceedingly angry with Lord Hu[gh Seymour] for ordering his ship to sea so hastily, and that he says they might have stayed four and twenty hours, to see whether a man got better or not. But *quere*? Is he really angry, and is not it all grimace on all sides. 5 p.m.—I sent this moment to inquire how he did, and received for answer, a great deal better. If so, perhaps he may follow her to Plymouth, where she stops.

LORD NELSON to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1799, January 31. Palermo.—“Nothing could give me more pleasure than receiving a wish from my very old acquaintance, who has more than once saved my life by his friendship and taught me by his example to beat the French. My honors, my riches, the gift of a gracious sovereign and my country, are beyond my deserts, yet believe me, my dear friend, I see but little real happiness for me on this side the grave, and when it shall please God to call me I shall go with pleasure. Ever, ever believe me your oblig’d, faithful, and affectionate friend, Nelson.

You may rely on my attention to Mr. Rich<sup>rs</sup>.”

ELIZABETH CORNWALLIS to her Uncle, ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Aldwick, near Chichester.

1799, June 6, Hill Street.—“I shall feel really anxious to hear of the safe arrival of Lady Louisa Brome and her child in Ireland. I think the expedition somewhat dangerous for them both. . . . Lady M. and Mr. Singleton are still in town. She was very angry at not being asked to the Queen’s ball. . . . My ears have hardly recovered the royal review on the birthday. James saw it, he says it was as fine a sight as *John Bull* could wish for, and that many emigrants were there and seemed struck with it. . . . All the world is mad about the new play, called *Pizarro*. James went to the door last night, but found it impossible to squeeze his little person in. I like your fancying the sailors would have forgot you. The lower orders are not always quite so forgetful as the *higher* in my opinion. Do not call me a *democrat* for saying this.”

\* The Hon. Thomas Pakenham.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1799, June 19. Hill Street.—“ Captain Whitby dined here on Sunday. He seems very much occupied with his ship ; I imagine he is at this moment otherwise engaged, in preparing for a great masquerade which the Duchess of Marlborough is to give to-night. Lady M. and Mr. Singleton are come up from Cavenham on purpose to be there. . . . Lord and Lady Carnarvon were robbed a few days ago in coming from the Bishop of Winchester’s at Chelsea, where they had dined. My father was of the party, but fortunately escaped the *salute* upon his return. I should fear this will rather thin the galas at Winchester House.”

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1800, June 13. Phoenix Park.—“ Our Union business is now happily over, and I have the satisfaction to say that there is no appearance of ill-humour or disturbance in any part of the island, or even in Dublin where it was most unpopular. Several of the most respectable, although by no means the least violent of the opposition, have declared that, since the measure has received the sanction of the Legislature, they would support it with as much zeal as they would maintain any other law of the land.

“ This important event has totally changed the relative situation of this country, and if the English Government act wisely, those evils which have brought not only Ireland but the whole British Empire to the brink of destruction, may, in the course of a few years be entirely removed.

“ I cannot venture to look forward to any precise time for my own deliverance, and am much afraid that it cannot come as soon as I wish. But I feel that I grow old, and it is natural for me, after having been employed so long in situations of labour and anxiety, to look with impatience for the hour of quiet and retirement.”

## The SAME to the SAME.

1800, December 16. Phoenix Park.—“ The report of my having the gout was occasioned by the sort of attack to which I have been subject for near thirty years, of swelling in one of my feet or ankles for three or four days, unaccompanied with the inflammation and painful symptoms which attend the gout. You may remember my being lame for a day or two on board of the *Isis*. Whenever people see a man walk lame, they immediately cry out that it is the gout. For my part, I am pretty indifferent about these matters. If a man of 62 can go quietly off the stage without pain, he has no right to be dissatisfied.

“ I have had no concern about the peerages given to the Admirals ; those matters are done in England, but I assisted your old acquaintance Lord Charles Fitzgerald, who was abandoned by his brother on account of difference in politics, and would I believe have been put to some inconvenience if he had been reduced to the state of an unprivileged man.

"Letters of civility have passed between Gardner and myself but it is not likely that we should meet unless I go to Cork.

"Your landlord, Sir John D'Oyley, dined with me the other day and seemed to think that he was fortunate in having so good a tenant.

"Matters look as ill as possible in the north, and in Germany. God only knows how we shall weather our present difficulties. I confess that for a long time I have been given to despond. Whoever tells you of my being in good spirits, knows very little what passes in my breast. It is the duty of persons who have so odious a part as mine assigned to them, to keep up appearances."

E. CORNWALLIS to her uncle, ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1801, beginning of], Sunday. Bath.—I have been very nearly dying of a fever. "You know it is unfashionable to be ill and quite obsolete to die. I suppose the fear of my being detected in such disgraceful proceedings operated in Hill Street, as the whole family went to the Drawing Room just when Sir Horace and the physician expected that their letters would have brought them here. . . .

"Sir Horace [Mann]\* is laid up with the gout. He always haunts about this time of the year, but he bears it with his usual good temper and cheerfulness, and seems pleased with our efforts to nurse and amuse him.

"Irish affairs prosper, I fancy; but when we receive the member from thence, we shall want a new House of Lords, as ours overflowed already with Mr. Pitt's peers."

EARL ST. VINCENT to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS

1801, February 22. Mortimer Street.—Recommending Vice Admiral Gambier, who desires to serve under Cornwallis's command. The Board are obliged to take the *Russell* and *Magnificent* away to make up Sir Hyde Parker's squadron, but will send others instead very soon.

The SAME to the SAME, at Torbay.

1801, March 28. Admiralty.—"I never did give credit to the intention of the combined fleet to measure with ours, until within these few days; but, on combining the intelligence from every quarter, I do in my conscience believe you will have the honour and happiness of finishing the war, by a glorious achievement."

The SAME to the SAME.

1801, April 20. Admiralty.—"Upon a review of Captain D'Auvergne's intelligence, and coupling it with the observation made by Captain Cunningham of the *Clyde*, than whom I do not know a more correct officer, I incline to your opinion that your squadron should not be separated in the manner recommended by the Board, and I have the happiness to know that every individual

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\* Cousin of the writer. Succeeded his uncle as baronet in 1786.

member reposes the same confidence in your judgment, zeal, and ability that I do, and agrees with me in a full approbation of the disposition you have made of your frigates and advanced squadron under the orders of Sir James Saumarez, to keep up a communication between Brest and the body of your squadron.

"I am glad you were able to detach Sir Edward Pellew so immediately; the *Majestic* and *Orion* will supply the places of your crippled ships, and I trust we shall soon be able to send you two more."

*Postscript.*—"Since writing my letter Lieutenant Colonel Stewart is arrived with accounts of an armistice having been concluded on the 9th instant with the Court of Denmark, suspending hostilities on the coast of Finland and Jutland only for fourteen weeks, and fourteen days' notice, at the expiration of the aforementioned term, before hostilities are committed by any party; the Court of Denmark agreeing to suspend during that period her co-operation under the treaty of armed neutrality."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1801, June 20. Admiralty.—"I hope you will do me the honour to accept of a medal which I have caused to be struck to commemorate the exemplary conduct of the officers, seamen and marines of the *Ville de Paris*, in the late trying times."

#### VISCOUNT HOOD to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1801, August 31. Royal College, Greenwich.—"Private . . . My friend Nelson, at his last attack at Boulogne, appears to have taken the bull by the horns, and to have sacrificed a great number of lives without an adequate object, for the bringing off a few gunboats could not be one, for they could be replaced within a fortnight. This, I am told, is generally said in town, where I go very seldom. His Lordship since that has made no other attempt, which I suppose may be recommended to him, so as not to irritate, at the moment a favourable dispatch was expected from Bonaparte respecting peace, which is not yet come; but I think a few days must determine whether the sword is to be sheathed, or war continued. My fears are we shall have no peace but such a one as I shall view as a very serious misfortune instead of a blessing, until you have beaten the combined fleet at Brest. Therefore cease blocking the port; and tempt it out. I have ever held that opinion, and am persuaded the war has been prolonged by the blockade. A temporary one, under particular circumstances, may not only be prudent but perfectly wise; but a perpetual one must bear us down, which the French know as well as we, and that I conceive will make against a good peace."

"I feel very sensibly your very flattering expressions respecting my relation Sam Hood. I had a letter from him off Cape Spartel two days after his conflict with *l'Indomtable*. He, his officers, and ship's company were exceedingly jaded by their exertions in getting the *Venerable* to rights after the affair off Alguzaries [Algeziras],



and in the action off Cadiz, he had not 500 men able to come to quarters. I therefore long for another letter from him after he gets to Gibraltar and has been a few days quiet, for as long as the mind has full employment the fatigues of the body are not felt; this I know from experience."

EARL ST. VINCENT to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1801, September 2. Admiralty.—"I feel a considerable degree of delicacy in communicating to you my apprehension that the change my relation Captain Whitby has thought fit to make in the economy of the *Ville de Paris* may occasion dissatisfaction on board her. Without entering into the merits of the case, which probably are in favour of the new system, we found so much advantage from the quiet disposition of the people, their good manners, and apparent detestation of the licentious and mutinous conduct of many of the ships of the Channel fleet, that it was thought advisable not to brace them up too tight; and it is much to be feared that any material alteration in the modes they have been so long accustomed to, will occasion ill-humour and consequent evils. I am sure you will do me the justice to believe that nothing short of my anxious desire that the utmost harmony should prevail in the fleet you so ably command, more particularly in the ship bearing your flag, would have prompted me to make this communication, which is intended for your private ear, and to be acted upon, or not, as you shall judge expedient."

The SAME to the SAME.

1801, September 7. Admiralty.—". . . Every officer and person you wish to be removed from the *Ville de Paris* shall be otherwise disposed of and succeeded by those of your choice. I am extremely concerned to learn that there has been any impropriety in the conduct of Captain Sutton towards you, the more so as I had described him, as I really thought, propriety itself. . ."

The SAME to the SAME.

1801, October 2. Admiralty.—"The preliminaries of peace were signed last night, and I have infinite satisfaction in acquainting you that your brother, the Marquis, will negotiate the definitive treaty. The moment the preliminaries are exchanged, you will receive directions for the disposal of the fleet. Torbay, a port in Ireland, and Cawsand Bay will probably be the principal points until the definitive treaty is signed, which I will thank you to keep to yourself."

The SAME to the SAME.

1801, November 3. Admiralty.—"I have derived the highest degree of satisfaction from your obliging letter of the 1st, and shall always consider your having been placed at the head of the Channel fleet as an event of the greatest importance to the country at large, and of the most solid comfort to me."

## The SAME to the SAME.

1801, November 9. Admiralty.—Complaining of the slovenly conduct of the port officers touching cartels, and observing that Admiral Villaret “is in luck not to have been discovered, as his treatment must have been that of a spy.”

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1801, November 10. Paris.—“I this morning received your letter dated the 1st from Torbay, and am happy to find that you had got into port before the dreadful gales of the 2nd and 4th. I have long considered peace to be necessary for the preservation of our country, and I did not therefore feel myself at liberty to refuse the mission when it was pressed upon me, although nothing could be more disagreeable to me.

“Admiral de Bruix, with whom I dined at Talleyrand’s, spoke of your conduct off Belleisle in the highest terms, and added that, although he felt mortified at being deprived of a victory which he considered as certain, he had some satisfaction in seeing you obtain the success which your conduct so truly deserved.

“Should a dissolution take place, of which I know nothing but report, I hope you will again represent the borough of Eye.”

JAMES CORNWALLIS to his Uncle, ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1802, February 16. Hill Street.—Concerning his sister’s approaching marriage to Mr. Warde Jackson.

EARL ST. VINCENT to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1802, April 1. Admiralty.—“The French have seen, felt, and understood so much of your character, that their’s must be changed materially if they face you in preference to your very sincere and obedient servant.”

## The SAME to the SAME.

1802, April 10. Rochetts.—“I am sorry to have kept you so long in Torbay, which has been occasioned entirely by the apprehension of some disorders among the seamen, arising out of their impatience to be liberated, a disgrace I have felt confident we should not experience while your flag was flying. . . .”

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1802, December 21. Culford.—“You mentioned some time ago that you thought you should be in town about Christmas, and gave us some reason to hope that you would visit Culford about that time. We propose to remain here till February (except that I may go up to attend the birthday) and shall be glad to see you whenever it may be agreeable and convenient to you to come.

“Mrs. Young, the widow of the Bishop of Clonfert, whom I made a bishop entirely on account of his great talents and exemplary character, and for no political reason whatever, has expressed a wish that I should get her son employed as midshipman. If it should fall in your way, without putting yourself to the least inconvenience, to recommend him to any friend of yours who happens to be in commission, I shall be obliged to you. I enclose an account of his services.”

ADMIRALTY COMMISSIONERS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Admiral of the Blue.

1803, May 16.—Desiring him to take the *Victory* (Captain Sutton) under his command.

#### THE BLOCKADE OF BREST.

1803, May–December.—A series of letters from the Naval Commanders engaged in the blockade, almost all of which, of any importance, have been printed by the Navy Records Society, in *Despatches and Letters relating to the Blockade of Brest*, Vol. I. There are 26 letters from Rear Admiral Collingwood, 5 from Sir Edward Pellew, 2 severally from Admiral Montague, Rear Admiral Campbell and Captain Lord Æmilius Beauclerk, and single letters from Captains Elphinstone, W. H. Jervis, and T. R. Ricketts.

WILLIAM MARSDEN to VICE-ADMIRAL LORD VISCOUNT NELSON.

1803, May 18. Admiralty.—Informing him that in case Admiral Cornwallis does not need the *Victory*, the Commissioners have desired the Admiral to put it under his Lordship's command; who may either shift his flag into it or proceed in the *Amphion*, directing the *Victory* to accompany him, as he thinks proper. *Signed*.

WILLIAM MARSDEN to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1803, May 18. Admiralty.—The letter alluded to <sup>in</sup> above “*Printed in The Blockade of Brest*,” i. 12.

WILLIAM MARSDEN to VICE-ADMIRAL LORD VISCOUNT NELSON.

1803, May 19. Admiralty Office.—Acknowledging his letter (informing them that he has hoisted his flag on board the *Victory*) and desiring him on no account to pass Admiral Cornwallis, so as to run any chance of depriving him of the service of the *Victory*, if he wishes for her. “*Printed in The Blockade of Brest*,” i. 13.

VISCOUNT NELSON to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1803, May 23. *Victory*, at sea.—“I have the honour to transmit you the directions of the Admiralty for my joining you off Brest, but as I have not been so fortunate as to meet you, and the whole business of the Mediterranean waiting my arrival, I have judged

it proper to shift my flag to the *Amphion* and to proceed in her. If you have no commands for the *Victory*, I trust you will order her to join me without a moment's loss of time." *Signed, but signature cut out.*

ADMIRALTY COMMISSIONERS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1803, May 30.—Desiring him to take Rear Admiral Collingwood—who is to shift his flag to the *Venerable*—under his command. *Signed by Lord St. Vincent, Sir Philip Stephens and Sir Thomas Troubridge.*

VISCOUNT NELSON to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Commander-in-Chief, Channel Fleet.

1803, July 31. *Victory*, off Toulon.—“The *Victory* joined me last night, having been, *via* Malta, seven weeks from Gibraltar. I can only say to you thanks for not taking the *Victory* from me; it was like yourself and very unlike many others which you and I know. She has been tolerably successful, and indeed except the *Amphion* the only ship under my command who have taken any thing of any consideration.

“The Admiralty not allowing me to come out in the *Victory* direct from Portsmouth has lost the capture of two 74's, and probably two frigates, and perhaps by this time of much more.

“The fleet here upon paper are very formidable, but in fact the *Victory*, *Bellisle*, and *Donegal* are the only ships fit to keep the sea; the rest are unfit for service until docked, although amongst the finest and certainly best-manned ships in our service.

“I have at this moment only four sail to watch the French fleet; the rest are in port refitting. The squadron in Toulon is 7 of the line, 5 or 6 frigates, and 6 or 7 corvettes, perfectly ready for sea. and whenever they come out, which they will do whenever they have an object worth fighting for (I do not mean to say that they will merely think us an object worth coming out to fight, I never saw a Frenchman yet fight for fighting's sake, and I do not believe they will now begin). I have with me an *élève* of yours who I esteem most highly, not only as an active officer, but as a gentleman; his ship is always perfectly ready for any service, and he executes it in the best style, and I am sure that Captain Whitby will give me support in the true Cornwallis style should the French come out.

“With, my dear friend, my most ardent wishes for your meeting the French fleet, and for your health, believe me ever, with the sincerest regard, your most obliged and faithful friend, Nelson and Bronté.”

REAR-ADMIRAL CUTHBERT COLLINGWOOD to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1803, August 9. *Venerable*.—“I am feeling very much obliged to you for your kindness in allowing me a choice of the ship to hoist my flag in the absence of the *Venerable*. Any ship has good accommodation for me; and as the *Royal Sovereign* is better kept further



off shore than the rest of the squadron generally are, I intend to go on board the *Minotaur*. Besides, their Lordships might think I was pointing out a great ship for myself which they have allotted for some other officer, and I would not wish them to think so; but what determined me is, I can do the business better in the *Minotaur*.

"I shall take an early opportunity of going on board the *Boadicea* and making the enquiry; but, the *Sirius* not being present, I shall hear but one side of the question. Captain Prowse, in his letter to me, says the *Boadicea* attempted to wear clear of him, but did not go off sufficiently to clear him.

"Captain de Courcy has been a good deal in this service formerly, and is a very vigilant officer; if Hammond is not able to return to his command, she cannot be in better hands.

"I was much concerned to receive your information of the state of Dublin; in consequence I ordered a return of the different nations of which the ships' companies were composed. We have in the *Venerable* far the largest proportion of Irish, having 187 seamen, and 11 marines. In completing the complements this circumstance should be a consideration, as the times are."

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR ROBERT CALDER to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1803, November 1. *Prince of Wales*. Cawsand Bay.—Regretting that although he got the dock-yard men to work on Sunday, he fears his ship will not be ready to sail before Sunday or Monday. Is short of 118 men, and can get none where he is, but some are expected from Liverpool. The *Northumberland* is also very short of men, though in other respects ready.

REAR-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1803, December 21. *Venerable*. Cawsand Bay.—In answer to his letter of the 17th inst., the Admiralty have ordered his ship to be docked and re-fitted. This is a great disappointment to him, for he fears it will be long before he can join the fleet, unless their Lordships will appoint him another ship. The *Colossus* and *Neptune* are ready, and only wait for a fair wind.

ELIZABETH CORNWALLIS to her Uncle, ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1803 ?], Monday. Hill Street.—Announcing the breaking off of her engagement to Mr. Jackson, "the young man having in plain, cool terms" informed her "that it would no longer conduce to his happiness." She feels it a fine lesson in humility that the faithful affection of six years should have so ended.

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, January 9. Culford.—"I have felt much for you during the difficult and trying situations in which you have been lately placed.

"My first wish when you sailed from Torbay was that you would find the French fleet on the outside of the harbour, and have sufficient strength and opportunity to render, at least as far as those ships were concerned, all further blockading unnecessary. In failure of this, my next was gratified, by your having been able again to turn the key upon them.

"Ships however, and men too, must give way at last, and God only knows how all this business is to end.

"In the meantime you are the most popular man in England, and although some men may actually despise the voice of the public, or others may affect to do so, yet, after all, it is no very displeasing sensation for a man to know that his conduct is universally approved and admired."

EVAN NEPEAN to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, January 20. Admiralty Office.—Sending him a copy of a letter received by Lord Hawkesbury from Mr. Frere, his Majesty's minister at Madrid. *Letter and enclosure both printed in "The Blockade of Brest," i., 252.*

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES COTTON to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, January 30. *San Josef*. Cawsand Bay.—Stating that the weather has been a great hindrance to them. The *Culloden*, however, is ready for sea except her water, and will join the squadron as soon as completed.

REAR-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, February 14. *Culloden*.—"I shifted my flag to this ship on Sunday the 5th . . . This cold weather is a very agreeable change to me, for the constant wet and scanty clothing of this ship's company was increasing our sick list. If the French were waiting for a wind to come out, they cannot have one more favourable than this ; but I think we are rather stronger than they would wish."

VISCOUNT NELSON to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Commander-in-Chief, &c.

1804, February 14. *Victory*.—"Where your kind letter of September 27th has been travelling to I cannot guess ; it only reached me a few days ago, with the Admiralty order to allow Whitby to go to England, he being appointed to the *Ville de Paris*, and another Captain appointed to the *Bellisle*. However, as Captain Hargood is not arrived I have recommended Whitby to remain a short time longer in order to reap the harvest of all his toils in the *Bellisle* ; he has had an uphill work in her, and I should wish him to reap the fruit of his labours alongside a Frenchman. I expect them every hour to put to sea ; they have ten sail ready

or nearly so. What a dreadful winter you have had, my dear friend ; we must not compare our Mediterranean weather with that of the Channel. That you may very soon see the French outside of Brest is the fervent wish of your most obliged and sincere friend."

*Postscript.*—"I can assure [you] I am not singular in regretting the loss of Whitby from our little squadron ; it is universal." *Printed in Clarke and M'Arthur's "Life of Nelson."*

VISCOUNT NELSON to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS

1804, March 19. *Victory*.—"Nothing but the desire to get Whitby to you could have induced me to send a ship to Gibraltar, for my distress for small ships is greater than can be conceived ; but I assure you there is nothing I would not readily do to meet your wishes. I sincerely hope that the French will soon give us both a meeting ; the result ought not to be doubted ; and then from my heart I hope that villain Buonaparte will be upset, and that we may have a permanent peace. It is really shocking that *one* animal should disturb the repose of Europe, who I believe wish for peace.

"In parting with Captain Whitby I part with an indefatigable officer who has had a hard task in the *Bellisle*, which he has left in good order.

"With every sincere good wish for your health and complete success, Believe me, my dear friend, your much obliged and affectionate, Nelson and Bronté."

REAR-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, April 6. *Culloden*.—Regrets to report that his ship is very short of fuel, Capt. Reynolds informing him that there are only 12 bushels left, which is about four days' firing. The purser states that 45 quarters were sent on board by him at Plymouth (which should be sufficient for 180 days), and since he [Collingwood] came into the ship they have been regularly issued, therefore the great consumption must have been before he arrived.

SIR JOHN PERRING, LORD MAYOR, to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, April 9. Mansion House.—Enclosing a resolution of the Corporation of London, offering their thanks to Admiral Cornwallis and the rest of the Fleet. *Printed in the "Blockade of Brest,"* i., 301.

CAPTAIN W. H. JERVIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, April 10. Bath.—Announcing the happy result of his court martial\*, and thanking the Admiral for writing so kindly of him to his uncle [Lord St. Vincent].

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\* Upon the loss of his ship, the *Magnificent*.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1804, May 1. Plymouth Sound.—Expressing his pleasure at being appointed to the *Niobe*, which he owes to the kind way in which the Admiral represented his conduct to the Admiralty.

ADMIRALTY COMMISSIONERS to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS,  
Admiral of the White.

1804, May 8.—Informing him that they have ordered the Earl of Southesk, rear-Admiral of the White, to repair “off Brest,” hoist his flag on board the *Britannia*, and put himself under Cornwallis’s command. *Signed*.

REAR-ADMIRAL ALEXANDER COCHRANE to ADMIRAL the HON.  
WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, May 13. *Northumberland*. Off Ferrol.—Acknowledging a copy of the vote of thanks from the Corporation of London to the squadron, with other papers, and stating that they are getting very short of provisions.

## The SAME to the SAME.

1804, May 26. *Northumberland*. Off Ferrol.—Has had a hard battle to fight with the dishonest practices of the people there, but if he could be supplied with bread and coals, would feel perfectly independent. *Printed in* “Blockade of Brest,” i., 334.

[HENRY DUNDAS] VISCOUNT MELVILLE to ADMIRAL the HON.  
WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, June 4. Admiralty.—“I have last night the honour of your obliging letter. I shall probably soon have occasion to write to you on an important subject connected with the service in which you are now engaged; but I would not delay a moment in answer to yours to assure you that, on every ground, public and private, it will give me much satisfaction to render the arduous service on which you are placed as agreeable and comfortable to you as circumstances admit of; and, besides your official letters, I will be happy to receive from you such private communications as you may be disposed to lay before me.

“I thank you for your congratulations on my appointment to my present situation. Having obeyed the King’s commands in accepting it, I will not allow myself to look back; but when I contemplate all the difficulties which surround the extensive and complicated task I have undertaken, you will not suppose me insensible to the obstacles I have to surmount, and the exertions which the country has a right to expect from me. Under those circumstances I cannot pretend to be perfectly at ease.”

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, June 7. Burlington Street.—“. . . Things have been long in a very unpleasant state here, but within the last three or



four days the King is very materially better, and we begin to hope that all will go on in the natural course.

"I have neither seen the Ministers nor the ex-Ministers since I wrote last. A number of changes in the Household and in other departments have taken place, for which I am totally at a loss to account. We propose to remove to Culford in ten days, where I shall remain all the summer. Brome will join his regiment of militia at Ipswich at the end of this month, and take Lady Louisa and his children with him, and I shall dose quietly upon the shelf at home."

VISCOUNT MELVILLE to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, July 10. Admiralty.—"Confidential. On Captain Puget's plan for destroying the French Fleet by means of fire-ships. *Printed in "Blockade of Brest," ii., 8.*" *Duplicate, signed.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1804, July 14. Admiralty.—Suggesting the possible objectives of the ships which appear to be about to come out of Brest. *Printed in "Blockade of Brest," i., 366.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1804, July 29. Wimbledon.—"Private. You will of course feel that, in common with the other members of the Board of Admiralty, I participated in the satisfaction of receiving your letter of the 26th expressive of your readiness to return (at any moment, and on board any ship they might direct) to your command. I cannot help troubling you with a few private words on the subject. I should be indeed of all men the most unreasonable if I was even to entertain, far less express, a wish for your return one moment sooner than suits your own convenience. All therefore I can permit myself to say upon the subject is, that as you must have a daily correspondence with your fleet, and are best acquainted with the character and efficiency of those you have left behind you, so, by these considerations, I am certain your conduct will be regulated. As I have the highest respect for the professional talents of those on whom the command has devolved, I must be at ease on that score; but, on the other hand, you must be aware that, without depreciating the merits of any other officer, you possess the confidence of the country in the important trust which is now placed in your hands, and I am perfectly certain you will not be absent from the discharge of that trust at any moment you think it essential to the public service that you should be there. You have given too many eminent proofs of that feeling to leave a doubt of it in the mind of any person. . . .

"I have a great desire to hold a conversation with you before you return to your command, and it will be no inconvenience to me to run down to you at any time you let me know it would most suit your convenience.

"I am not unmindful of your wishes respecting Captain Gosselin. I have reserved in my own mind the *Latona* for him, and the moment she comes forward, which will be soon, he shall be appointed to her."

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, August 12. Culford.—"If afforded me great satisfaction to learn that you had so pleasant an interview with Lord Melville. I acted several years under the direction of the Board at which he presided, and I can truly say that I never met with a more fair and honourable man.

"It was very handsome on your part to offer to go out in the manner you did, notwithstanding you had so extraordinary a claim to a little respite; but if your health is equal to it, I think you judged very wisely, and I am very glad that you have now got Whitby for your Captain.

"Gosselin has, I find, the command of the *Latona*, in which ship Skelton is appointed a lieutenant. I took the liberty from our former acquaintance to give the latter a line of introduction to his captain.

"Brome and Lady Louisa are at Hull, and I am left with the care of the children, which is, I think, a very proper occupation for an old general that is laid by. It is not however quite without its anxieties, as we have continual alarms of hooping-cough, et cetera.

"Nothing could be more unpopular with the generality of your brethren in the service than the example you set by staying out so long, and I truly believe it will not be much followed."

#### ORDER OF BATTLE.

1804, November 17. Off Ushant. *Ville de Paris*. Signed by Admiral Cornwallis, and addressed to the Earl of Southesk

REAR-ADMIRAL COCHRANE to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, November 25. *Northumberland*. Off Ferrol.—Concerning his fleet, the garrisons of Ferrol and Corunna, &c., &c. *Printed in "Blockade of Brest,"* ii., 130.

LORD MELVILLE to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, December 1. Wimbledon.—Thanking him for his spontaneous kindness in forwarding his son-in-law, the Lord Chief Baron of Scotland [Robert Saunders Dundas], on his voyage to Madeira.

R. DUNDAS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, December 5. *Illustrious*. Near Ferroll.—Stating that Sir Charles Hamilton had stood for Brest, in order to put him on board the *Naiad*, but the wind being directly against them, he had persuaded Sir Charles to give up the attempt. The *Egyptian* being to sail in a few days, Admiral Cochrane has kindly offered to desire Capt. Fleming to put him ashore at Madeira.

ELIZABETH CORNWALLIS to her Uncle, ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1804 ?], December 12.—“Your letter of Saturday last has just reached me. I do not like the naval part at all. . . . I cannot help fearing by this intended arrangement, that though you may come when you please, it will not be so easy to resume the command at a better season. It is very extraordinary that the *Chief* should not know the constitutional character, I may call it, of officers so high in professional rank. I have no idea of a *hypochondriac* Admiral’s keeping such a fleet to work through a long winter, and then, if anything goes wrong it will be said that you should have stayed. •I *almost* wish you could brave it. . . .

“James says that Addington vows he will never speak to Pitt again; the *lie* of the day, very likely, as its news often proves. I am going to the ball to-night for the first time, with Lady Fielding and a pleasant party.”

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1804, December 26. Bath. “ . . . I went yesterday to call upon a good lady, a Lichfield clergyman’s wife, and what should there be upon her sofa but Lady Nelson, with a lameness like a sprain, by her manner of walking, which she immediately did out of the room, poor creature! I felt ashamed of my red eyes for *tiny* sorrows in comparison with hers, and longed to support her down the stairs had I not been a stranger to her. . . .”

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, January 3. Culford.—“You will be surprised to hear that I am once more going to Bengal. This task is undertaken by me at the earnest request of the Ministers and the leading men in the Court of Directors; and when I am told that I may essentially serve my country, and know that by the same means I am likely to assist my family, you will agree with me, I think, that there are few enjoyments or comforts in this world for a man of sixty-six, that can be put in competition with these objects.”

ADMIRAL COCHRANE to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, January 5. *Northumberland*, at sea.—“The *Lucy* lugger joined me yesterday, having two days before captured the Spanish brig *Santander*, from La Vera Cruz, bound to Santander with a valuable cargo, besides 112,457 dollars and some plate. I enclose such information as I have been enabled to obtain from that vessel, and I have stationed the squadron in such a situation, both for their mutual support and to intercept the enemy’s ships, as I trust will be attended with success.

“Yesterday morning the *Repulse* boarded an American brig four days from Lisbon, the master of which informed Capt. Legge that, ten days before, he saw at Lisbon the Declaration of war by Spain against Great Britain. This, joined to the former intelligence

which I sent by the *Pickle*, and the *Lucy* lugger having been fired at by a Spanish fort and nearly struck by the shot, although her colours were hoisted, leaves me no doubt that war now exists."

The SAME to the SAME.

1805, January 10. *Northumberland*.—In my letter by his Majesty's schooner *Pickle*,\* I informed you I had received intelligence from Corunna that war existed between this country and Great Britain, since which I wrote you by the *Santander*, a vessel detained by this squadron. I have now to state the accounts yesterday received from Ferrol, accompanied by a translation of part of the Madrid Government Gazette of the 28th *ult.*, being a proclamation from the Prince of Peace in his new capacity of generalissimo and director of the present war between Spain and Great Britain. I have further to add that my informant stated that he had not seen any declaration of war, although orders had been given for some time past to begin hostilities. He also says that accounts had arrived at Ferrol of one English merchant ship from Gibraltar having been carried into Cadiz, where a very rich ship from Lima had also arrived in safety.

"What relates to Ferrol is as follows:—General Francis Antonio Filangieri, natural brother of the King of Spain, has arrived there to take command of the troops, where ten thousand men are already assembled. Ten thousand French troops are on their march from France to add to the garrison. It is expected that the combined army is to be under the command of a French General, and a French Admiral of high rank is said to be intended for the command of the two squadrons.

"The registered seamen are ordered in from the out ports to man the Spanish squadron. Three of the French ships are ready, but the *Fougeux* and *Redoubtable* is in the Arsenal and cannot be completed just now for want of timber. There is great want of all species of stores and provisions, with which they are expected to be supplied by neutrals. Six hundred French soldiers and seamen now garrison the Castle of San Philippe; the French seem to have taken the superintendence of almost every department. A French engineer is fortifying St. Pedro Bay, where the squadron used to anchor and procure water; two bomb batteries are erecting there, and one at point Coitelada.

"The Dutch ship *Olden Barnevelt* has been given up to the French, who mean to repair her in the Arsenal. Her crew go by land to Holland by the way of France, at least they leave Ferrol by land. I however suspect that they will afterwards be sent home by neutral vessels.

"An officer I sent in with a flag of truce yesterday to Ferrol reports to me that a movement has taken place in the Arsenal, for instead of five Spanish line of battle ships, he could observe only three. It is very probable that the two that are missing are now at anchor in the harbour, as they are complete in everything for sea except men and provisions.

\* Dated January 1. Printed in *The Blockade of Brest*, ii., 145.



12 January, at sea.—Since writing the above, I have spoke to a Ragusean polacre, which vessel left Ferrol yesterday. He confirms the suspicions entertained by the officer I sent with the flag of truce and says that two of the line of battle ships had come out of the Arsenal into the Road, to be completed for sea.

14 January, at sea.—The weather has been so very bad for some days past as to prevent me from having any communication with the rest of the squadron. I now take the first opening to send off the *Minotaur*, not having either frigate or small vessel with me, the *Lucy* lugger having been sent to warn the frigates off Vigo of the war, from which service she is not yet returned. Should you order the *Minotaur* back, I beg to propose that as much bread should be put on board of her as she can stow, and an additional quantity of spirits.

*Enclosing :*

1. A long proclamation by the "Prince of Peace" accusing England of having broken amity by taking three of the King's frigates and making prisoners a regiment of infantry on board, which "robberies and treacheries" were committed at a time when the Spanish King had given permission of trade to English vessels, and every possible succour to their ships of war. He calls upon the seamen and soldiers to avenge their brethren, slain or made prisoners on a desert island, and upon the whole nation of "generous Spaniards" to take that vengeance which their King commands, and honour and justice call for. They have not forgotten, though the English may have done, that the blood which flows in their veins is the same that has overcome Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals and Moors, and the world will yet see augmented the great number of Castilian heroes. The nobleness and magnanimity of the Spanish character cannot survive without taking vengeance for the great affronts of England, yet without following them in actions "not allowed by cultivated nations, who have not lost their honour and good conduct." Nations with smaller forces than theirs have happily overthrown a greater force; the whole people must be encouraged by their governors, prelates and chiefs politic to do their duty and to inflict every possible damage upon the enemy. Age and important affairs do not permit their Sovereign to take an active part in this arduous enterprise, but he will always be willing to help them by his treasure and his good counsel, and it is hoped that the elements themselves will be ready for the execution of their ideas.

2. *Admiral Cochrane to the Governor of Ferrol*.—Stating that as—from information received from the Captain General of Galacia and others, and also from "the conduct displayed from the fort in Dominos Bay of the 28th, by firing several shots at his Britannic Majesty's lugger *Lucy*, although her colours were flying—he can have no doubt but that the Spanish Government has declared war against Great Britain,

he has felt it his duty to give orders to his squadron to detain all Spanish vessels and send them to England, in pursuance whereof three vessels have been met with and sent to Plymouth. But desiring to alleviate unpleasantness to individuals, he sends into Ferrol five Spanish subjects to be at his Excellency's disposal, for whom he begs a receipt. Jan. 10, 1805. *Copy.*

3. The Governor of Ferrol to Admiral Cochrane.—Thanking him for sending the Spanish prisoners, but begging him in future to send the cartels to Corunna, as the Captain General of the province is there. Jan. 10, 1805. *Translation.*

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, March 25. Burlington Street.—“I have received your letter, and am glad to find that you intend coming to town so soon. You named, however, rather an early day, I believe even for your own preparations; and what with ministers, despatches, and various other circumstances, I should think it would be probably nearer to the 14th than the seventh, before we reach Portsmouth. I wish, however, very much to be off, for, as it is, I am plagued to death from morning till night, and, to add to my misfortunes, poor Robinson, my secretary, is not well, and can afford me no assistance. All here are well; Brome and Lady Louisa desire to be kindly remembered. My compliments and best wishes to Captain and Mrs. Whitby. What a comfort it must be to her that he came home just at this time. I have sincerely pitied her during his long absence.

“I have got a Bengal writership for a son of Mrs. Warde's, and he will go out with me in the *Medusa*.”

SIR J. DUCKWORTH to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, July 5. Manchester Street.—“Finding you have again hoisted your flag, I hope you will not deem me presumptive in expressing a wish, if consistent with your feelings, you will gratify Captain King and myself by getting *L'Achille* to serve under your command. As he was brought up in your school, it would be arrogance in me to attempt to point out his merits as an officer; but, as a tribute due, I can assure you that his ship, when I visited her in Cawsand [Bay, exceeded m]y most sanguine expectations for one recently [commissioned]. Should the *Acasta* or *Endymion*, Captains Dunn and E. Durnford King, be under your command, as they have both been my captains, and the former will serve with me if ever I am indulged to hoist my flag again, which the present Admiralty don't seem disposed to admit, I ever must be interested in their success, and I beg to introduce them to you as officers of judgment and decision to execute your orders.

“The French having lately been in the habit of risking squadrons at sea, I hope ere long they will afford you an opportunity of con-

vincing them of their temerity. Happy should I be had it been my lot to be made a participator under you in whatever service might occur."

SIR ROBERT CALDER to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, July 23. *Prince of Wales*, off Ferrol.—Giving an account of his success against the combined fleets of France and Spain on the previous day. *Printed in* "The Blockade of Brest," ii., 311.

VISCOUNT NELSON to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Commander-in-Chief, &c.

1805, July 27. *Victory*, off Cape St. Mary's.—"My dear friend, The enemy's fleet from the West Indies being certainly gone to some port in the Bay, I am proceeding to the northward with eleven sail of the line. I shall either call off Cape Clear, or proceed direct off Ushant to form a junction with you, as circumstances may in my judgment (from intelligence) require. I shall only hope, after all my long pursuit of *my* enemy, that I may arrive at the moment they are meeting you, for my very wretched state of health will force me to get on shore for a little while. I am ever, my dear friend, your most faithful and attached, Nelson and Brontë."

*Holograph. Printed in Nelson's Despatches and Letters* (vi., 500) *from a copy.*

LORD BARHAM to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, August 1. Admiralty.—"To guard against any misfortune that may arise from the want of line of battleships during the absence of Lord Nelson, we have ordered every one that can be got ready to be manned from the frigates and small craft, to join you without a moment's delay; and such as may not be in such a state of forwardness will be completed as soon as possible. . . ."

The SAME to the SAME.

[1805, August, early in. Admiralty].—"We are hurrying out to you as fast as possible every ship in port where men can be had. Ferrol is the great object till our East India and West India fleets are arrived, and which may be in the course of a fortnight. The heavy frigates, as far as you can spare them, cannot be employed better than meeting them towards the coast of Ireland.

"We have this moment received yours, and you have entered completely into my views.

"We shall make you up 20 for your own force as soon as we are able, but the Downs must be kept strong during the height of the spring as the Dutch are in great force at the Texel and the flotilla too numerous to be dealt [with] without some heavy ships. We have no doubt of the Rochfort ships being at Ferrol."

The SAME to the SAME.

1805, August 10. Admiralty.—"Private. I just write one line to apprise you that the Ministers look to an invasion soon, and have

given directions to prepare all the military corps. I have done the same privately to the Admirals at all the ports, that they may be prepared to give every kind of assistance to our naval force in the Channel.

"I take it for granted you will take a near station during the spring tides, in order to reinforce the eastern force, if necessary.

"The Dutch can only get to sea at the height of the spring, and which is the time to guard against.

"At present we are very strong in that quarter, and your ships in port are getting ready as fast as possible."

#### THE SAME to the SAME.

1805, August 15. Admiralty.—"I had wrote you a private instruction, when we first heard of the Rochfort squadron being at sea, to send four ships of the line to intercept them, but the alarm from the eastward obliged us to send those ships to Lord Keith which would otherwise have come to you.

"It is truly mortifying not to be able to seize such opportunities when they offer, and it will be my study to keep your fleet as strong in numbers as possible, so as to allow you to detach squadrons for annoying the enemy, as often as you hear of their being in your neighbourhood, without waiting for orders from hence.

"I have put the supply of stores, provisions, and water under Admiral Patton's direction, and, as our preparations at Falmouth are in great forwardness, I hope no complaints will be made on that score.

"I need not inform you that, in order to detach speedily, at least eight or ten sail should be kept constantly complete, and the stores drawn as low as possible from the ships sent in to refit.

"As the western squadron is the main spring from which all offensive operations must proceed, it shall be my care to keep it as strong and effective as possible, but till more men can be procured we cannot look to much success.

"I observe by the weekly accounts of your squadron that some ships are very short in their numbers, while others are full. I submit therefore to you, whether it may not be advisable to take a few from those who are best manned, and give them to such as are most in want.

"The enemy to the eastward are active in appearance, but as many things must concur to bring such an armament to sea, they cannot attack us unobserved.

"I hope you have an opportunity of communicating frequently with Sir John Sumerus [? Sir James Saumarez], so that your information of an attack to the eastward may be as early as possible, in case your assistance should become necessary."

*Postscript.*—"We know nothing of Lord Nelson. You will of course send in the ships that have been in action as frequently as we can send you fresh ones, so that the whole may be kept in as active a condition as possible. It is my wish that every ship's copper should be looked at in a dock once in two years if possible; and as soon as my arrangements are completed, I hope to effect it."



## LORD VISCOUNT NELSON.

1805, August 15.—Report of the state of the ships under his command, the state of their provisions, &c., and health of their companies. The *Victory* requires looking at, and the *Canopus*, *Belleisle* and *Donegal* require docking, before winter. The *Superb* is greatly in want of docking and a new foremast, the *Spartiale* has been on shore and requires looking at; the *Spencer*, *Conqueror*, *Tigre*, *Leviathan* and *Swiftsure* are fit for service. There is much scurvy on the *Belleisle*, but little on any other of the vessels. *Signature cut out.*

LORD BARHAM to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, August 16. Admiralty.—“If Admiral Nugent will represent his situation to the Board, I will prevent, as far as I am able, any other appointment till you can please yourself without its being pressed upon you.

“We are hastening the ships out as fast as possible, and I conclude your object will be to keep near Ushant and prevent a junction till Lord Nelson arrives. The combined fleet cannot put to sea immediately, but you do wise in collecting our force from that Port and Rochford.”

The SAME to the SAME.

Same date.—Having just received the enclosed from the Chairman of the East India Company, I send it for your information, and as you will naturally have frigates watching the Ferrol ships, you may probably have it in your power to detach a force equal to theirs in case they should have heard of the expected arrival of this fleet and send anything out to intercept them. They will have two 64s and a frigate with them.

ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, Oct. 26. *Euryalus*, off Cadiz.—“I have the very great pleasure to inform you that the combined fleet was engaged by the British squadron on Monday, 21st, off Trafalgar, and totally defeated, 19 sail of the line taken and burnt. Admiral Villeneuve, the Commander-in-Chief, is now on board the *Euryalus*, where I have hoisted my flag, the better to direct the operations of the squadron, my own ship *Sovereign* being dismasted and a complete wreck.

“The 22nd a gale began which has increased untill to-day, and the prizes being all heavy hulks, with their sides much battered, I really believe they have all sunk—or will.

“Sorry I am to tell you that the noble Commander-in-Chief fell in the action; but he will live in the memories of all who knew him as long as they have being. This gale has ruined me, and I am under the greatest apprehensions now for my own ships—whether they would be able to keep off the land. In short my strength is exhausted.

*Postscript.*—“Four flag officers I understand are captured. Villeneuve is with me, Vice-Admiral D’Aliva [Alava] is dead;

Rear-Admiral Cisneros, in the *Prince*; Rear-Admiral Magon, I am told, is amongst the captives, but I do not know where.\* Cantermine, commissaire of troops, is also in the *Prince*. Gravina and Dumanoir went off with 10 sail to Cadiz. Four Frenchmen went off to the southward. I will do the best I can."

SIR RICHARD J. STRACHAN to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS,  
Admiral and Commander-in-Chief.

1805, November [7 ?] *Cæsar*, off Ushant, 10 leagues W. N.W.—  
"I hasten off the *Phœnix* to inform you of our victory over four unlucky French ships of the line which fell in our way. On the 2nd instant we saw six sail, and cannot conceive which way the two others went. The French disown their being their companions. I think it necessary to give you this intelligence as speedy as possible that you may have the power to take steps to intercept any more of the enemy's ships from Cadiz which may be coming this way, and I should have sent a ship sooner if I had not thought it necessary to keep all the strength we had, having missed the *Bellona*, and still hoping to intercept the Rochfort or any other squadron we might fall in with, expecting, if the Rochfort squadron fought as well as these have done, that the three-decker might make it a fatiguing amusement. I am quite pleased with all the frigates, and Gardner is really a hero himself, but *in confidence*, I am vexed at Captain Lee's letting the young men to leeward take possession of the *Scipion*, a ship which I believe kept her colours up longer than she otherwise would, on purpose to strike to him. [Margin. The *Revolutionnaire* and *Phœnix* contended who should first get on board.] I have, however, settled all jealousies by giving out a memorandum of thanks in which all have an equal share of praise. She had been in the first part of the action engaged by bearer [Capt. Baker, of the *Phœnix*], and has suffered greatly, and indeed so have they all. From beginning to end the line was close, and each ship fell in her station except the *Scipion*, which dropped to leeward, having lost her main top-mast. The French Admiral, a clever man, is wounded, and one captain killed. We have lost no person of note, and, except the first lieutenant of the *Courageux*, I know of none wounded. As yet I have not been able to get regular returns. We have only four killed and twenty-three wounded. I am by no means certain this will reach you, Sir, or I should send you my journal and account of my proceedings which, as I have not a copy of, it will be inconvenient not to have with me in case you should not be off Brest. We have frequently heard of the Rochfort squadron, but have never been able to get a sight of them. They are not in Vigo, and the weather has prevented our looking lately at Ferrol. When last reconnoitred, a French frigate was at Corunna, and a large ship just seen and then lost sight of at Ferrol. I have been so miserable at my ill fortune that rather than return empty handed we had intended to attack the enemy in Vigo, had winds suited and weather been favourable to go in and out without

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\* Magon was killed; Alava dangerously wounded, but got away to Cadiz.

being obliged to tack in the narrows. Captain Maitland of the *Loire* had volunteered his assistance. He is a fine fellow ; he would not leave us, and parted by accident a few days before *Phoenix* brought the French squadron to us. The *Pomona* hung about us (and also parted by accident), all of them thinking that some good luck would at last attend us ; and if we had not had so many ships with us this action might have been thought a good thing, for we had just as much fighting as if we had been without frigates. They have all suffered some how or other, and have been extremely active in assisting in securing the prizes. The *Cæsar* was so much disabled that we could not get a boat out till yesterday. Few of the prisoners are taken out, and these are mostly in the frigates ; the others being left to pump. The *Mont Blanc* makes so much water that it is with great labour we keep her free. The *Courageux* was ordered to take her in tow, having suffered much less in comparison than the other large ships ; and as they are all damaged in their masts, yards, and rigging, it is necessary they should go into port. The *Santa Margarita* is leaky from shot. I am therefore proceeding with them all to Plymouth, and will, upon my arrival, urge the Port Admiral to hasten them to join you, and you will, I dare say, Sir, do me the justice to believe I shall not be happy until I am again near you, and ready, in the event of an action, to shew my gratitude by supporting the *Ville de Paris*, as her second ought to do. I do not know any event would give me more pleasure. I shall also beg the Admiral to hasten the re-equipment of the ships of the line. The *Hero* and *Cæsar* are the only ships that will require re-masting ; ours, except mizen mast, we have had some difficulty in keeping up.

“ I had forgot to mention that the French have troops on board, and I understand most of the other ships had which sailed from Cadiz ; and we have no account of their killed and wounded, but it is considerable. They fired high, which accounts for our little loss ; and as we were all mingled together at one time, we picked up each other's shot. We were at one time between the *Mont Blanc* and *Duquay Trowin*, and the *Hero* on the other side, so that her musketry came on board us.

“ Lord William Fitzroy is just come on board, and says the *Mont Blanc* has 63 killed and 96 wounded. I dare say the others are as bad. They are all handsome ships, painted in stripes, well manned, and were extremely well managed. You will, I know, Sir, forgive this unconnected and badly written letter, but I wish to hasten off the *Phoenix* that you may receive this intelligence without delay, and I wish, at the same time, to give you every information. I was in hopes, and am not a little disappointed, at not falling in with the fleet ; you would be pleased to see our addition to the squadron.

“ I cannot conceive how the *Bellona* came to lose company ; the rendezvous was made last by signal, off Cape Finisterre (52). So I conclude he will cruise there for us until further orders. I will not take up more of your time, but beg to assure you that you have been the means of restoring me to life, for my heart was breaking. Good God, while I live I shall ever revere you with the most heartfelt gratitude.”

ADMIRAL SIR RICHARD J. STRACHAN to ADMIRAL the HON.  
WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, November 23. *Cæsar*.—"I cannot let my official letters go to you without again assuring you how much you have obliged me by your kind letters, and I feel it more because I have received nothing like it. It is in vain for me to express what I feel; I will not attempt it. The most pleasing event since my arrival is the receiving orders to serve in the fleet under your auspices. I am sorry to find Lord William Fitzroy has got himself removed from under your command. If it has rested with himself, I shall set him down in my list of weak men; after the late affair, it was his duty to endeavour to remain for ever where he had been so fortunately placed. He was more in the way of gaining honour, and not less in the way of riches. I think I have already said it was never my intention he should have gone to London, but was sent by Admiral Young, he having earnestly requested it of him.

"The copy of my official letter to you was sent open to Admiral Young, and he was desired to seal and forward it with its accompanying letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty; for it did not strike me that the service we had performed was of sufficient consequence to send any particular person with the account of it. It was my intention to have left such person, if necessary, to your choice, and for that reason, I wished to join the fleet. The necessity of apprizing Admiral Young of our approach, that pilots might be out ready, was my reason for sending in the *Æolus*, and I trust you will see the propriety of it. I am also sorry Captain Baker has left the *Phoenix*; he has got into the vortex of a great circle, but how it may answer, he is himself the best judge; it will not make him a better sea-officer.

"I have a letter from Lord Garlies hinting that no promotion of any officer will take place till after the Cadiz arrangements are made. I am sorry for this; the making the first lieutenant is a compliment to the ship's crew as well as the Captain, and it is not near so grateful to their feelings by being delayed. A sailor likes his punishment or his reward at the moment he thinks he deserves it. I do not believe that Lord Garlies is much in the secret of what the Board may intend to do, and it would be a vain endeavour to attempt to extract anything from Lord Barham or Admiral Gambier this cold weather.

"The Admiralty have favoured me by the appointment, at his and my request, of Captain Shortland to the *Cæsar*. He has the reputation of being a good officer, and fitted out the *Donegal* for me; he joined to-day.

"It has been hinted to me by Admiral Young that I may hoist my flag in the *Foudroyant*. I should not dislike the change if it was not for leaving our people, and I hope we shall not be long before we get out; therefore remaining where I am will not make much difference, and as it has not been offered to me, it is hardly worth while to ask little favours which, when granted, may be considered great ones by the Board.

"I send this by the *Princess Royal* or *Prince George*, whichever sails first, and I hope, Sir, you will not disapprove of my sending



the logged narrative of my proceedings by the same conveyance, it being uncertain when I shall join; and you will, of course, wish to know what we have been doing while so long absent from you. I wish we had been more successful by falling in with the Rochfort squadron."

SIR RICHARD J. STRACHAN to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, November 27. *Cæsar*.—"I have again to express my gratitude to you for the kind letter you have just sent me; it is in vain for me to attempt to express my feelings, my respect, and how much I am obliged. The Admiralty have given me a week's leave of absence, and I am just going to avail myself of it. The ships are fitting out with all the dispatch in the power of their respective captains, and I hope soon to be down and to join you. The *Cæsar* will be ready as soon as any; they are beginning to rig as fast as they fit it; by the next week all the ships will be in great forwardness, but there are so many ships fitting out, and the yard has so much to do, that we meet with unavoidable delays. I do not think with you that there will be nothing more to do. On the contrary, I think Bonaparte will be tempted to force his fleet out, or send them in detachments to annoy our trade or distant possessions. I have great hopes the Brest fleet may come out, that you may have the pleasure of giving an account of them; and I think it likely they may endeavour to send it to the Mediterranean to form a junction with the Spanish and French at Toulon, where they are now too weak to effect anything, but, being joined by the Brest fleet or large detachment from it, may, if they get to that country, give us some trouble. The hope of this may induce the French to run some risk.

"I dread the thought of our navy having nothing to do. Idleness will gain a greater victory over us than all our enemies combined; and, if the fleet is once allowed to lay in port any time, we shall lose all that excellent order which is now so well established.

"I hope always to be under your command, and that you never *will leave us* while the war continues. I am sure we shall have something to do; it generally happens when least expected."

WILLIAM THOMAS FITZGERALD to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, December 28. 19 Upper Seymour Street, Portman Square.—"Though I have not the pleasure of your acquaintance, I will make no apology for requesting your acceptance of my poem, as it is upon a subject which interests all, from the Prince to the peasant! And I am confident that every tribute of the heart to the immortal Nelson must be peculiarly acceptable to the distinguished gallant veteran whom England with gratitude and admiration has long beheld in the midst of wintry storms, more awful than the cannon's thunder, blocking up the fleets of France in her own harbour, and bidding them defiance under the batteries of her shores. Such is the answer Cornwallis gives to the vain glorious Corsican's threats of invasion."

EARL ST. VINCENT to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1806 ?].—Will with pleasure take young Symonds under his protection and get him a commission, if he passes his examination before the peace arrives ; the more especially as the young man's father and himself were shipmates fifty-four years ago. *Imperfect.*

JOHN GORE to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, January 23. *Medusa*, at sea.—“ When a man has a painful duty imposed on him to afflict the feelings of a friend by communicating intelligence of the most distressing nature, the state of his mind may offer some excuse for his style.

“ The sudden transition from cold to excessive heat, and from systematic exercise to a sedentary life, affected the health of the great, good, and revered Marquis Cornwallis, during the first stage of our voyage to India ; and the very anxious and arduous duties his Lordship had to engage in upon his arrival at Calcutta, afforded little leisure to attend to his health.

“ In pursuit of the grand object of his Lordship's voyage to India (where his wisdom, moderation, and justice were as well known and relied on as to afford the most confidential hope that his Lordship would be able to restore the affairs of the East India Company to the state of prosperity in which he left them in 1793) his Lordship left Calcutta soon after his arrival, in order to post himself at the head of the army and effect a peace with the chiefs of the Mahratta Powers ; and, although extremely ill, his Lordship persevered in hopes that by reaching a cooler climate his disorder (an irritation of the stomach and bowels) would cease.

“ At Ghazepore his Lordship became so ill that his family found it necessary to stop, and after lingering four days, though without pain, this truly illustrious, exalted, and excellent nobleman breathed his last on the 5th October, 1805.

“ Great Britain will long mourn the loss of her most brilliant ornament, and the world at large one of its best men.”

MRS. CHARLOTTE NUGENT to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Commander-in-Chief of Channel Fleet, Torbay.

1806, January 23. London.—“ I suppose you know the present history of this town ; most extraordinary it is. Before I close this letter I shall have to add the death of Mr. Pitt. He has been manly and resigned in his illness. Yesterday morning he asked his physicians how long they thought he had to live ? and being told that it was uncertain, and recovery out of the question, he received the sacrament and prayed very fervently with the Bishop of Lincoln ; then doing the necessary business previous to this *last* journey. I feel glad that he should have paid necessary attention to religion, for, as a man of his superior talents is supposed to investigate all subjects, so these last acts will affect the minds of the public and give good impressions. The eyes of all sides are fixed on Charles Fox, and I hear no other person named in the slightest degree.

The present Admiralty, I hear, are making their arrangements of *congé*; and Lord St. Vincent, who is in perfect health, I conceive will return to that Board as first Lord of the Admiralty. In no case do I believe they would have remained in, for the cry is violent among the navy against them, and they really have treated Baker, Sir Richard Strachan and others like delinquents; Lord Barham, as I hear, holding the language 'that it was his duty to make people do theirs, because it was their duty.' This sounds *very fine, magnificent*, and let us add nonsensical; for if it was possible that mortals should or could be taught to be so virtuous as to look to no rewards, and if such duties were to be taught, 83 was too advanced an age to enforce new maxims, and that is Lord Barham's age.

"I begun by telling you that before I closed my letter I should inform you of Mr. Pitt's death. I had a note this minute to say that this event took place at Putney, at half an hour after four o'clock this morning. He was in perfect possession of his senses, and shewed the same strong mind to the last. The confusion of the town, the consternation at the present situation of affairs, is not to be told. I conceive Mr. Fox and the present Opposition must come in. Mr. Addington's state of health puts his return to office out of the question. The Opposition differ highly among themselves. The Grenvilles are for the continuation of the war; Mr. Fox for peace. I trust some rising men will rise up to inspire us with hope. At present, Mr. Fox alone seems to arrest the public voice, and I understand his health is bad likewise, and that he shews no inclination to return to office."

*Postscript.*—"Dr. Bailey has been right in his opinion of Mr. Pitt's illness being an atrophy. Lord James Townshend passed with *éclat* for a Lieutenant. Lord Townshend wrote to Lord Barham to ask him to make him a Lieutenant; what would you say if I assert that this was refused? When you consider Lord Townshend's services, his respectability, is it not incredible? Lady Townshend is very indignant, but likewise hurt to death about it."

CHARLES, 2nd MARQUIS CORNWALLIS, to his uncle, ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1806], February 3. Culford.—"I sincerely thank you for your kind letter, which you may well imagine found us here in real affliction. Time can alone alleviate the sorrow felt for one so well and so justly beloved, but no time will obliterate his memory from the hearts of his friends, nor, I think indeed, from the minds of the country at large. Your situation will not, I hope, be rendered unpleasant by the change in the Admiralty. The times are truly alarming, and any mismanagement of that department would be nearly fatal."

EARL ST. VINCENT to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, February 5. Mortimer Street.—"Secret and confidential. Some months after Mr. Pitt came into office the last time, a request was made to me by his Cabinet, through Lord Sidmouth, to take

the command of the fleet, which I spurned at, unless Mr. Pitt unsaid all he had said in the House of Commons against me ; and, lest any unfavourable impression should have been made upon the mind of the King on this refusal, I asked an audience at Windsor, and humbly submitted that, although my life was at the disposal of his Majesty and of my country, I was the guardian of my own honour, and could not trust it in the hands of Mr. Pitt, after the treatment I had received from him. I am now called upon to serve, and, in the state the empire is reduced to, I feel it an imperious duty to obey the call, with only one repugnance which arises out of the high respect and esteem I have for you ; and I beg you will rest assured that every possible delicacy and attention will be paid to your zealous services, for no man regards you more sincerely than I.'

### The SAME to the SAME.

1806, February 10. Mortimer Street.—“ Private and confidential. Your obliging letter has set my heart quite at ease. Mr. Grey lamented that he could not, with propriety, write to you until the patent was read at the Board, and he had taken his seat, which, I hope, he will do to-day ; but it may be a month or six weeks before I receive any appointment, and what is to be I know not. Every possible accommodation will be given to you, and the most favourable and honourable statement of your meritorious services made to his Majesty.”

### VISCOUNT HOOD to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, February 10. Greenwich.—“ Most sincerely do I sympathise and condole with you on the death of your noble brother. It has pleased the Almighty to deprive the nation of the greatest statesman and the greatest general any country could ever boast. But to his decrees it is our bounden duty to submit.

“ Before this can reach your hands, you will have heard of the very wonderful changes that have taken place in his Majesty's Government. God grant it may be for the best, and that we shall be preserved from the fangs of the Corsican monster.

“ It is reported that a total sweep is to be made at the Admiralty and Navy Boards, and that Capt. Nicholls is to succeed Sir A. Hammond, and Grey, the Deputy Comptroller, Markham, and Sir Charles Pole go [to] the Admiralty, and Sir H. Neale if he chooses, as the Premier told me he had made him the offer, but being at sea, had not received his answer. He was in hopes that Sir S. Hood would have accepted, to which I replied that he had often declared to me he would never take a civil office, but stick to his own element. I thought he was perfectly right. Lord St. Vincent, it is said, is to be *Lord High Admiral* at sea, and to command from Cape Finisterre to Johnny Grotes House in Scotland. How Lord Keith will like this I will not pretend to say ; probably you know for certain what only do from report, which is often erroneous.”



HON. C[harles] GREY to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, February 12. Admiralty.—Private. I understand from Lord St. Vincent that he has already communicated to you the wish of his Majesty's present ministers to avail themselves of his services, which his health will now allow him to resume. This intention I had the honour of submitting to his Majesty this morning, when it received his approbation, and Lord St. Vincent, with the union at the main, will be appointed to the command of the Channel fleet.

"In making this communication I must beg you not to consider it as proceeding from any opinion that your services have not been highly honourable to yourself, and eminently advantageous to the country; an acknowledgment which I shall be most happy to confirm by every attention in my power to your convenience as to the time and manner of quitting your command.

"Orders will be given, in compliance with the wish expressed in your letter to Lord St. Vincent, for the *Ville de Paris* to come to Spithead, and you will receive, with as little delay as possible, instructions from the Board as to the manner in which you are to proceed in leaving the fleet under Sir Charles Cotton."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1806, February 21. Admiralty.—"Private. I have been favoured with your letter of the 21st, but delayed answering it till I heard of your arrival at Spithead. I am very sorry that you should have found either in the conduct of the late Board or in the appointment of Lord St. Vincent to the command of the Channel fleet any cause of complaint. I can only say that I intended fully to acknowledge the merit of your past services, and, in carrying into effect an arrangement which it appeared to His Majesty's Ministers expedient to adopt, to shew you every personal attention in my power.

"As an additional proof of the sincerity of this disposition, I shall be very happy to promote whichever of your Lieutenants you may think most deserving to the rank of Master and Commander, and to recommend the other two whom you mention for promotion to Admiralty vacancies abroad. For this purpose I must trouble you to send me their names.

"Orders will be sent down to-night from the Board for you to strike your flag, as I understand it to be your own wish, under all the present circumstances, that this should be done with as little delay as possible."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1806, February 25. Admiralty.—"I have given directions for the promotion of Lieut. Smith to the rank of Master and Commander. . . . I cannot conclude without assuring you that any recommendation of yours will always have the greatest weight with me;

and that I shall be happy, as far as I can do so consistently with the justice due to other claims upon me, and with the regular course of the service, to assist any officers in favour of whom you may interest yourself."

LORD RADSTOCK to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, March 4. Portland Place.—I have restrained my colleagues from laying before you the enclosed plan until I could with certainty make known to you the opinions of our brother officers upon the subject. Their signatures will now sufficiently do this. . . . I beg to offer one single argument which, in my opinion, is sufficient in itself to induce every sea officer to lend his aid to bring the work forward. It is this. The captains' names in Lord Howe's action, June 1, 1794, and those in the battle of Traftalgar, have never yet been gazetted. The consequence of this is, the first are already forgotten, and the latter have not yet been made known.

"I send you a copy of Gardner's letter, which plainly shows how much he approves the plan, and I trust that it will equally so do yours (*sic*) . . . as your name will be of the utmost consequence."

HON. C. GREY to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, March 26. Admiralty.—I have to acknowledge the receipt of both your letters of the 21st and 24th instant. Feeling every disposition to meet your wishes, I made immediate enquiry as to the appointment you ask for Mr. Evans; but it appears to be so unusual a thing to appoint a purser to a ship just laid down, that I am sorry to say I could not do so without opening a door to much inconvenience.

"I took the Lieutenants who served with you in the *Ville de Paris* according to their standing in that ship; and Lieutenant Watts being the senior was the first sent out to fill a real vacancy in the West Indies—I hope to have an early opportunity of serving Lieutenant Gordon in the same way.

"I am sorry Captain Whitby's health will not allow him to go to sea. As I have been obliged to make a rule not to appoint acting captains another captain has been appointed to the *Gibraltar*; and I can only say that when Captain Whitby's health shall again allow of his going to sea, I shall be happy, whenever I can do so consistently with the other claims of the service, to give him another ship."

ELIZABETH CORNWALLIS to her Uncle, ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Newlands.

[1806, March 26.] Wednesday.—"I have heard so much these few days last past about 'the Admiral is displeased,' 'the Admiral is sulky, retires, &c.,' that I should of myself have ventured to say *come* in answer to what you write, but Lord Hood was here a good while this morning . . . and desired me to say most

strongly from him that you ought to come, . . . that he may see you without delay. I do believe him your true friend." *Date given on post-mark.*

C[harlotte] NUGENT to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, May 4. [London].—"All the town are engaged with Lord Melville's trial. I have attended every day, and I think it proceeds much better for him than the 10th Report gave me room to hope. The Lords have rejected much evidence, such as the private accounts kept by Mr. Douglass his paymaster, and found in the possession of his widow. But, nevertheless, it is an ugly business, and I think they have established that he has employed sums of money to his own use, and that he went upon a system in large payments of taking sums, such as one thousand, two thousand, &c. The ten thousand pounds, that is one of the ten thousand, they first proved deficient in one large payment. Then they bring various bankers' books and prove his settling with one, paying what he has overdrawn at another's, putting money in the hands of a third, and these sums agree precisely with the calculation of the sum taken or supposed to be taken, the date of the deficiency and date of the bankers' books corresponding; and I certainly doubt the possibility of any defence overthrowing the above facts. Nevertheless, I doubt the Lords acting upon these grounds, which is circumstantial evidence and not positive evidence. But if they do or not, he will never recover the disgrace of such circumstantial evidence. Lord Melville's conduct is highly dignified; no man's in such a predicament can be more so. He is steady and respectful to the House, actively employed with his counsel, and betraying no marks of anger or want of patience to the most severe language. His own devilish letter to the Commissioners, and his own speech at the Bar of the House of Commons they ring the changes upon in all shapes, and would that he had done neither. His situation puts me in mind of Cardinal Wolsey. He is undone by his ambition, for had he on his first examination been civil to the Commissioners instead of treating them loftily, they would not have meddled with him, as I understand that he being first Lord of the Admiralty, with greater power than ever any individual possessed in this country, they did not want to have to do with him. I conceive that the prosecution will last 8 or 10 days more, and his defence as long, so the trial will last altogether one month. His expenses are 400*l.* per day. He may be found guilty; certainly I fear not blameless; but when one recollects that he stands in his present situation from envy and party motives it freezes one's blood. I am told that Mr. Fox countenances this prosecution as little as he can, and he attends seldom. By the way he looks to me as if he was dying; very ill indeed.

"I heard it reported that you offered to serve under Lord St. Vincent? I think every thing that is handsome and public spirited is like you; but do not be angry with me if I say that I am very glad you do not serve *with him*, because I think him selfish and dangerous except where he is *paramount*, and your character as a professional

man would annoy him. I am rejoiced that Mrs. Whitby is better. Time alone cures our misfortunes, but the greatness of misfortunes generally cure themselves by removing all hope except as to the future. General Nugent is arrived, and it is said that he is to go Commander-in-Chief to Ireland directly. Edmund is well, and has just desired me to remember him particularly to you.

"Lady Townshend arrives in town on Tuesday. She was near being summoned before the House of Lords to produce Barry's [Barré's] papers during the time he was paymaster, and I fear this will still be the case; though she wrote to me that she had no papers to produce, Barry having burnt them nearly all. But, poor soul, she is in a fright at the idea of being called."

LORD HOOD to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, May 28. Greenwich.—"It has pleased the Almighty to release my dearly beloved Lady Hood from her very long and severe sufferings, at which I ought not to repine, but to be thankful. . . . A better woman, a better mother, or better wife never lived. It is no little consolation to us in being satisfied that the dear departed has quitted this world of trouble for bliss eternal, and that our separation cannot be long."

SIR JOHN ORDE to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS,  
Newlands, Lymington.

1806, June 4. London.—"Most confidential. I shall send you the papers I alluded to, as soon as possible, for though the Admiralty, in their letter of the 12th of January, most fully approve the measures they so severely condemned in their despatch of the day before, both of which you have seen, yet no one can form an idea how unmerited the censure was until they see at least my reply to the Board and to Lord Melville. . . . When I sailed for my station off Cadiz, I was led to expect that both you and Lord Nelson were apprised of my appointment, and that I should find no other ship of war on the ground allotted me but the *Medusa*, which I was instructed to take under my command. On my arrival I found the ships of three commanders in chief, each acting under orders contradictory of the others; yours authorised to detain Spanish vessels with treasure and naval and military stores; Lord Nelson's most positively instructed both by the Admiral and his Lordship only to stop vessels with treasure, except in the case of receiving certain information that the Spaniards had commenced hostilities; and mine with orders only to detain ships with treasure and ships of war leaving the port of Cadiz, and refusing to return when called upon to do so.

"I found that Sir R. Strachan, notwithstanding these orders had, not long before my arrival, forcibly detained a Spanish frigate bound to America, after firing into her from the *Donegal* and *Medusa*, by which some men were killed. . . . I found that some others of Lord Nelson's cruisers had detained vessels laden with grain for the relief of the province of Andalusia, then in a state of famine,



and that the greatest ferment had been occasioned in Cadiz by these last-mentioned acts. Something surely was needful for me to do on the station exclusively allotted for my management, in this extraordinary state of things. . . . I thought it my first object to clear my ground from all cruisers but my own, and to let them act upon the least hostile orders, which were those I was charged with. I say the least hostile, because, although Lord Nelson's were less so, his cruisers were not all limited by them, as I have already pointed out. In taking this step, I thought I could not do wrong or offend on any side, as commanders who did not know of my appointment would be glad to have their ships returned from ground where, from my arrival, they were no longer useful; and that those who did know of it would also be pleased that that was done for them which they could not so speedily do for themselves. Your cruiser, Captain Baker, left the station before I could communicate with him. Sir R. Strachan I ordered to Toulon, and with all possible despatch, as he represented his ship to be almost destitute of water and provisions, as he told me Lord Nelson was much in want of the ships on my ground, and as I wished him to convey despatches from me to his Lordship. . . . A fortnight after Sir Richard left me between Cadiz and Cape Trafalgar, with a fair wind to pass the Straits, I was made acquainted by letter from Capt. Hope, of the *Defence*, then cruising off Cape St. Maries, that Sir Richard Strachan was in sight, but carrying such a press of sail to windward—the wind then blowing strong from the westward—that he despaired of speaking him. I thought it my duty to lay this before the Admiralty. In doing this, I declare before God, if it was my last word, that I had no interested views, but that I was actuated by a sense of duty. . . . With respect to my return to England, that also I am aware is a measure on which officers might differ. I might have done otherwise. I might have paraded about and made demonstrations, &c., &c. I did what I judged more proper, and did it from a sense of duty, well knowing the prejudices that might be stirred against it, and that in any case it was the measure least favourable to myself. The application for my recall I know may equally be objected to. I thought it incumbent upon me after the injurious imputations, neglects, &c., I experienced. . . . I confess, at the same time, I did not expect my application could have met with the fate it did. . . . The greatest hardship of my situation has been that, aware of these calumnies, I have thought myself prohibited from taking any steps for my justification, even with the late Board of Admiralty, circumstanced as Lord M[elville] was with the country and with individuals."

EARL ST. VINCENT to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, July 4. *Hibernia*. St. Helens.—Enclosing an "opinion" that if the vessel was condemned as prize to the *Malta*, then under the orders of Admiral Cornwallis, he appears to be entitled to the eighth, "but if the tender had a letter of marque, neither he

nor Admiral Montagu is entitled, and it may be a question whether the prize is not a droit of Admiralty if the tender captured her without having a letter of marque, or being registered and commissioned."

ADMIRAL GEORGE MONTAGU to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1806, November 6. Portsmouth.—"I fear our friend, Lord St. Vincent, has forgot our case. As it is desirable to me that it should be decided, in order that a man with eight children may not speculate beyond his means, I will thank you to jog his Lordship's memory. . . ."

EARL ST. VINCENT to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, Nov. 14. Rame House.—Apologising for his delay in studying the case between Cornwallis and Admiral Montagu, occasioned by his being suddenly ordered to the Tagus upon a very critical embassy. Is astonished at Montagu's claim, assuming that when any vessel is fitting or refitting in a port (although under the orders of a flag officer) the Admiral of that port has the command of her to all intents and purposes, "for in point of fact, the Port Admiral is only the organ through which the Admiralty or the Admiral under whose command the ships in question are, convey their orders and instructions."

JAMES CORNWALLIS to his Uncle, ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM  
CORNWALLIS.

1807, February 2. Upper Seymour Street.—"If we had had a son, we meant to have requested you to have stood godfather with Sir Horace, but in the event of a daughter, the Bishop, with my sister and Mrs. Dickens the godmothers. My mother, however, choosing herself to stand, we are left in the lurch for a godfather. I make you therefore the offer, with the hope of a refusal if you dislike a compliance with my request. A sponsor is all we either accept or want, or I would not have troubled you. . . . The gout you name, but I trust it will not remain with you, as I know your dislike to it. Not so Sir Horace Mann; he regards it as a receipt in full for everything else."

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY to ADMIRAL the HON.  
WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1810, June 23. Hill Street.—"People were much afraid of a riot on Thursday, but everything passed off with perfect quietness. I saw Lord Melville the other day. He looks older, and, I thought, like all un-placed statesmen, feeling the want of former consequence. . . . I have the heaviest part of my visitation this summer and

another visit to Birmingham, but I hope to get through it with tolerable ease. I shall now enter into the thirtieth year of my bishopric. Few have been in it so long. None, I believe, since the Reformation. . . .”

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY to ADMIRAL the  
HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1811, February 10. Eccleshall Castle.—“ . . . I am to be dragged out to preach in Westminster Abbey before the House of Lords (which I did twenty-nine years ago) next month [on the Fast day].

“I conceive that the Rev. Mr. Bingham must be the same person against whom a caution was issued some years ago, and he was described as having been chaplain to a man-of-war. I have had two chaplains of men-of-war turn out most exemplarily. The King says a red coat never takes a good black dye. ~~I~~ I never heard his opinion of blue coats, but I have a lieutenant of the Navy preferred in my diocese who conducts himself well. . . .

“I hope you have got a good stock of port wine, as I am not very sanguine as to the deliverance of Portugal. I have never before heard of great, decisive victories attended with rapid retrograde motions. Alexander and Cæsar did not conquer in this way.”

The SAME to the SAME.

1811, March 7. Hill Street.—“ . . . This winter has agreed peculiarly well with me. I have not even had a cold yet; but in London I never escape. However, I hope it may not arrive till after the 20th, when I am to be exhibited in Westminster Abbey. . . . Ross called here the other morning; he is fatter, but looks older than he did. My old friend, poor Lord Romney, is gone. He somehow involved his circumstances very much in the latter part of his life; and retired greatly from public. It was a pity, as in parts of his time he acquired, with great justice, a considerable degree of good reputation. The effect of the war on West India property, and perhaps some, though no great losses at play, but, above all, building a very large house occasioned his distresses. His old house with some addition would have fully answered his purpose. . . .

“The Duchess of Gordon is giving balls and dinners without end. I am doubtful whether his Majesty has gained much ground lately; his recovery seems to require more time than usual perhaps on account of his age.

“I met the Bishop of Chichester yesterday walking in the street and very stout. He must be nearer 80 than 70.

“We were sorry to leave our country haunts. I dislike London very much, and shall go back for the month of May as usual, and return for the month of June, when London suits me best, as I can walk about without getting cold.

"Sir Charles and Lady Oakeley inhabit my palace at Lichfield, which has cost me a good deal in repair. Sir Charles too has done something, and seems to like the habitation. Having lived many years in a country town, he is accustomed to it. Of all places, I dislike a country town; and have been fortunate to avoid it in my different church situations, for Durham is so circumstanced as to bring scarcely any of the inconveniences of a country town upon us.

"The Bayning family are not yet in town. Lord Romney is said to have died very poor. Rich I did not think him, but how he contrived to be poor I cannot conceive; as he had 30,000*l.*, I believe from the Archbishop, his sister's fortune 12,000*l.*, and 16,000*l.* from Lord Bradford, besides the original estate of 1,200*l.* per annum, with some thousands from Du Quesne, and, I think he told me, some little part of Mrs. Allen's fortune; he also seemed to live with economy."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1811, April 8. Hill Street.—"My cold did not arrive before the preaching, and when I reflected that I preached in the Abbey 40 years ago, as Prebendary of Westminster, I thought myself peculiarly fortunate to find so little abatement of faculties necessarily to be tried on such occasions. . . . I am glad to hear you ride so often. Your farm, if not profitable in other respects, must be greatly so to your health. . . .

"You know that there was a very particular intimacy, at one time, between the great Charles Townshend and Mrs. Edward Cornwallis of St. James's Place, and Bird's Place (which was sold again last year). I believe the intimacy was succeeded by a coolness, if not a quarrel. Upon which I suppose the shadow was sent to my mother. He was a strange man with wonderful parts. The Marquis was much inferior in parts, but superior in principle. Lord Townshend had many good points. Lady Elizabeth Loftus was a little girl scarcely able to walk alone when I was in Ireland in 1767 with Lord and Lady Townshend. How my mother would have been grieved to have seen the present humbled state of the Townshend family! There was a very good picture of the great Charles Townshend by Reynolds. Lord Romney had been breaking for some time; but he died of an apoplexy. His affairs were, for some years previous to his death, in a very deranged state, and he was forced to retire altogether from public life with a very insufficient income for his rank; partly play, partly the failure of West India estates, but, I believe most of all, building distressed him. His old house with additions and repair would, in my opinion, after all, have been preferable to the ruinous one which he erected. Lord Bacon, I think, recommends a house as well as an establishment to be rather below what the income might seem to bear. If this was so in his days, what would he have said in our days? We are to have, it is thought, a loan of 20 millions, besides war taxes, property taxes and others. However, here in London there is no appearance of want, more luxury and prodigality than



ever, but not a guinea and scarcely a shilling to be seen. This is said to be of no consequence ; I wish it may prove so. In the trading part of the country, there is distress to a great degree. On Saturday we had guns firing, bells ringing, and flags displayed on most of the churches on account of our success in Portugal, which does not appear to be as yet decisive as to the French army.

“ As Theresa\* was so good as to be pleased with my mentioning her before, I shall not omit her now, nor her French song ; and observe that as Lord Hotham cannot dance as well as sing, I think her quite in the right to have a younger partner.”

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY to ADMIRAL the HON.  
WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1811, August 7. Eccleshall Castle.—“ . . . I perceive that there has been a great naval promotion ; but the paper says the Honble. C. Grey retains his present situation. I hope it is choice. But I have a notion, that if you once are passed by in the promotion of Admirals, you can never become afterwards an Admiral ; and upon consulting the red book, I see the names of Fanshaw, Hammond, still as Captains. Commissioner Grey knows best what he likes ; but with his connexions I should have thought he might probably have been more advantageously placed and with distinction as an Admiral. However, this is not my business, and I only mention it at all out of regard to Mary, for whom I must ever feel deeply interested on account of her mother.

“ The last post brought me an account of the failure of a ship-builder and owner of collieries to the amount of 300,000*l.* in the north. I shall probably lose 200*l.* or 300*l.* only by his failure. Some of our Durham friends, and particularly the Bishop, had a high opinion of him. But I never had any dependence upon him. Besides a certain loss, I am afraid that we shall be involved in law difficulties. The man was originally a ship carpenter, and worked his way up to magnificence and final ruin ; though bankrupts contrive now to be upon their legs again very soon. From being a working ship's carpenter he became possessed of a great castle, not a place formerly a castle like this, but an existing one ; and lived most extravagantly. He gave one entertainment, which cost, it is said, some thousands. I am surprised that persons should continue to be taken in by such adventurers.”

The SAME to the SAME.

1811, August 12. Eccleshall Castle.—“ . . . Lord Townshend is dead, but no one has described to me the manner of his death. He was not very well pleased with me some years ago for not ordaining a person against my rules at his recommendation, and also for not being a member of the Antiquarian Society, of which he

\* Only daughter of Captain John Whitby and Mrs. Whitby, to whom Admiral Cornwallis left Newlands. Theresa married, in 1827, Frederick Richard West, Esq., of Ruthin Castle.

was President. He had a great deal of real misfortune ; and I never knew any fault but his being captious in respect of his friends and relations. We were always upon civil terms. What a sad figure the Townshend family makes at present ! How different from that which it made in our grandfather's time. But this is the case with many other families. . . .

" I see that Commissioner Grey has got into a dispute with a clergyman. Mrs. Gordon told me something about it above a year ago. I had hopes that it had been all settled. I suppose his friends will come into place soon. Whether they will go on with this war in Peninsula I know not, I have never liked it ; and now I think it promises worse than the American war."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1811, October 19. Worthing.—". . . Your old friend Admiral Nugent is here or was so a day or two ago. I saw him driving his daughter in a donkey carriage, much in fashion here. However, the animal was not very toward, and he did not steer very well ; as often on the pavement as in the road. He seems to be a very good hearted man, and is always affectionate in his enquiries concerning you.

" This place is getting thinner of company, but as I do not go much out, it is not of consequence to me.

" General and Mrs. Ross are at present in this place, but about to leave us with our fashionable company for Brighton till Christmas. Worthing seems to be a most excellent place for sea bathing ; but the seaweed thrown up by the tides is so offensive, that I shall never willingly frequent it. At Brighton, where I used to be between forty and fifty years ago, the wind (?) was so high, or I was not so nice, that I did not perceive the inconvenience. I brought two new publications with me, *Thinks I to myself*, and *Trotter's Memoirs of Fox, in his last half of his period*. The first I have dispatched ; in my opinion, a vulgar kind of novel. I am beginning Fox ; but I am sure I shall not altogether agree with Mr. Trotter. Upon the whole, I esteemed Mr. Fox more than Mr. Pitt, excepting vices, which did not exist in the latter part of life ; but I did not greatly esteem either ; and if they had not been orators, I have known many wiser, abler, and much better men than either."

### The SAME to the SAME.

1811, December 3. Worthing.—". . . You mentioned Mr. Singleton and Lady Mary. They are not here now ; but I saw him often last spring, as a trustee for Lady Mary. When my brother gave him his place, I advised the changing it for one for life, though of less value. My brother said he did not mean to keep him in Parliament, and then he would be safe. I told him perhaps not so when another Ministry came in ; and so it happened. For the present Ministers insisted upon his coming into Parliament or a resignation of the place. He is forced to attend every night, and

if he goes away, a note soon follows. Nothing can be more degrading. The whipper-in is the other member for Eye; but he does not spare his colleague, as I have been told; and, if I mistake not, by Singleton himself.

"This place is now almost entirely deserted. The gay folks are gone to Brighton till March, as it is extremely vulgar to be in London in a settled way before March. . . .

"Mr. Trotter's performance has not answered expectations. I suppose it was written in consequence of disappointment upon being neglected at the death of Mr. Fox. There are memoirs of Fox by Fell . . . There are many things related in these (*Fell's Memoirs*) worth your reading. Not the panegyrick on Mr. Fox, for I was no admirer of him; but incidental matters. There is an excuse for his support of Lord North till 1774 on account of his father's wishes. I do not believe that was the motive."

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY to ADMIRAL the HON.  
WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1812, January 17. Hill Street.—". . . I saw a letter from Portugal giving not a very favourable account of the health of our army. Agues and bilious disorders are very prevalent among some parts of it. Others are keeping hounds and very jolly. I suppose they occupy so large a country, that there is a variety of climate experienced by them, some of it very unhealthy, other parts quite otherwise.

"We have in our neighbourhood, as well as in different parts of the town, been under some alarm about nightly depredators; and only a few nights ago the ale-house (now kept by two of our late servants) at the corner of this street was broken into, and we were waked with the cry of thieves and robbers in the middle of the night. I cannot account for all these enormities so suddenly. They used to say that the army took away all the robbers in time of war. It does not appear to be so now; so one advantage of war is gone. Lord Sidmouth, who does not give up politics, though politics seem to have given him up, is come to town, and has taken Lady Bayning's house till Easter, the fashionable time of settling in London in these days. . . . What a shocking loss of ships in the North, and crews. I hope none of your friends were in those ships.

The SAME to the SAME.

1812, July 19. Eccleshall.—"The season has been delightful, and there is with us the greatest prospect of plenty in all articles of sustenance. When I came down every thing looked ill in this trading region, and I have in conjunction with others done all we could to assist the discarded workmen, and to quiet their minds. The repeal of the Orders in Council has produced for the present a more than usual employment for the artisans, and we [are] all alive again and grateful. The Orders in Council certainly very considerably added to the distress; but I can not help thinking

that our war with the Continent was the principal cause. I wish it may not turn out so, after this spirit is over. However, it has always appeared to me to have been unwise to have added to our difficulties, when there was not an absolute necessity for it. When I first came down, it was scarcely safe to reside in the country.

"I spent two days with some old friends of yours, namely, Sir Charles and Lady Oakeley, who inhabit my palace at Lichfield, with which they are delighted. They have laid out some money, and I a good deal, in making the house very comfortable, which it certainly is. He is not, I think, very rich for an East Indian Governor. He is a very regular, good man, and as frequent an attendant of the Cathedral as the Prebendaries."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1812, November 23. Hill Street.—". . . There is a great want of trade in Staffordshire, which, added to the dearness of provisions, rather occasions discontent, but to no great degree; and as an Irish regiment of militia is quartered there, I hope, with due attention from the rich, we may get through the winter quietly.

"The Pottery is in a sad way, and I have nine stacks of crate wood of two years old now in my woods unsold. This want of trade, however, facilitates the enlisting very much. I met on my road a beautiful but delicate East Indian cow, a present from the Prince Regent to Lord Hertford. I conceive that it must be kept in the hot house this winter. Three persons attended the cow, one of them leading it. . . ."

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1813, July 31. [The Deanery], Durham.—"My diocese engagements [are] pressed this year, in order that I might arrive here so early. It is nineteen years since I have been here at our July chapters. . . . This house is spacious and cool, and well suited to such weather. There is one room nearly sixty feet long, cool in summer and useful for walking in winter.

"The Bishop of Durham [Barrington] was lamenting the loss of his companion in Park riding, Lord Hotham, about his age. The Bishop has just entered his eightieth year. He is wonderfully stout, but not to be compared to Sir James Mansfield, who goes through all the business of a judge and is older. These are very extraordinary instances of senile strength. Sir James Mansfield never looked healthy (I remember him at Eton, but he had left it before you went there) and the Bishop of Durham, a stronger man, was cut for the stone at five years of age. He was also with me at Eton."

CHARLOTTE WARDE to her uncle, ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1813], November 10. Wednesday. Peterborough Palace.—"It is with the deepest sorrow I set down to inform you of the death of my dearest Father [the Bishop], which took place last



Monday evening at nine o'clock. He had the comfort of being surrounded by all his children, and his very excellent wife, who has, for the last eighteen years, so much promoted the happiness of his life. . . . It is most gratifying to our feelings to hear of the universal grief expressed by all this town and neighbourhood at this sad event. I believe there never was a Bishop so *adored* by his clergy, to whom he was always the truest friend, and his manners were so condescending that they always felt themselves perfectly at ease in his presence."

CHARLOTTE WARDE to her uncle, ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1814, January 2. Ravenhill, Lichfield.—Family news. Her brother Charles, formerly aide-de-camp to Lord Cornwallis in India, has married a most charming woman, but has no children. Her eldest brother, however, Dr. Madan, now in residence at Lichfield, has ten. His eldest has just taken a most distinguished degree at Oxford, and two very fine boys are gone to sea; one in the E. I. C. service and the other with Capt. Paget, in the *Superb*. The Captain writes that he is doing so well that at the end of his first cruise he has been made signal midshipman. Their own son Charles has rejoined Admiral Young, off Walcheren. He is quite out of heart about his promotion.

*Postscript by General Warde.*—"It is said 'no promotion for anything born south of Tweed.' Charles' juniors in numbers and of no family are gone over his head, they tell him they know not how. G. W."

The SAME to the SAME.

1814, June 28. Woodland Castle. Thanking him for his kind application to Lord Melville on behalf of her son Charles, which has unfortunately been unsuccessful, although everybody believed that one line from him must prove effectual. Thinks that "it is now rather a disadvantage to be of a good family, for the lowest born people are on all occasions preferred." General Warde has been much tempted to write to Lord Melville to strike Charles' name out of the navy list, but as "his Lordship is not a fixture," and their son is extremely devoted to his profession, she has persuaded him to have a little patience.

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1814, October 3. Durham.—". . . In July, I took a trip to this place for a day, as some matters seemed to require my presence here at a grand chapter. I then returned to the diocese, and was for the most part employed in confirming, . . . and after ordaining I came here a fortnight ago, where I am in residence at present. In the course of my peregrinations, I dined in company with Lord Hill, whom I much liked. He seemed sensible, prudent,

and good-tempered. He was then going in a very short time to America; but the plan of the war appears to be altered, and possibly his services may not be wanted. Predatory landings in different parts, it is said, are most likely to bring the Americans to terms. All that I have to say is, that I sincerely hope we shall be more successful than we were in the last American war, of the conduct of which you are a much better judge than I am. We do not seem as yet to have gained much either by the war or peace in comparison with the expense. But the Ministers are, I think, honest and not deficient in ability; consequently, I conclude that they have done and are doing their best.

“At the confirmation at Derby I saw Lady Borlase Warren, who brought, as I understood her, a daughter to be confirmed. Sir Ralph Milbanke called here on Saturday; had I been at home, he would, I suppose, have announced his daughter’s marriage with Lord Byron. She is an only child, and ought to have a large fortune.

“Mr. Russell, old and infirm, resides at Bath in the Winter, and meets your old friend Lord Hood daily in his airing on the Bristol road, above 90 years of age.”

THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY to ADMIRAL the HON.  
WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1815, March 6. Hill Street.—“The poor Bishop of Winchester, whom I visited the other day, is blind, deaf, and with too evident failure of memory, besides bilious attacks; but he does not seem much affected by his infirmities, having the best temper I ever knew, and the most patient mind.

“A person told me the other day she asked General Ross after Lord Cornwallis’s family; he said he was not going abroad, and that the state of his circumstances was found to be good; the house in town is not to be sold, but inhabited again soon. He says Lord Cornwallis had got some very bad servants, who had cheated him; but that he, General Ross, had soon set it all to rights by dismissing the servants, and pointing out the evil. I thought it was impossible any material failure could have taken place, where there are no expensive habits. It would have been quite as well to have found out this, before the failure was announced to the world. My son has had a great deal of trouble in consequence of succeeding a person really ruined. The sums Sir Horace [Mann] expended are beyond all belief, or rather squandered. Fortunately his rents are so low, that there is no occasion to lower them. However, I find in my own property that farmers are as desirous of procuring farms as ever, notwithstanding all this outcry. For my part, I know not what to think of the present question, as to corn. I do not pretend to be a judge. I have nearly left off all farming, and follow the example of most of my great neighbours in having a ley for cattle in summer and sheep in winter.

“I am rather distressed to know how to direct to you. As you have not kissed hands, I shall this time direct as usual. Your rank by birth is higher than even Knights of the Garter. Having

once belonged to the Knights of the Garter [as Chaplain], I had occasion to think more about them than I should have otherwise done."

WILLOUGHBY COTTON to ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM CORNWALLIS  
K.G.C.B.

1817, November 3. Coventry House.—". . . My mother is quite well. . . . I want very much to get her rooms in the Palace [Hampton Court], but the thing is very difficult. Pray advise Mrs. Whitby not to think of going down in the diving-bell. The sensation about the head and ears is particularly unpleasant. Lady Augusta begs to thank you for your kind remembrance. . . . The Princess Charlotte still continues about. Mrs. Henry Cavendish's death is much regretted. The India war is thought to be much exaggerated."

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY to ADMIRAL SIR  
WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, K.G.C.B.

1818, November 7. Hill Street.—"It was as well that you did not go to Hastings. I went there for a week in the beginning of the summer. The nastiest and most odious place I ever saw. Brighton I was much disposed to like when I passed a part of two summers there after I came back from Ireland in 1768, with several friends, all of whom are no more excepting Lord Glastonbury and his brother.

"It was delightful; but I went three years ago from Worthing to see it, and found it so altered, that if I had not known that I was at Brighton again, I should not from appearances have discovered it. I wanted to see the Prince's Palace; but upon my getting near it, I was accosted by a decent looking man, 'so you are come here to get a better Bishopric.' This did not look auspicious, and I sounded a retreat; and went to poor Metcalfe's who is just dead; I should rather have said, rich Metcalfe's, for he got by his vinegar concern a great fortune without any trouble and hardly any inspection.

"The Queen is now, I believe, worse than ever; but she has so out-lived calculation, and (horrid to say), I believe bets, that her death must not be reckoned upon."

# MANUSCRIPTS

BELONGING TO

K. B. TIGHE, Esq.,

OF

WOODSTOCK, IN THE COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

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1649? Draft of orders concerning the billeting of cavalry in Munster, and the provisions made for supplying them and their horses with food and necessities when their pay is in arrears. Regulations as to the holding of Markets for such commodities, and the protection of the Irish against exactions. 3 pp.

1649, Oct. 27. Rosse —“ By the Lord Lieut<sup>t</sup>-Generall of Ireland. Whereas there are divers complaints daily made by the inhabitants in and neare the towne of Rosse, that the souldiers under my command doe daily take away their garrons and plough horses and their seed corne and and (*sic*) doe hinder them from threshinge their seed corne, and from followinge their business of husbandrye, whereby the land is unmanured and unsowen, which doth manifestly tend to the prejudice of the publique, and maie prove to be of verie ill consequence if not tynely prevented: Theise are strictly to charge and command all officers and souldiers under my command that they doe not presume to take away anie plough horses or garrons or any seed corne from any persons whatsoever residinge and inhabitinge within our quarters, nor in anie wise to hinder them from threshinge out their corne, ploughinge their lands or followinge theire businesse of husbandry, upon paine of the severest punishment that may bee inflicted on them. And I doe hereby require all officers under my commaund in their severall places to endeavour the preventinge of the said outrages and offences, and to bringe all offenders of that kind to condigne punishment. And I doe hereby require the Provost Marshall of the army to cause this my Proclamation to bee published in the towne of Rosse and alsoe to the severall and respective Regiments of the army. Given under my hand at Rosse this 27th of October, 1649.”—*Signed*, O. Cromwell.

[1649], Nov. 25. Carrick(on-Suir.)—Letter from Col. Reynolds to Major-General Ireton.—“ On the previous day Lord Inchiquin sent a summons by a trumpeter, who was killed by his own side without the gates while returning. The eagerness of the Irish foot brought on an attack on the town. I drew all the horse out



to the green, and supposing that it would be convenient they should see whom they were to assault, there stood, which the horse quietly suffered: but the foote came on in such a violent manner, that it was not unlike they would have entred with us. They continued very hasty in all their approches, and stopped not untill they came to push of pike, which obstinate manner of assaulting they continued neere 4 hours, bringing on fresh supplies untill their whole army of foote was engaged (and baffled) in the worke. Their losse was about 500 foote, divers officers, and 1,000 armes spoiled and taken: their number 6,000 (reported 7 or 8 thousand) effective foote, and about 2,000 horse, which they divided unto both sides of the water, but with none of them had we anything to do: notwithstanding their 7 drakes, or their unprofitable mine, or the advantage of a greate ruinous breach in the wall, which was most pressed upon by them." The men are still in want, although the enemy have withdrawn. "For you know what neede we have of that, by the proportion you gave Major Nelson at the water-side, although our Irish manner of warfare is different from other plans which are now practised."

(Cf. Cromwell's account of this—Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ed. Lomas, i., 510; Gilbert, ii., 325.)

1649-50, Feb. 27. Kiltenan.—"Articles of agreement between Col. John Reynolds and Col. Thomas Shelborne, Commissioners of the Lord Lieut<sup>t</sup>. of Ireland on the one part, and Cap<sup>t</sup>. Victor White and Lieut<sup>t</sup>. John Butler on the other part, for the delivery of the Castle of Kiltenan.—(1) The Castle to be delivered to the Lord Lieut<sup>t</sup>. or his deputies by 4 p.m. (2) The Governour, Major Theobald Butler, with the garrison to march with horses, arms, bag and baggage, with colours flying and matches lighted, and to have safe convoy to Limerick. (3) All persons now in Kiltenan who wish to go to their several homes to have liberty to do so, and to be protected as are the rest of the inhabitants. Signed, Jhon Butler, J. Reynolds, Tho. Shelborne. [See mention of this in Denis Murphy's "*Cromwell in Ireland*," p. 271.]

1649-50, March 16. Grenan Castle.—Letter from Robert Burnell to the Lord Lieut<sup>t</sup>.—Did not expect to be offered no better conditions than to surrender at mercy, and is resolved to force better terms, having regard to the impregnable nature of the place. However, he will wait upon his Excellency, or any other commander appointed by him to agree upon good terms or none at all.

1649-50, March 21. Goran Castle.—Letter.—"Sir, I am intrusted with this place to be kept for his Majestie's use, and cannot deliver it upp, in honor, uppon such easy termes without apparent breach of loyallty. I rest, your servant, Ed. Hammond."

"For Generall Cromwell, these."

(See Carlyle's "*Cromwell*," vol. ii., p. 46.)

1649-50, March 23. Before Kilkenny.—Letter from Cromwell to the Governor and Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Kilkenny. *Copy*. [Printed in Carlyle, vol. ii., p. 33 ; Gilbert, ii., 375.]

1649-50, March 23. Kilkenny.—Reply to last, from Walter Butler. *Copy*. [Printed in Carlyle, vol. ii., p. 34 ; Gilbert, ii., 376.]

1650, March 27. Kilkenny.—Articles for the surrender of Kilkenny to Cromwell. *Copy*. [Printed by Gilbert, ii., 382, and Murphy, p. 307.]

1650, June 7. Co. Kilkenny.—Articles of agreement between Col. Daniel Axtell, Governour of Kilkenny, and Thomas Butler, of Lowgrainge, Co. Kilkenny. The latter to pay a fine of 100*l.*, and an annual composition of 40*l.* for the enjoyment of the estate of Piers Butler, of Barrowmonte, to hold it in trust for Margaret Butler, alias Netterville, pending a general settlement of Ireland. This agreement to be no further binding if the said Piers, or his heirs or assigns, shall make such further composition for his estate as he or they shall think fit.

1650, June 7.—Receipt for the above-mentioned fine of 100*l.*, with a promise of redelivery to Thomas Butler, if Governour Axtell have not carried out his share of the agreement by the last day of the present month. *Copy*.

MANUSCRIPTS  
OF  
LORD ORANMORE AND BROWN.

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*Copy of a letter in the possession of LORD ORANMORE and BROWN, of Castle MacGarret, Claremorris, Ireland, taken from an ancient copy of the same letter, with the annotations found on the last-mentioned copy, which is also in the possession of LORD ORANMORE.*

GENERAL GEORGE MONCK to ROGER LORD BROGHILL.

“MY LORD,—Your letters of the 11th and 16th instant, met me thus far on my march to London, and I perceive in these your Lordship's letters how much the Parliament and that poor nation have been engaged to your Lordship's council and conduct in the late transactions here, of which none is more satisfactory to me, and of advantage to the commonwealth's peace and safety than your putting the army into honest and sober hands, where I doubt not but they will be continued, and when I come to London I shall endeavour as effectually as I can, that it may be so.

“The Parliament have appointed Sir Hardress Waller, Sir Charles Coote, Mr. Weaver, Sir Robert Goodwin, and your friend Colonel Markham, to be the commissioners for Government of Civil Affairs in Ireland, who are all honest men, and such as I know your Lordship will be well satisfied in, for I am confident they are persons of ability and conscience, and such as will act conscientiously in reference to the Ordinances of Magistracy and Ministry, and that love and favour such as are for order and discipline in the Church of God. I recommended your Lordship to be one of their number, but I know not how you came to be left out, and when I come to London, I shall endeavour to clear all objections (if any be) that shall be made against your Lordship's inclinations and faithfulness to the service of the Parliament.

“As for the six troops which your Lordship mentions to be regimented by Sir Theophilus Jones, I cannot think it adviseable to do it, because it will alter the establishment of Ireland which is settled by Act of Parliament, and must either break the regiments those were drawn out of, or necessitate the making the Dragoons Horse, which will increase too much the public charge, and your Lordship knows I am always averse to such things, but I shall in anything else serve Sir Theophilus Jones, and do heartily wish I might be instructed by your Lordship how to do it, for I think him a very worthy deserving person. I have written to the Parliament (at your Lordship's desire) to recommend to them Colonel Temple for Abbott's Regiment of Dragoons, and I hope he will succeed in it. I am glad the officers have reserved Colonel Redmond's regiment for him, for else he had gone without command, his employment

with the Irish Brigade being but temporary, for your Lordship knows they are a commanded party out of several regiments. The Parliament is in a good way of settlement, and I like to bring things to a good issue. I hear the secluded members in 1648 have some eager abettors in Ireland who are framing petitions in their behalf, which your Lordship may do well to discountenance, for the House has given judgment against their readmission, and writs will be issued out for filling up their places and all other vacancies, as soon as qualifications can be made. There is one Mr. Roger Livesay that I employ in my affairs in Wexford, that is a discreet stout person, and if your Lordship can give him a cornet of Horse, I shall take it as a favour. I have not acquainted him that I have written to your Lordship in his behalf, but if your Lordship can oblige me with this favour, and give intimation of it to my *cousin Monck*, he will send for him to you. I have nothing more at this time but to assure your Lordship that in all your concerns none shall more willingly serve you than, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most humble servant,

"GEORGE MONCK.

"Dunstable, 27 January, 1659."

"Colonel Whetlam is now with me, and is much your Lordship's servant."

A true copy from an original in the possession of John Prestwich, Esq., given to him by Sir George Booth, Bart., taken by me.

GEO. PAUL MONCK.

Bath, August 26, 1784.

The letter was sealed with the Monck Arms, and directed to Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, then in Ireland.

When the General wrote the above he was on his road to London and meditating the Restoration, Oliver having died at Whitehall, September the 3rd, 1658. Richard, his son, proclaimed Protector September 4th, and deposed April 22nd, 1659, he died at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, July 12th, 1712, aged 89.

The General was arbiter of England's fate the year he wrote this letter, created Duke of Albemarle July 13th, 1660, died January the 4th, 1669-70.—G. P. M.

The original letter was afterwards given to Mr. Monck by Mr. Prestwick.

It is now possessed by me, a great great grandson of Mr. G. P. Monck.

GEOFFREY HENRY BROWNE-GUTHRIE.

Trinity College, Cambridge,

March 6th, 1881.

*On the original letter there is the following annotation:—"This letter is the gift of Sir George Booth, Bart., to John Prestwich, Esq., and in a different handwriting, 'now Sir John Prestwich, Bart.')*, who, out of friendship, gifts it to George Monck, Esq., of Bath, as belonging to his family."



## ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS

OF

### CAPTAIN H. V. KNOX.

Letters from DR. PHILIP SKELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1765, Oct. 25. Enniskillen.—“My dear Will, this, I hope, will find you and your beloved girl safe and well at your own house. I enjoy your happiness, and do perceive from your idea of it that you know very well what matrimony is, or at least should be. . . . Although you are yet in love, a time will come when you will only love, and that upon an higher and nobler basis than passion. . . . I heartily wish all the stability and beauty to your architecture which taste and judgment can give it. God, who hath brought you together, is the best guarantee of your alliance.” From this he must descend to business. Has got Father Paul’s History of the Council of Trent, but wants Gale’s Court of the Gentiles, and all the Annual Registers already published by Dodsley.

1766, May 27. Enniskillen.—My removal to a parish which our Bishop hath given me [Fintona], worth 400*l.* a year, will give you more pleasure than it does me, for I am too old and puny to enjoy it long. . . . I am excessively obliged to you for the pains you have been at on my account. . . . As to the old books, they would have been easily had when I was in London in 1747. Their being now missing is a sad proof of the swift decadence of learning. We shall be all Hottentots and Vandals ere this time next century. I depend on your care and charity for the orphan boy, and shall be obliged still further to you if you can tell me that the Repeal of the Stamp Act hath been of service to you as an American proprietor or agent.”

1766, July 4. Fintona, near Omagh.—“You tell me that an accession to my income may do good in my hands to the world, and speak finely of poor mortals, and of me as not to be classed with them. But I am a poor mortal too, though not now capable of being much tempted by wealth from my old habits of life. Yet what good can I do to a world wherein you was burnt in effigy?” But if the people of Georgia “burn you at one time, they will bless you at another, provided you still continue to give them wholesome advice, and to patronise their interests, not their mistakes. North America, all America, but the Isles, is lost to England.

“Now we talk of doing good, perhaps some good may still be

done to the poor orphan." His uncle, Serjeant Robert Armstrong, may be found at the Blew Anchor, in the Broad Way, Westminster. "If any good is to be looked for in a broad way, perhaps he may remit me something for the poor boy. . . ."

"I long for the books, having now more need of them in this solitary place than when I lived in the great city of Enniskillen."

1766, Sept. 14. Fintona.—Has got the books, which are all "good cheap," but the "Atterbury's Sermons" are not those of the Bishop, as he desired, but of his elder brother, Lewis. Desires more of Waterland's pamphlets, also Ricaut's Turkish History. Has got Franklin on Electricity in Dublin.

1766, Oct. 11. Fintona.—Has not been much afraid for Knox in regard to money matters, knowing his prudence, but is rejoiced to hear his own good account of them. Has been staying with his brother, James Knox, at Portglenane, and was much pleased with the children, especially the eldest son (Tom), "a very pretty sensible youth." Dr. Hastings cannot do much for him, as his interest lies wholly in the church (for which the boy is not sufficiently educated). Thinks that Knox or his brother Bob might find in London some vacant spot in which the youth might take root.

1769, June 5. Fintona.—Urges Knox to take his nephew, "that very good young man," Tom Knox, into his protection.

"The *State of the Nation* had my highest approbation, . . . but it increased my apprehensions of the popish knife, which I began to feel at my throat in every line, as you set our poverty and weakness more strongly before my eyes, and seemed to show me the Frenchman at the door. Ah, said I, so I thought, but still hoped I was a fool, and, till now, had some comfortable probabilities that my ignorance and melancholy imagination might have imposed on me; and perhaps that England might hold out as long as a man of sixty-two was my only consolation. Your *State* took this away from me, and left me in a state of despondency, like that of my country. . . . To help me still further down hill, I meet with two pamphlets, one of them said to be written by Mr. Burke, wrote, in some measure, in answer to yours, wherein our poverty and distress are, in the mean, acknowledged, you genteelly complimented, and here and there answered. We are really in a fine condition, said I to myself, when men who differ widely enough in other things agree in declaring we are at the last gasp.

"From this I was raised a little by a third answer to your performance; long, lively, and seemingly founded on superior information, which follows you step by step, and avers we are in a very good condition; at least avers that France is in a worse, and that we have not much to fear from that quarter. . . . Bravo, I shouted. It may be after all I shall live all the days of my life, and not see my country perish with me. Will you be so cruel as to undeceive me?"

1769, July 26.—“If my esteem for you as a writer, a brother and a friend can give you pleasure, take it in a full tide. . . . Your last letter, which, as you hint, would make a pamphlet, I say would make one of the best pamphlets ever published. . . . I long extremely to see your other performances.”

I esteem the American colonies as worse than lost to England. “We are undone. Atheism, faction, luxury, gaming, debts, dutchesses, the Devil, all are employed to ruin us, and Wilks is at the head of them.”

1769, Oct. 16.—I like your manner of writing extremely; . . . you ought, however, to draw no fewer for vanity from my opinion. There’s no body more often, nor more grossly mistaken than I am; witness what I have published myself, and what the infallible monthly Reviewers have said of my publications.”

Is intending to issue a new edition of his works (if he can get up a subscription), devoting the profits to the Foundling and Magdalen hospitals. Has had nothing to do with the filling of either, but those who *have* will do nothing. If he gets no encouragement, he thinks of printing one copy, “to be placed in our library, with a preface of two lines:—‘The author of these works could find nobody who would buy a single copy of them, and therefore he printed but *this* one.’”

1769, Oct. 25.—This goes by his “dear, worthy young creature, Tom Knox.” He is good, and, in spite of all temptations, will continue to be good.

1769, Dec. 5. Dublin.—Praising Knox’s last book and Grenville’s speech. A jeremiad on the sins and follies of the times. “Thus fell Athens, Sparta, Rome. Thus must England fall, and soon.” Is busy about his new edition. He and Mr. Watson are going together to send out 5 vols., large 8vo, well bound and printed, “for 3 crowns English the first subscription, and as many more for the last. . . . We proceed if 175 subscriptions are obtained, which will defray the expense of 500, our whole edition; which, if all sold, will bring into the charity about 500*l*. . . . I wish to be able to give a correct collection of all my things to the world, and to help the best species of charity in it. With this attempt I mean to take my leave of writing, and indeed of the world.”

1770, July 4.—Concerning Knox’s brother James and nephew, Tom Knox. Has been much pleased with Knox’s papers, in which he sometimes finds a grave irony of which Swift himself would not be ashamed. In regard to Knox’s proposal that they should start a Miscellany together, he would have delighted to draw in one cart with the man he loves, but (in his 64th year) has no strength left of body or mind to draw at all, and feels that it is time to take the jaded horse out of the harness.

1772, Jan. 30. Drogheda.—On the state of the country. “The patriots, odious appellation, say all the ministerial men are robbers

and oppressors of the country; the ministerial men say all the patriots are rebels and only want to be ministers." Beliefs both, and considers the nation to be on the brink of ruin.

1772, July 30. Fintona.—A very long letter, in answer to one from Knox, on religious subjects. (chiefly in defence of the Athanasian creed.

Is extremely pleased to be confirmed in his opinion of Lord North. "If France and our patriots will suffer him, he will greatly sink the national debt, and save England from its patriots." Yet, indeed, nothing can save a nation so lost to all religion and honesty. Urges Knox, if he goes into Parliament, to "stand fast in the faith," quit him like a man, and be strong.

1772, Aug. 27. Fintona.—Recommending Major Maxwel as an officer of great merit, and praying Knox's good offices for him; also for Dr. Sims, who is going to London "to publish a small physical tract," and wishes, if encouraged, to end his days there. If Knox is ill, Dr. Sims will help him "better than three of the top physicians."

1772, Nov. 6. Drogheda.—Rejoices in Knox's continuance in his place; and praises the piety and goodness of his chief, Lord Hillsborough. On religious matters.

1773, March 4. Drogheda.—Concerning an offer from Mrs. Knox to send a sum of money for the suffering poor of his parish. There are about forty or fifty weavers, all in more or less distress. "Of about 800 females, there are not ten, from the age of eight to that of eighty, who are not from year's end to year's end employed at the wheel, and [they] cannot make, on an average, quite twopence a day." Asks for Mrs. Knox's Christian name, that he and his people may pray for their benefactress, which is the way, or whim (as the people about St. James' would call it) of a man "who thinks such prayers do really go upwards." She reminds him of a Mrs. Fitzgerald, who sold a cap for ten guineas and sent him the money for his poor when they were starving in 1757. On the lamentable state of England.

1773, May 6. Fintona.—On Sunday last he and his congregation gave thanks to the "feeder of the poor" for the relief lately sent them by his servant Letitia Knox, and prayed for a blessing upon her and her family. The next day, with the help of a committee of his best parishioners, her ten guineas was distributed, after a month's search to single out the most indigent—*i.e.*, those who had subsisted, "before this fall of linnen and yarns, chiefly on those two branches of manufacture. A woman of the best fingers (so high is the flax and so low the yarn) cannot earn quite a penny in the day," and the weavers are almost wholly idle.

Praises the Presbyterians' petition to Parliament, and states that he is building a meeting-house in his parish, "in requital for the Presbyterians, who are the majority here, having cheerfully



repaired" his church. Doubts much whether the constitution of Church or State will hold out his time, although he is very old and very infirm.

1773, Nov. 22. Drogheda.—The world is gone, or going mad, and people wrangle about religion, though they have not the smallest knowledge or sense of it. On religion, as he finds it "in the Word of God."

1774, April 27. Fintona.—Concerning a nephew who has gone out to Georgia. As to Knox's desire to send some money (as a thank-offering for God's goodness to him) for the relief of the distressed, he suggests that it would be well to use it to assist Dr. Hastings and his brother to equip one of James Knox's sons, in case a pair of colours can be found for him. Dr. Hastings is not in such opulent circumstances as has been imagined, and is a "great giver" to his relations, the poor of his parish, and others.

1774, May 23. Fintona.—Concerning the nephew in Georgia, whose name is Thomas Wolfenden.

"Our missionaries to America are certainly the sorriest of all mortals. . . . I know of no warm people but infidels and rebels. Your Moravians and Methodists are unknown, unknowable.

"Why is the death of a French King to undo us? Must we have a war with the next? Or is the next to stop all remittances of French gold? The Bostonians are gone mad, and England is certainly undone. It is well there is a better world."

1774, July 25. Fintona.—Nothing should be forced in matters of religion. The French Canadians gave up their swords on that very condition. They are now become, by their own solicitation, subject to Parliament, "and much better subjects to our King than any of his other American and Continental colonists; so much better, that he is likely to use them and their Indians as a bridle to keep in the Bostonians, &c. . . ."

"Thank you for the Moravian missions. They look extremely like those of the Jesuits. This resemblance perhaps was made necessary by the nature of things, but I, in no sense a novelist, am not apt to be carried away by novelties in religion. These odd enthusiastic heats are a kind of comets, which rise and set, come and go, without doing much good. Much harm they certainly do, and the Moravians, in particular, are charged with many very ugly excentricities, which their adversaries extract verbatim from the writings of Zinzendorf and others of the sect. . . . However, if the Moravians can but block out Christians in America it is well, at any rate, and time, not our lukewarm clergy, I confess, may perfect their figure."

1774, Oct. 26. Drogheda.—"Dean Tucker, I see, is for giving up the Northern Colonies totally. Do you think with him in this? For my own part, I think these Americans are downright rebels, and yet, if they are to be taxed by the Parliament of England, they

may bid adieu to the thing called property. How wisdom shall make its way between the horns of this dilemma, with justice in tow, I am too far off to see."

1775, Jan. 9. Dublin.—On Knox's kindness to his brother James' children, and to Skelton's parish. "Never was a sum more wanted among my poor, and yet I deliberate whether I should put it immediately into their mouths, or lay it out on the roof of a church which is falling on our heads, and cannot be repaired but out of their pockets. I lean to the former as more pressing." Spent above 20*l.* of his own last summer in repairing one-half of the roof. Will give orders about the stone to be placed over two persons whose memory he venerates and loves; as he will endeavour to show by a little inscription "neither unfit for their remains to carry nor for you to read."

1775, June 18. Fintona.—This being a plentiful year with his poor, and the prospect of next year not so good, he has distributed Knox's bounty of ten guineas amongst "as many poor spinning families as the guineas extended to," to be laid out in flax-seed, that they may have something to do the next year.

Recommending one George Lawe to Knox's assistance in obtaining a post, either civil or military.

1775, Sept. 17. Dublin.—Thanks him for his aid to young Law. Would be glad to know if his nephew Wolfenden (in Georgia) and Mr. Buchanan are still alive. Supposes they are both rebels now, and have proclaimed war against George III.

1776, March 28. Dublin.—Asking Knox to send "the body of regulations" by which the Asylum for destitute girls in London is managed, as a good old gentleman in Dublin intends to settle fourteen or fifteen hundred pounds per annum on some charitable scheme, and having consulted with himself, they both like this Asylum the best.

1776, June 28. Fintona.—On behalf his "dear old friend" Mr. Hawkshaw's youngest son, George.

1776, Aug. 23. Dublin. Mr. Gresson's, Little Green.—Dr. Hastings has been very ill, and though now doing well, is going to make his will. "He means to leave 400*l.* to your and his niece, Mrs. J. Knox, and is ready to pay it over to her husband immediately if a tolerable match is proposed." Desires by this letter to introduce the doctor to Knox, "as there are few men of equal understanding with him, and not one of superior worth"; they have been joint benefactors; why should not they be friends?

1776, Dec. 30. Mr. Gresson's, Little Green.—Begs to know what Knox's indisposition has been. Studies and practises physic, and has "more than once performed a cure after medical men of high repute had given up the patient"; why then should he not point out a remedy for his friend? Sends a sermon which he was "almost

forced to write in two days, to preach and even print." It is only distinguished by its utter contempt of party and politics, and "its saying what nobody else dare say, and yet every body ought to say. I have offended the patriots here, and should offend the courtiers there, were I or my discourse large enough to be seen. . . . I have lying by me about fifty guineas to carry me out of this miserable island when the French and Spaniards come in, if the patriots suffer me to live till then. We are undone, but what signifies complaining?"

1777, Nov. 22. Dublin.—Hears that Knox is well, but fears he cannot be really so, when all the disorders of the new world are perpetually passing through his very brain, nay and through his heart also. "Here are none but rebels. All our newspapers abound with intelligence favourable to rebels. . . . The King is reviled, the ministry cursed, religion trampled under foot, a loud crie set up for patriotism and liberty by people who mean nothing but to sell their country." Knows that Knox can give no comfort to one who loves his King, country, and religion, "but sees them all embarked in a crasy bottom, and tossed in a tempest. He hath little left but the miserable consolation of old age, which takes off one-half of the terroure of being drowned."

1777, Dec. 30. Dublin.—Has been told that Knox loses near 4,000*l.* a year by the American rebellion. No wonder he wishes for conquest or accommodation. But the Americans will never come to terms advantageous to their mother country, or if they do, will adhere to them no longer than the commencement of a French war. "All colonies have a right to aim at independence when they can. . . . Our American Colonies, however, have set up for it too soon; at an improper time for themselves, ungratefully, dishonestly, impolitickly. They suffer for it, and England is undone. . . . How feebly does England push with a weapon 4,000 miles long! and how easily will that weapon be parried at the point. People here cast their eyes on Lord Chatham, that best of men in, and that worst of men out of power, as the only mortal capable of retrieving his country, and redressing the mischiefs he himself hath brought upon her. For my part, I believe him utterly unequal to the task. . . . Such debts, who can pay? Such infidelity, who can remove? Such sins, who can wash out? Such political sins, perjury, prostitution, venality, corruption, who can cure or wash away but God? Or how, but by blood and ruin? . . . Could you look on life as I do, from this its utmost period, you woud fly from the whirlpool of deception, madness and disappointment . . . to peace and the God of peace, wherever He is to be found.

"The exertion of your little power for those who lived near your good old father and mother and yourself is the best you can at present do, . . . though that is a strange motly body you are going to make up of Presbyterians, to be commanded by men they hate."

1779, Sept. 7. Dublin.—In relation to money sent to Mrs. J. Knox from her brother Tom in India.

Has been reading the results of the enquiry into the conduct of

the two H[owe]s, and other papers on the subject, and is convinced that the refusal of the witnesses to speak their opinions is a strong evidence of their belief that things were ill-conducted ; especially as they everywhere made strong compliments to the gentlemen under enquiry. Was, indeed, previously sure “ that an understanding hath been all along kept up by the principals on both sides, in America, C[linto]n and B[urgoy]ne excepted, and is still kept up. . . . I knew, a year ago, that our army, from the generals down, were able to have quashed the rebellion and fully willing. I know, they still are able and willing, but were and are withheld, to the ruin of England, and of the American colonies too.”

1779, Oct. 30. Dublin.—“ The malcontents of this kingdom, who make almost the whole, are not to be wrought upon by any reasonings. How[e] is an hero with us . . . and had the Congress acted still a more villainous part than they have done, were that possible, they woud have been still more loudly and universally applauded here. Under a pretence of preparing to repel an invasion on this island, all sorts of Protestants, but the dissenters most warmly, have taken up arms, which they now threaten to employ against England. They will not so much as drink success to his Majesty's fleet against the fleets of France and Spain, on which two powers they depend for aid against England ; and hardly at all disguise their intention to play off the American hand of cards, up from duces to aces. It is in vain to remonstrate that independency here must be impossible without the total reduction of England ; that this cannot be effected without the aid of French and Spanish forces, or that France and Spain, in case England is once ruined, must be paid by a subjection of Ireland to those arbitrary powers ; without, in short, the fate of Corsica. Hated [*sic*, ? heated] by useless places, an enormous list of pensions, an encreasing debt, and a trade greatly cramped, and now indeed almost annihilated, they will listen to no sober counsels. They give out that they have 30,000 men well armed and disciplined, and begin already to insult the army and our chief governor. They never saw a greater force than their own, and know not, because yet untried, that they woud turn their backs on sight of [a] quarter their number of regulars. Our Lord Lieutenant [Lord Buckinghamshire] whether carried away by dread of an invasion, or what other motives I cannot pretend to guess, hath given them great encouragement, as to arming. He early sent a general to review them, and hath supplied them with arms as long as there was anything in the Treasury. He is, however, not popular, but with the wiser and better sort of people. You sit near the helm, and can much better tell than I can what our good King and his ministry will do, between the trading people of England and Ireland. Without concessions, we are not to be quieted, and some must be made ; yet America hath been lost, and England almost ruined, by concessions. Humanly speaking, a few concessions and some additional forces, all English, might possibly keep matters *in statu quo* for awhile. With no one to exert himself for the Establishment, and with statesmen, generals, admirals, all ready to skuttle our political ship, and eager to sink themselves rather



than suffer others to float, I can form no hopes but in God, and how dare I, how dare we, look up to Him for help? we who have renounced Him, His religion, all virtue, and all true patriotism?

"I am old, and every thing relating to me becomes daily more and more insignificant. . . . My parish is up in arms and my tythe farmer and his bailsmen hope to pay me with a revolution, perhaps with a pistol. If you cannot help me where I am, I must soon die, or flie for help where you are. Call me, therefore, to a little living near you. I may, even yet, write as good nonsense for my King as others write against him."

*Postscript.*—"Just now I am told the trumpet of rebellion is loudly blown by the dissenting ministers of Ulster, and that, instead of 30,000, they boast of 50,000 fighting men."

1779, Dec. 13. Dublin.—"I am in some pain about a long letter I wrote to you . . . wherein I spoke to you about my throwing myself upon you, in case of my ruin here. If this letter should have fallen into the hands of our malcontents of Ireland, it will be deemed high treason against them. I anxiously wish to have it under your own hand that it came safe. As to the part concerning myself, I give it wholly up. I am too old and too infirm to be worth caring for." The rest of the letter is on behalf of Mr. Samuel Murray, "a very worthy clergyman, who with infinite pains hath, for fourteen years, served the cure of St. Michael's in this city." Prays for Knox's influence with Lord G. Germain, one word from whom to the Archbishop of Dublin would certainly procure him something of a permanent kind for his declining years.

1780, Jan. 31. Dublin.—". . . I read over your papers, addressed to your very good Lords the Bishops, with that approbation which always results from a similarity of thinking. Eighteen pence a counter at quadril in a Bishop's house is shocking. To your remarks on psalmody might perhaps have been added (for so it is here), that the organist hath the charge of teaching the poor boys and girls to sing the psalms, which he shamefully neglects to do, and so is obliged to conceal his own neglect and their deficiency by blowing his organ as loud as the air in his bellows can supply him with sounds. For my part, I would rather hear the poorest organ of God's making than the best ever made by man. . . . I exceedingly like the organ in a church, but my devotion is raised a thousand times higher by those better organs, which know and feel somewhat of that which they utter. It is no small comfort to me that my dear friend, in the midst of all his worldly avocations, is still so sensibly exercised in matters of religion. What signifies every thing else?"

*Postscript.*—"We have here got over our fears of an immediate rebellion and revolution, though the evil spirit is still at work. The short money bill, and then a free trade, were the pretexts for taking up arms. Now you cannot imagine how the enemies of establishment are disappointed by the success in both respects. They cannot decently avow the designs they concealed, under the general crie about oppression and tyranny, tho' not a few among them spoke

out and railed furious[ly] at King, ministry, England, &c. For my own part, I still have bread, blessed be God, though the payments to me are very indifferent. The country is yet far from opulence, and its lack of cash is represented and plaided as much greater than it is. . . .”

1780, March 31. Dublin.—“What are they going to do with your office ? The crown is to be circumcised, it seems, to save money, which, in the midst of almost general infidelity, hath no chance to go into better hands than those already in the management of it. Our Irish Burke, whose speech I have read, is not only pushing you placemen and the Court, but, in my opinion, the whole nation headlong down a precipice. . . . Burke’s speech seems a push for Prime-ministry, and considering the ground he hath gained, I do not see how the King can do without him. Perhaps it would be the wisest way to take him in, that the nation may see him undo all he hath already done ; for without money and placemen he will be able to do nothing, either for himself, which he means, or for England, which he does not mean.”

1780, Oct. 5. Dublin.—Agreeing with Knox in regard to the conduct of some of the Bishops, but declaring that the church and religion are not to be held accountable for their shortcomings. Reproaches his friend for having neglected his appeal on behalf of “a man of real activity in his calling, a painstaking labourer in the vineyard. . . . I ask nothing of any man for myself, or for any relation of mine ; and you perfectly well know that standing so high on principles of true religion, I am incapable of applying for the unworthy. . . . I expect no answer to this letter. For your past friendships, God greatly bless you. As to any future friendships, you are hereby fully discharged by your still real and cordial friend.”

*CORRIGENDA.*

- P. 125, line 3 from bottom, and p. 149, line 21, for Marquis read Viscount.*  
*P. 183, last line but one, for Ohio laws read Ohio lands.*  
*P. 286, footnote, for Granville read Grenville.*  
*P. 329, last line, for T. Townshend read J. Townshend.*  
*P. 403, line 8, and p. 405, line 28, for Southesk read Northesk.*

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# HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE,

CHANCERY LANE,

LONDON, W.C.

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In practice it has been found more satisfactory, when the collection of manuscripts is a large one, for the inspector to make a selection therefrom at the place of deposit and to obtain the owner's consent to remove the selected papers to the Public Record Office in London or in Dublin, or to the General Register House in Edinburgh, where they can be more fully dealt with, and where they will be preserved with the same care as if they formed part of the muniments of the realm, during the term of their examination. Among the numerous owners of MSS. who have allowed their papers of historical interest to be temporarily removed from their muniment rooms and lent to the Commissioners to facilitate the preparation of a report may be named :—His Majesty the King, the Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Portland, the Marquess of Salisbury, the Marquess Townshend, the Marquess of Ailesbury, the Marquess of Bath, the Earl of Dartmouth, the Earl of Carlisle, the Earl of Egmont, the Earl of Lindsey, the Earl of Ancaster, the Earl of Lonsdale, Lord Braye, Lord Hothfield, Lord Kenyon, Mr. Stopford Sackville, the Right Hon. F. J. Savile Foljambe, Sir George Wombwell, Mr. le Fleming, of Rydal, Mr. Leyborne Popham, of Littlecote, and Mr. Fortescue, of Dropmore.

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The Commissioners will also, if so requested, give their advice as to the best means of repairing and preserving any interesting papers or MSS. which may be in a state of decay.

The Commissioners will feel much obliged if you will communicate to them the names of any gentlemen who may be able and willing to assist in obtaining the objects for which this Commission has been issued.

R. A. ROBERTS, *Secretary*.

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